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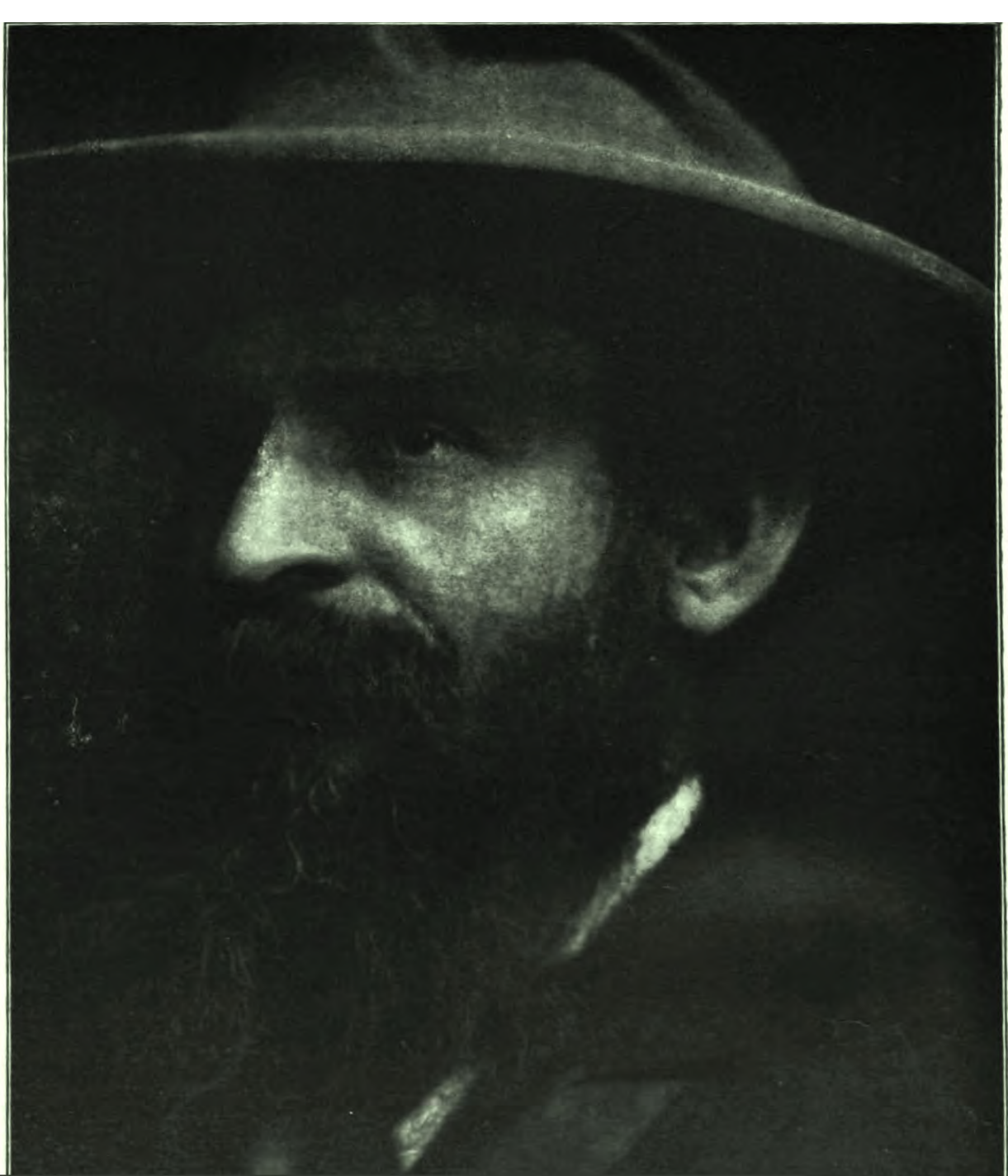
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Photo. by Katherine E. McClellan.

GEORGE WHARTON JAMES

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."—HEINE.*

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THE RAILWAYS FOR THE NATION

BY ALFRED RUSSEL WALLACE, D.C.L., LL.D.

AMONG thinkers who realize the evils of the capitalistic system, and who are more especially opposed to its monopoly of public services which are held and administered in the interests of individuals instead of that of the whole people, it has long been seen that the time is at hand when the railroads must be transferred to the national government, to be held and worked for the benefit of all alike. Under the present system they exist, first, for the benefit of the great capitalists and money-market gamblers, then for that of the shareholders generally, and last of all for the use and convenience of the public.

I do not here propose to discuss the many and great advantages to the nation of the possession of its own public roads, on which the safety and the very existence of its civilization may be said to depend. They are well known, and almost universally admitted. What I am about to deal with, is, how the nation can best obtain complete possession of these roads, so as to confer a large immediate benefit

on the community without doing any real injustice to the shareholders. Most people are so dominated by the idea, that there is no other honest way than actual purchase, at the real or supposed market value to-day, that they are alarmed at the necessity of raising loans or creating new government securities to such an enormous amount as would be required. They know that these new funds would be at the mercy of the great capitalists and railway kings; would be used largely for gambling transactions; and that the smaller shareholders who received or purchased these securities in exchange for their railway shares, would suffer from the market fluctuations that would occur. And further, they are quite sure, that the power of these railway kings is so great, that they would, by bribery and other means, so exaggerate the value of their properties as to obtain much more than a fair price, and thus put a heavy burden upon the taxpayers for generations to come.

It is for the purpose of avoiding all

these real or possible dangers, that I have put before the people of England (in a letter to the *Daily News*) and now put before the people of America, a method of acquisition founded upon a great principle of ethics, which, when it is thoroughly grasped, is seen to solve many problems, and to clear the way to many great reforms in the interest of the people at large. This principle is, that the *unborn* can have, and should have, no special property-rights; in other words that the present generation shall not continue to be plundered and robbed in order that certain unborn individuals shall be born rich—shall be born with such legal claims upon their fellow-men that, while supplied with all the necessities, comforts, and luxuries of life they need do no useful work in return. It is not denied that the present generation may properly do work and expend wealth for the benefit of future generations: that is only a proper return for the many and great benefits we have received from those who have gone before us. What this principle says is, that it is absolutely unjust for our rulers (be they a majority or minority) to compel us to pay, to work, or to suffer, in order that certain *individuals* yet unborn, shall be endowed—often to their own physical and moral injury—with wealth supplied by the labor of their fellow-men. As this is, I consider, perhaps the most important of all ethical principles in its bearing on political reforms and general human progress, it will be well to show that it is in harmony with the teachings of some of the greatest thinkers of the age.

The great philosopher, Herbert Spencer—so recently lost to us—has perhaps as many admirers and followers in the

United States as in his own country. In one of his later volumes, on "Justice," forming Part IV. of his *Principles of Ethics*, he gives us what he holds to be the very foundation-stone of Justice in the domain of Sociology, in the following words:

"Of man, as of all inferior creatures, the law by conformity to which the species is preserved, is, that among adults the individuals best adapted to the conditions of their existence shall prosper most, and that the individuals least adapted to the conditions of their existence shall prosper least—a law which, if uninterfered with entails survival of the fittest, and spread of the most adapted varieties. And, as before, so here, we see that, ethically considered, this law implies, that *each individual ought to receive the benefits and evils of his own nature and consequent conduct: neither being prevented from having whatever good his actions normally bring him, nor allowed to shoulder off on to other persons whatever ill is brought to him by his actions.*"

The passage here printed in italics is the "law of social justice," and it is again and again appealed to by its author, being usually condensed into the shorter formula "each shall receive the benefits and evils due to his own nature and consequent conduct." Yet, strange to say, he did not himself carry out his great principle to its logical conclusion, nor apparently see its ethical bearing on some of our most important laws and institutions.

In an address to the Land Nationalization Society, in 1892, I pointed this out, showing that, in order to give practical

effect to the principle "some social arrangement must be made by which all individuals may start in life with an approach to 'equality of opportunities.'" Two years later this term was used and popularized by Mr. Benjamin Kidd in his *Social Evolution*, and it is now widely known, and is quoted with approval by many persons who seem quite unable to see where its complete acceptance will lead them. For it is quite clear that both Herbert Spencer's formula and my own imply, not only equal opportunities of nurture in infancy and of education in youth, but also equal opportunities to earn a livelihood; and this absolutely forbids the inheritance of wealth by individuals. Private bequests, above what is sufficient to give nurture and education, must therefore be abolished, and the surplus used to give *all* an equal start in life. This economic equality follows from Spencer's law of social justice. For by inheriting exceptional wealth a person receives what is in no way "due to his own nature and subsequent conduct," be its results either evil or good. If, therefore, we accept Spencer's law of social justice as being sound in principle, or adopt the formula of "equality of opportunities" as being anything more than empty words, we *must* advocate the abolition of all unequal inheritance of wealth, since it is now shown to be ethically wrong, inasmuch as it dignifies unearned wealth and a consequent life of idleness and the pursuit of pleasure, as one to be admired, respected, and sought after.

It is because I believe absolutely in the truth and importance of these principles, that, as a means of applying them practically I have elsewhere urged the

adoption of the somewhat simpler principle, that no rights to property should be recognized in the unborn, in its application to the extinction of national debts, the acquisition of railways by the State, and other such cases. Put in this form, we can support it on the ground that, by continuing any payments of interest or pensions beyond the lives of the present receivers and their direct heirs who may have been brought up to expect such inheritance, we are actually robbing the present generation for the enrichment and supposed advantage of certain unborn individuals, who in most instances, as we now know, are much more likely to be injured than benefited. People are brought up to consider this to be just, because they believe that *property* is sacred, and that a person has an inherent right to leave his property to any one he likes. But even if we admit this in the case of those objects which are the effective personal property of the owner, as his house, furniture, jewelry, etc., it by no means follows that it applies to what is termed realized wealth or invested capital, consisting of land, shares, bonds, bills, or other securities by means of which the holders are able to claim a share of the produce of the labor of the community without themselves doing any useful work. When it is considered that no revenue or income can possibly be obtained except at the cost of labor, both land and securities being valueless without it, we shall see the iniquity of all those arrangements by which such incomes are made to persist from generation to generation, so that living Englishmen are now paying interest on loans raised by past generations for wars which were unjust or wicked, or for perpetual

pensions given by immoral kings to their friends or parasites. According to ordinary views of what is right, these various annual payments—many millions in amount—must continue to be paid for ever, or be redeemed at their full capital value, which can only be done by laying fresh burdens on present and future generations. Surely, the real injustice consists in continuing such burdens for the benefit of any other persons than the actual living receivers, who might be materially injured by their immediate cessation.

Having thus firmly established the principle of not recognizing any claims to property by the unborn, it follows that in all transfers of property from individuals to the State we have only to take account of persons living at the time of the transaction, and of the public interest both now and in the future. When therefore the government determines, for the public good, to take over the whole of the railways of the Union, there will be no question of purchase but simply a transfer of management. All trained and efficient employes will continue in their several stations; and probably their numbers will for some time be steadily increased in order that shorter hours of labor may be adopted and the safety of the public be better guaranteed.

The first step towards an equitable transfer will be to ascertain, by an efficient and independent enquiry, the actual economic status of the shareholders of each line, dependent largely on the honesty and efficiency of its previous management. As a result of this enquiry the average annual dividends of each company or system which have been honestly earned while keeping up the permanent

way and rolling-stock in good repair and thorough working order, would be ascertained. The amount of this average dividend would, thereafter, be paid to every shareholder in the respective companies during their lives, and on their deaths would, except in special cases, revert to the railway department of the State for the benefit of the public.

The exceptions would be, that in the case of all shareholders leaving families or dependents insufficiently provided for, the dividends would continue to be paid to the widow and to unmarried daughters for their lives, and to sons till they reached the age of twenty-one, so as to help towards their education and industrial training. But whenever the shareholder's property was above a certain amount, and producing sufficient income to support the family in reasonable comfort (which might perhaps be fixed at that of a high-class mechanic), then no such allowance would be made. Of course in a great number of cases where the shareholder was moderately wealthy, there would be no difficulty in drawing the line. In other cases it should be the rule to treat the families of shareholders liberally, so that in no case should actual poverty be caused by the cessation of the dividends.

It may be pointed out here, that to the very large class of individual shareholders whose shares form part of the scanty income on which they have to live, the change would be an actual benefit, because, instead of the fluctuating income derived from a railway company, not unfrequently resulting in temporary cessation or total loss, they would obtain a fixed and perfectly secure payment under a government guarantee; which income would be continued to such members of

their family as most required it. Whenever railway-shares formed part of the capital of other companies, the shareholders in those companies might be registered as each holding his proportionate number of shares, and be treated exactly as were other individual shareholders. In certain cases where this would be inconvenient, the government might purchase the shares at a fair valuation, paying for them in terminable annuities for such periods as might be agreed upon, but not to exceed the average duration of two generations, or about sixty years.

Notwithstanding the explanation I have given of the fundamental law of social justice on which the proposals here made are founded, many readers will still think that it would be really more just to raise the necessary money on government bonds, and pay off all railway shares at their full value. I will therefore point out to such persons that this method of full payment would really involve a loss both in income and capital to the great body of small shareholders to whom a secure income is the most important consideration. For in order to continue their income they would have to seek a new and safe investment, and as the whole capital value of the railways—probably many thousands of millions of dollars—would be seeking investment, all good investments would at once rise in value; and in whatever way the shareholders' money was again invested it would produce less income than did their railway shares. At a later period, when most of the money had been invested, and there was no longer an exceptional number of buyers, the selling price of these stocks

would fall, and thus both those who wanted income and those who bought for a rise would be worse off than before. Some years ago (in 1888) when English 3 per cent. Consols were at a considerable premium, the government gave notice that the funds would be paid off at par after a fixed date, or exchanged for new Consols at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. till 1903, when they would be further reduced to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. As was anticipated, nearly the whole amount—more than six hundred millions of pounds sterling—was exchanged for the new issue, simply because for so large a sum no other equally safe investment could be found. Here then, although full payment in cash was offered, an enormous majority of investors found it necessary to accept the new issue, which both brought in a somewhat smaller income and was for a considerable time of a lower selling value. For the same reasons I believe it would be found that if the government offered to pay individuals the amount found to be the fair capital value of their railway shares, instead of the life-annuities to themselves and families which I have suggested, very few would accept the payment, because they would find on enquiry that no other investment existed which would bring them an equally safe income of equal amount, and this is what most of them would feel to be essential.

In conclusion I will briefly enumerate a few of the advantages that would accrue to the whole community by the public acquisition of the railways in the way here suggested. The economies and advantages of working the whole system under one general management can hardly be overestimated. Then there

would be the security felt that no part of the capital employed would be any longer the sport of speculators or financiers for their own interests and to the constant loss of the public. Again, there would be the advantage of utilizing the many competing lines between the same great centers to the fullest advantage of the public, those with the flattest gradients and easiest curves being reserved for express traffic at high speeds, while the lines less suitable for speed would be chiefly used for the transport of minerals, lumber, and other heavy goods. The economy of working one coördinated system of lines would very soon increase the returns and thus admit of lower fares, shorter hours of labor, and higher wages. But the most important result of my proposed system of giving shareholders life-annuities, would be, that owing to yearly deaths without direct heirs, outgoing for these annuities would continually diminish, at first slowly, but after a few years at a tolerably uniform rate, so that at the end of two generations—say from sixty to seventy years—the whole enormous sum of the annual dividends would cease to be paid out, and the entire railway system would become unincumbered public property to be worked and administered with a sole view to the public advantage, and especially for the increased well-being of the vast number of railway servants on whose skill, energy, and watchfulness, the lives of the whole traveling population depend.

Some of my English critics have proposed, that terminable annuities, not for lives but for a fixed term of eighty or one hundred years, would be fairer to all.

But in that case the whole of the population for the next two or three generations would be deprived of steadily increasing advantages in railway service, in order to give unearned incomes to millions of the unborn, and at the same time to endow those unborn and the rest of the now unborn population with all those increased advantages of railway service which those now living, even to the youngest children, would never live to enjoy! These purely financial ideas of what is just and beneficial, in which the living are always to suffer in order to benefit the unborn, are so fundamentally irrational and unjust as to seem only fitted to adorn the comic opera or the jest-book.

The only set of people who would probably find their gains reduced by the system of life-annuities I have proposed for the redemption of the railways, are the stock-exchange speculators, whose sphere of operation would be diminished by the steady reduction and final disappearance of railway-shares from the money-market. But as these people are nothing less than professional gamblers who live by the public's loss, it will hardly be claimed that what is plainly for the benefit both of the public at large and of all living shareholders who are not speculators, is to be given up in order to satisfy them. I therefore feel some confidence that, after full consideration of the subject in all its bearings, my proposals will, in principle, be found acceptable by a considerable body of those who are endeavoring to modify our civilization in the best interests of the whole community.

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THE TRUTH AT THE HEART OF CAPITALISM AND OF SOCIALISM.*

BY PROF. FRANK PARSONS, Ph.D.

THE SWIFT advance of socialistic sentiment and action throughout the civilized world, and the rapid movement of industrial combination are two of the most startling facts of our time. Capitalism is gathering plant after plant and industry after industry into enormous unions. The aggregate capitalization of the great trusts in the United States exceeds twenty billions of dollars, or nearly a quarter of the total wealth of the country. Six great railway systems control over ninety per cent. of our vital railway mileage, and half a dozen men can fix the freight-rates for the whole United States. Still larger integrations are in progress. Masses of railways, street-railways, gas and electric plants, telegraph and telephone interests, oil, steel, copper, asbestos, tobacco, rubber, sugar and many other corporations, including some of the most important banks, insurance companies, express companies, etc., are already dominated by two small but mighty groups of capitalists who act for the most part in harmony with each other.

The growth of sentiment in favor of the socialization of industrial monopolies is hardly less vigorous. Chicago votes overwhelmingly for municipalization of street-railways. A thousand cities and towns own and operate their lighting plants in the United States, and two or three times that number in the leading countries of Europe. There is a stampede to public operation of tramways in Great Britain, over fifty cities and towns having adopted the system within a few

years. The proportion of public water-works in the United States rose from 6 per cent. in 1800 to 54 per cent. in 1900. All over the world the movement toward public-ownership and operation of railways, telegraphs, telephones, banks, insurance, etc., is scarcely less startling than the development of trusts and combines. Even in America, where private industry has a stronger hold than anywhere else in the civilized world, there is an astonishing body of sentiment in favor of national management of the railways as a thing to be obtained so soon as civil service conditions make it practicable.

In addition to this progress in the theory and practice of the socialization of public utilities, which may be considered socialistic in the broad sense in which the word is coming to be used, although the said progress is not made as part of any programme for the complete socialization of industry—in addition to this there has been a most remarkable growth in the numbers and power of those who declare themselves adherents to the socialist programme. In Germany the ratio of the socialist vote has increased ten-fold in thirty-years, rising from one-thirtieth to a third of the total vote of the Empire. In Belgium, France, Switzerland and England also the socialists have made astonishing progress; and even in the United States they have made large gains and may develop with accelerating speed as they adopt the more moderate attitude already taken by most of the socialists across the sea. Our literature is full of overflowing with socialistic sentiment. Our working-classes are honeycombed with the propaganda of industrial democracy; and many of our most intelligent and far-sighted business men admit in private conversation, and

*This is the first of a series of three articles which will alternate with Professor Parsons' series on the Railways of Europe. The next article in this series will be entitled, "Humanising Capitalism," and the third article will be entitled "Civilizing the Socialists."

some of them declare in public, that socialism is coming.

Capitalism and socialism are supposed to be direct opposites, and in a very important sense they are: one involves industrial aristocracy and the other demands industrial democracy. But in another and quite fundamental aspect capitalism and socialism are at one, since they both aim at the *organization of industry*.

Capitalism is doing its best to eliminate the waste of competition, secure the strength and efficiency of combination and large-scale production, and attain control of markets and prices and all the conditions of industry, including even legislation and the means of moulding public opinion. Socialism is in perfect harmony so far: it also condemns the wastes of conflict and the chaos of competition, and demands coördination, scale production, monopoly, control of prices and all the conditions of industry.

Remarkable as these unities are, the underlying motive and the social, political and industrial results are wholly different in the two cases. Capitalism aims at wealth and power for the few; socialism aims at the benefit of the community. One method of organization replaces competition with coöperation of a small class to obtain commercial mastery of the rest, using the power of the union for the selfish aggrandizement of a few industrial potentates. The other plan replaces competition with fraternal coöperation of all for the benefit of all. Both capitalism and socialism believe in the thorough organization of business; but capitalism wants *organization for private profit*, while socialism wants *organization for the public good*.

This agreement upon the desirability of eliminating competition and attaining a more perfect organization of industry, is the common truth at the heart of capitalism and of socialism. These sworn antagonists are in accord upon this one momentous proposition. Organized labor also and the great mass of our science

and philosophy face the same way. All the strongest forces are for union, coördination, associated effort. It is a simple matter of moderate evolution in character and common-sense. The enemies of industrial union are not likely to organize effectively to prevent organization, and if they should, the very success and power of their organization would probably convert them into friends of the philosophy of association. It seems improbable that legislation can stop the movement of industrial organization, for no law that congress or legislature can make has so powerful a sanction as the law of industrial gravitation—the progressive integration and cohesion that form essential elements of industrial evolution.

The difference between the motives and purposes of capitalism and socialism is even more momentous than this agreement upon the necessity of organization. If the coördination of industry is inevitable, as it appears to be, and is highly desirable from ethical and humanitarian standpoints as well as upon economic and political considerations, as also seems to be the case,* then the question

*Chaotic, planless production, conflict, useless duplications, pernicious activities, lack of scientific organization, absence of rational education, and devitalization of the workers by lack of partnership interest, cause untold economic loss. The antagonisms engendered waste force, debase character, corrupt governments for commercial conquest and industrial dominion, and accomplish nothing but the creation of an industrial stimulus which operates upon some excessively and upon others insufficiently, and which at its best is far inferior to the stimulus of public spirit, joy in useful labor, and other lofty motives which may be brought to controlling strength by education and coöperative institutions. Social architects of high ability and scientific training are needed to plan the new industrial order. It is clear that the principles of economy, coördination and partnership should receive far more attention than at present. Boards of industrial direction and control should represent not merely one of the factors in the creation of values, but all three partners,—labor, capital, and the public. Federation and coördination can be secured without useless concentration or dangerous centralization of power. The town-meeting with the local boards of officers constitutes as vital an element of political democracy as the representative legislature; and the local coöperative group with its managers will be a very important element in the coming industrial democracy.

of the age in the industrial field relates to the methods and purposes of organization and the distribution of the power and profits of coördinated business.

Comparing the two great answers to the all-important question of purpose—the capitalistic answer, organization for private profit, and the socialistic answer, organization for justice and the public good—there does not seem to be room for doubt that the socialistic answer is the true one. However much we may condemn the plan of organization proposed by socialists, and the means of propaganda and progress adopted or urged by them, we cannot refuse approval of the fundamental *purpose* they have set before us. No thoughtful and conscientious person can hesitate in the choice between organization for the benefit of a few and organization for the benefit of all, organization for a part and organization for the whole.

The same answer as to purpose is made by many who repudiate much that the

word socialism has represented in the past and still represents in current discussion in the United States. No one, for example, can be more thoroughly opposed to state-ownership or government-ownership of all the means of production and distribution* than is the writer of these lines, nor more averse to the idea of attaining the coöperative commonwealth by revolution or any form of class struggle or effort to intensify the antagonisms of interest in the industrial world. He desires public-ownership, municipal, state and national, of the great monopolies and important public utilities, as fast as the people and their governments reach a stage of development that makes such public undertakings safe; looks to voluntary crystallization—federation of trusts, labor organizations and all surts of coöperative groups in commerce, manufactures and agriculture; and believes in education and evolution as the means of attaining a coöperative commonwealth that shall eliminate the

*In *THE ARENA* for October, 1906, Professor Thomas E. Will of Washington takes exception to Mr. Bryan's statement that socialists desire "the collective ownership, through the state (i. e., the government) of all the means of production and distribution." Professor Will quotes the platform of the Socialist Party adopted by the convention of 1904, to the effect that "Socialism means that all those things upon which the people in common depend shall by the people in common be administered. It means that the tools of employment shall belong to their creators and users." Professor Will interprets this to mean that "collective or social tools are to be collectively owned, and individual tools are to be individually owned," and says "Industries which, through their small size and competitive character, have continued individual *in fact*, should be individually owned and operated."

This interpretation, however, is not in accord with orthodox socialism, nor with the rest of the platform from which the Professor quotes. After stating a number of immediate demands for which the party is pledged to work, the platform says: "Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from Capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government in order that they may thereby *lay hold of the whole system of industry*, and thus come into their rightful inheritance."

One of the fundamental arguments of socialism is the advantage of large-scale production and the necessity of abolishing the whole competitive system to get rid of all its wastes and conflicts. Professor Will's idea that small competitive industries which have not consolidated into big monopolies

should be left under individual competitive management, is rank heresy from the standpoint of orthodox socialism.

The platform definition of Socialism that Professor Will interprets according to his own views, is equally capable of fitting almost any other view. If the Socialist politicians who made the platform had wished to frame a definition which would paralyze criticism and yet afford each socialist a formula that could be interpreted to express his own belief, they could hardly have adopted a better phraseology than the one they put in this platform.

As a matter of fact the mass of American socialists stand for the orthodox system described by the *Century Dictionary* when it says that "Socialism would make land and capital, as the instruments and means of production, the joint possession of the members of the community," and by John Stuart Mill when he said, "What is characteristic of socialism is the joint ownership by all the members of the community of the instruments and means of production (in the broad sense that includes stores, railroads, banks and other means of distribution); which carries with it the consequence that the division of the produce among the body of owners must be a public act performed according to rules laid down by the community. Socialism by no means excludes private ownership of articles of consumption."

But the means of production and distribution are to be collectively owned and operated by government. That is substantially the socialist plan in regard to the method of organizing the coöperative commonwealth.

wastes of competition and secure the wealth and character values of coördination without curtailment of individual liberty or risk of industrial mastery or despotism from either plutocracy or bureaucracy.

But though we cannot accept all the capitalists do, nor all the socialists say, we must not close our minds to the great truths they stand for. Because capitalists water their stocks, corrupt our legislatures, ill-treat the workers, pinch us with their railroad rebates and monopolistic powers, and manifest an abnormal appetite for the unearned increment, is no reason to refuse recognition of the splendid services they have rendered in the development and organization of our industries. Because trade-unions sometimes abuse the boycott, resort to violence in time of strike, maltreat non-union men, limit output, or otherwise unjustly interfere with individual liberty and the management of business, is no reason to ignore the grand work they have done for the improvement of the conditions of labor, the elevation of the standard of living and the democratization of industry. Because the socialists, some of them, talk revolution and advocate class-consciousness as the means of attaining brotherhood, demand collective ownership of all the means of production and distribution and the entire abolition of rent, interest and profit, imagine that millions of competitive men trained in industrial combat and saturated with its ideals and habits of thought can be voted into a coöperative commonwealth at a stroke, and refuse to join in any evolutionary movement for the development of public-ownership of monopolies, coöperative industry, and improved education that may help to evolve men of coöperative character, and ideals calculated to hasten the coöperative commonwealth and make it a success when it comes,—the fact that many doctrinaire and so-called “scientific” socialists do this, is no justification for our failure to recognize and applaud the fundamental

purpose which more than anything else they have really at heart and are urging day and night in varying forms, often obscure and faultful, but always presented with the deep conviction and the passionate earnestness of a new religion—the all-important purpose of organizing industry for justice, economy and the public good. This is the irreducible demand upon which socialists all over the world are agreed, no matter how much they may differ as to the means and methods of accomplishing this basic purpose. Just as the Christians of different sects have linked many and various errors with the fundamental common demand for a life in accord with the law of love, so the various schools of socialists have linked many and various errors with the rudimentary demand for an industrial system in accord with the laws of justice and the social welfare. This is the reason for their growing strength, in spite of all their errors. One may accept what is really fundamental in the Christian faith without being able to join any sect; and one may likewise be in harmony with what is really vital in socialism without being able to agree to all the doctrines of the socialists.

If the socialists and capitalists and the great body of the people who are neither socialists nor capitalists, will look to the core of the matter, recognize the organization of industry as inevitable and desirable, and bend their energies to securing a union that shall contain the maximum of liberty, private initiative, and voluntary coöperation and the minimum of mastery, either in the form of the individual mastery that prevails in capitalism or the mastery of the majority which would be carried to the limit under socialism, we may escape the dangers of capitalism on the one hand and of socialism on the other, and attain a *mutualism* that will embody the unity at the heart of both socialism and capitalism and avoid the evils of both extremes.

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OUR INSULT TO JAPAN.

BY C. VEY HOLMAN,
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IT WOULD seem that California in the case of the Japanese is to repeat the fillip to the senseless ethnic antipathy to all men not of the Caucasian strain which has characterized its treatment of the Chinese during its history as a State.

Deeply as this is to be deplored, it is less regrettable than the fact that this seemingly localized manifestation is but a surface symptom of a deeper and more widespread affection which concerns not merely the Pacific coast region where racial antagonisms are freely avowed, but practically our entire body politic, including even Eastern centers of light and leading, where the solidarity of the human race is most preached and the spirit of universal brotherhood is most professed. For the candid observer must, to himself, at least, admit that an obsession of prejudice against men of the black, brown or yellow races marks with an unfavorable distinction the American people above those of any other nation, despite all our boastful pretensions of belief in mankind's distinctionless equality of birth and non-gainsayable right to an impartiality of social and political opportunity.

It is doubtless part of our heritage of shame from centuries of wrong-doing toward the African race and its periodical manifestations will involve penitential reparation for uncounted time to come.

But it is necessary to recognize unblinkingly that this ungracious and mischievous spirit exists and in greater or less degree permeates our entire people, before we shall be able either to foresee its portentous possibilities for evil or to grapple intelligently with the Herculean task of formulating remedies even appreciably adapted to the outworking of its cure.

For more than a decade my attention

has been drawn to this question by reason of active connection with and relatively heavy commitments to developments of mining and other interests on the Pacific coast, from California to Alaska. And I say, unhesitatingly but as the result of long-continued observations and deep study, that our country is probably about to enter upon a series of unpleasant involvements in its relations with the young-old giant of Nippon in which many if not most of the demagogic errors marking our diplomatic intercourse with and legislative discriminations against the ancient empire of China are likely to be reperformed, with results far more humiliating to our national prestige, and possibly wholly disastrous to our ill-starred policy of Oriental colonialism.

To begin with, aside from radical differences of temperament and character, the Japanese residents of our country occupy to the industrial and business life of the communities in which they have located themselves positions and relationships fundamentally variant from those of the Chinese. They are infinitely more ambitious and more aggressive, and, from policy as well as by nature, seek to identify themselves with the world movement around them, where the Chinaman prefers an anonymity amounting to philosophic self-effacement. By no means more wise and in a commercial sense possibly less honest than the Chinese, they are yet governed in matters of public administration by an intensity of pride and a passionate conception of honor that render them doubly susceptible to the apprehension of public or private humiliation and, despite a calmness of demeanor almost completely masking the attribute, feverishly sensitive to

slights, individual or national, real or imaginary.

Further, be it not forgotten that the causes of offense so far given them by our people are, in nature if not in extent, immeasurably more apt to rouse their resentment than those visited upon the Chinese were to awaken animosity or invite retaliation in kind.

The episode of the cold-blooded slaughter of the Japanese seal-poachers on the island of Attu, most western of the Aleutian chain, in August last, was really far more serious as a possible source of diplomatic embarrassment than the jaunty public announcements of the officials of our Department of State, or its treatment by the press, inspired or misled, would have it appear. One has only to consider the probable consequences of the deliberate slaying of a group of unarmed American fishermen, even while engaged in law-breaking trespass, on a Nova Scotian beach by an officer of a Canadian revenue cutter, to forecast what might have been the outcome of this bit of midsummer madness. To the mind familiar with Alaskan conditions and the character of the Alaskan natives, there were certain inexplicable incongruities about the published accounts of this singular occurrence. It was represented, so far, I think, without correction, that the shooting was done by Indian (Attu) "guards" under the orders of an American naval officer. This is possibly true, but it seems difficult of belief to one who knows that the entire Attu tribe to-day consists of less than one hundred members, male and female, children and adults, most of whom are destined to early extermination by the ravages of tuberculosis, whose nature is so peaceful that it is almost impossible to associate with them the idea of a war-like action, and whose chief fame arises from the fact that they are perhaps the most skilful of the primitive basket-makers of the world. We may have heard the last of this bizarre happening, but then again it may be merely pigeon-

holed in a convenient recess of the Nipponese chancellery, ready for production at some future period when its awkward features may be less easily smoothed over with the explanation that the Japanese involved deserve no intervention by their national representatives because they were merely the employés of renegade American citizens or conscienceless Canadian outlaws, reprehensibly engaged in an illegal traffic. And, whatever the outcome, it should be steadily borne in mind that the central government at Washington cannot shield itself from direct responsibility for this transaction behind the facile if not satisfying excuse which it is already apparent will probably be raised in the matter of the San Francisco incident now engrossing the diplomatic attention of the two nations—namely, that the occurrence is an outgrowth of the municipal law of a State, with which, under the complex division of power peculiar to our governmental frame, the Federal administration is without jurisdiction to interfere.

Coming now directly to the matter just alluded to,—the segregation from the white children of all Japanese pupils in the public-schools of San Francisco,—for it appears that there has been no exclusion in the sense of an actual refusal of school privileges to Japanese in any way entitled thereto, but merely rather an administrative reconcentration of all Mongolian pupils in schools by themselves—it must at least be pronounced extremely unfortunate. Palliated as it probably may be by extraordinary pressure of abnormal conditions growing out of the awful cataclysm which but a few months ago overwhelmed the metropolis of the Golden Gate, and whether or no it involves any conflict of law or jurisdiction as between the State and national authorities, it is deeply regrettable, if for no other reason than because of the cult of child-love which so charmingly marks the Japanese attitude toward the young. To shock this admirable trait of their national character by any act

designed to offend would be scarcely less than an international crime; and to do so through inadvertence, misconception or crass stupidity would be to invoke unnecessarily consequences of gravity.

It is, however, tolerably clear that there is as yet no violation of treaty rights involved, in the sense that the action of the San Francisco school-board (acting as that body has unquestionably done, under a State law which is probably perfectly valid as a domestic police regulation) traverses any guarantee of educational advantages or privileges contained in the treaty of 1894 or in any other convention or treaty with Japan. Neither that instrument nor, so far as my acquaintance with international law is concerned, any other treaty between our own and any other government or between civilized nations at large contains such a provision. It is of course only as a matter of comity that the educational institutions of any country are thrown open to the citizens of another nation. On the other hand, many nations by express legislation refuse or limit educational facilities to aliens. Were this the only aspect of the case, little importance might be apprehended to result from it. But there is another view of the matter which may well call for serious contemplation. And this phase is one peculiar to ourselves, springing out of our own enactments, and not readily to be overcome without disregard of our organic law—the supreme law of the land—our Federal Constitution, as amended, primarily, in the interest of the freedmen of African birth or descent. And, curiously enough, it is in a certain sense of greater importance as affecting our possible future domestic relationships toward the debarred pupils (if such there prove to be) than as touching our diplomatic intercourse with Japan.

For it must not be forgotten that of the children (and I here speak of actual children, not of adolescent minors, practically adults) thus attempted to be excluded from, or discriminated against in,

attendance upon the public-schools of San Francisco, it is probable that many, practically certain that some, and within the bounds of possibility that all, may at some future day claim the privilege of citizenship of the United States and of the State of California or of some other State by virtue of birth upon our soil. For, out of the opposition to Chinese immigration and the sequential objection to granting to Chinese or other Mongolians citizenship under the Republic, there came at least one righteous and commendable decision* construing the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, by virtue whereof it has been authoritatively settled that a Chinese child, born in the United States, though of alien parentage, who continues to reside herein, or who, after a temporary sojourn in China, returns to this country prior to the attainment of his legal majority, and is not employed in any diplomatic or official capacity under the Chinese government, is a citizen of the United States. This holding is in line with numerous other decisions† involving the claim to domestic citizenship of children born in this country of alien parents of various nationalities and may now be considered settled law, only to be changed by an amendment of the Constitution. It cannot therefore be doubted that it applies with full force to children of Japanese parentage similarly situated.

It is of course familiar knowledge that, in its broadest aspect, citizenship under our government divides itself into two classes—original, or that of native or “natural-born” citizens, and acquired or derivative, or that of naturalized citizens or those who by reason of foreign birth are originally and naturally subjects of other powers, allegiance to which they foreswear to gain a status as members of our body politic. For the purposes of our present discussion, the ac-

**Re Look Tin Sing*, 21 *Federal Reporter*, 905.

†*Ehrlich vs. Weber* (Tennessee), 88 *Southwestern Reporter*, 188. *Sing Tuck vs. United States*, 128 *Federal Reporter*, 592.

quisition of citizenship by marriage, by accession as the result of conquest, or by the adoptive force of treaties of cession need not be considered.

Now it is a singular and to most persons a strangely unfamiliar fact that the government of the United States existed, for more than ninety years from the date of the declaration of its independence and for practically eighty years from the framing of the original of its present Constitution, as a government of the "people of the United States," under successive organic laws (the Articles of Confederation in the first instance and the Constitution subsequently) neither of which contained a hint of the definition of the term, "citizenship of the United States." This is the more remarkable, perhaps, in the case of the latter instrument, for at least two reasons; first, because of its conferment* upon the general government of the power, now universally conceded to be exclusive in the Congress (though previously exercised solely by the individual States under widely variant, confusing and inconsistent systems of administration), of regulating the naturalization of aliens,—an obstruction of the laws governing which subject, as preventing the population of the colonies, then first called states, had been laid by the Declaration of Independence as a leading grievance against the King of England; and, secondly, because of its pronouncement that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States,†—a very lucid enunciation, wholly free from the ambiguities and inconsistencies of the declaration upon the same subject included in the Articles of Confederation,‡ but still incomplete, as calling for a definition of the term, citizenship.

Prior, then, to the adoption of the four-

*Constitution of the United States, Article I., Section 8, Clause 3.

†Constitution of the United States, Article IV., Section 2, Clause 1.

‡Confederation, Article IV.

§Elk vs. Wilkins, 112 U. S., 94.

teenth amendment, which became effective on the twenty-eighth day of July, 1868, there existed no constitutional definition of the term, "citizen of the United States," although the courts both before and after that date supplied us with several not wholly accordant attempts to declare its meaning. Of the inconsistency and injustice of some of these judicial efforts, notably of those rendered subsequently to the adoption of the amendment in question, denying the right of citizenship to native American Indians like John Elk§ who had wholly separated themselves from the people of their own race, abandoned their tribal relationships and adopted the manner of living of the whites among whom they had taken up residence, it is unnecessary here to speak, especially as the conclusions of the courts in the cases of such native Indians were promptly corrected by Congressional enactments|| declaring their status to be that of American citizens.

There seems therefore now to be no room for misunderstanding as to the meaning of the elementary propositions, that a natural born citizen is one who is born in the United States,¶ and that the child, born abroad, of an American citizen, is a citizen of the United States,** although as an eminent legal writer†† has, with characteristic discrimination, remarked, the latter observation should properly be supplemented by the statement that, in order fully to preserve his citizenship, the infant born abroad, whose father was, at the time of such birth, a citizen, must either have returned and taken up his residence within the United States during his minority, or he should return within a reasonable time after his majority and declare his allegiance and claim his citizenship, by assuming the duties and performing the acts of a citizen.

||Act of February 8, 1887, 24 Statutes at Large, 388.

¶Lynch vs. Clark, 4 Sandf. Ch., 584.

**Oldtown vs. Bangor, 58 Maine, 353.

††Snyder on Mines, p. 209, § 243.

Although the doctrine of the domestic citizenship of the foreign-born child of an American citizen is upheld by an express Congressional enactment,* it needs no such support, for it is a rule of the law of nations of practically universal acceptance. (Except through the exercise of comity, it is self-evident that this act of Congress could have no extra-territorial force.) Children born in this country of alien parents would therefore, under the operation of the general rule, be impressed with the citizenship of their parents but for the exception in their case locally created by the language of the fourteenth amendment. Exceptional and anomalous as the situation thus established may be, there is no possible escape for our government from its assertion and support, for it is based upon the sanction of the supreme law of the land.

If my reasoning thus far is consistent, it would seem to follow that we have a duty toward the children of aliens, whether of the Chinese, Japanese or any other race or division of mankind, dwelling among us, capable of sharp differentiation from that owed by any other civilized nation to the resident offspring of alien parents,—and one of immeasurably broader scope,—a duty flowing, not out of treaty stipulations, not out of comity, not out of any conceivable aspect or attribute of the law of nations, but out of our fundamental organic law, to any denial, abridgment or attempted traverse of which duty our own Constitution interposes an effective bar.

And purely selfish considerations, if none other, looking to the future usefulness to our body politic of these possible candidates for citizenship, should prompt us to accord to them a fuller measure of regard in the arrangement of any educational scheme affecting them than would otherwise be the case.

It is therefore a matter of weighty concern how far our lawful and proper sense

of national duty in the premises is to be overborne either by undue deference to outspoken demagogic appeals to prejudice or by the insidious and far more dangerous influence of the deep-seated spirit of ethnic antagonism which though well-nigh universal among our own people is frequently so subconsciously possessed as to fail of being recognized even by those so unfortunate as to be swayed by it. Here is the great danger-point; and upon this consideration I do not hesitate to predicate the belief that, if not efficaciously checked by an aroused and informed public consciousness of civic duty, we shall, through this mistaken feeling, become inextricably involved in serious difficulties with our Oriental neighbors upon whom we as a nation insisted upon forcing the benefits of public and private intercourse with "Western civilization."

It will not do to forget that Japanese labor is an important factor in many industries of the Pacific slope, constituting probably a major proportion of that engaged, for instance in such vast industrial enterprises as the fruit-packing and handling business of California and the salmon catching and canning business of Alaska and the Puget Sound region,—or that Japanese capital is to a great and growing extent embarked in the promotion of domestic business undertakings of no insignificant moment. Armed conflict with Japan would almost certainly cost us the Philippines and probably Hawaii—the question of the relative loss or gain thereby being properly a matter of individual opinion, though there could be no division of sentiment upon the point of the crushing blow to our prestige and our national pride.

Most earnestly is it to be hoped, however, that candor and equity rather than Chauvinism and bigotry will be invoked by our national authorities in their dealings with the acute and far-sighted diplomacy of Japan upon the subject; for, of all the nations of the earth with whom we entertain relations, the empire of the

*Act of February 10, 1855, 10 *Statutes at Large*, 604.

Mikado is the one with which we shall be least likely to succeed by lack of frankness and fair dealing. The authorities at Tokio can be neither bluffed, bullied nor cajoled in the premises; and several important misconceptions of the American people as to the real position of our nation as a "world-power" are likely to be somewhat rudely dissipated, if obstinacy of opinion or blundering commit us to a false attitude regarding our rights and duties.

On the other hand, skilful handling of the propositions involved may result in a signal triumph of that true diplomacy which inheres in the practice of the Golden Rule, by securing a radical and honest readjustment of our present unfair and unreasonable attitude toward all types of Mongolians, the fit and qualified of whom we should welcome to our business intercourse not only, but to our

citizenship as freely as we do members of the African and Caucasian races.

Can any enlightened American advance a reason of substantial seriousness why the gate of citizenship of the United States should remain, as it is now, open only to men of the Caucasian race, negroes of African birth or descent, Indians who have severed their tribal relationships, Kanakas who have come in by annexation (in the face of a judicial determination that a native Hawaiian could not become a naturalized citizen of the United States), and native-born children of aliens?

Would not moral and educational standards of fitness constitute better criteria for the regulation of this matter than the mere accident of birth or racial origin?

C. VEY HOLMAN.

Bangor, Maine.

MUNICIPAL ART IN AMERICAN CITIES.

I. SPRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS.

BY GEORGE WHARTON JAMES

Author of "In and Out of the Old Missions of California," etc., etc.

IT IS A gratifying thing to note a whole city, its mayor, municipal officers, leading tax-payers, mercantile associations, bankers and newspapers unanimous in working for some desired municipal good. This is the happy spectacle presented to-day by Springfield, Massachusetts, in relation to certain contemplated civic improvements, and, therefore, we deem it peculiarly fitted for a place in The Municipal Art Series.

By the side of a beautiful river, of diversified scenery, in the heart of a fertile country, prosperous within and around its borders, blessed with a population many of whom are generous, philanthropic and public-spirited, gifted with men of brains and large plans in its de-

velopment, Springfield has already determined some matters pertaining to its future. Its leading men have wisely looked ahead, they have studied comprehensively, and laid plans broadly for the betterment of what, without them, would have been nothing but an ordinary, commonplace, everyday-going New England town.

Without entering into too many specific details as to what Springfield has already done to enlarge, conserve and enhance her civic charms, let it be broadly stated that the town is fairly well laid out; it has a generous sprinkling of good public and private buildings; it has provided for its poor, unfortunate and sick in a generous and handsome manner; its

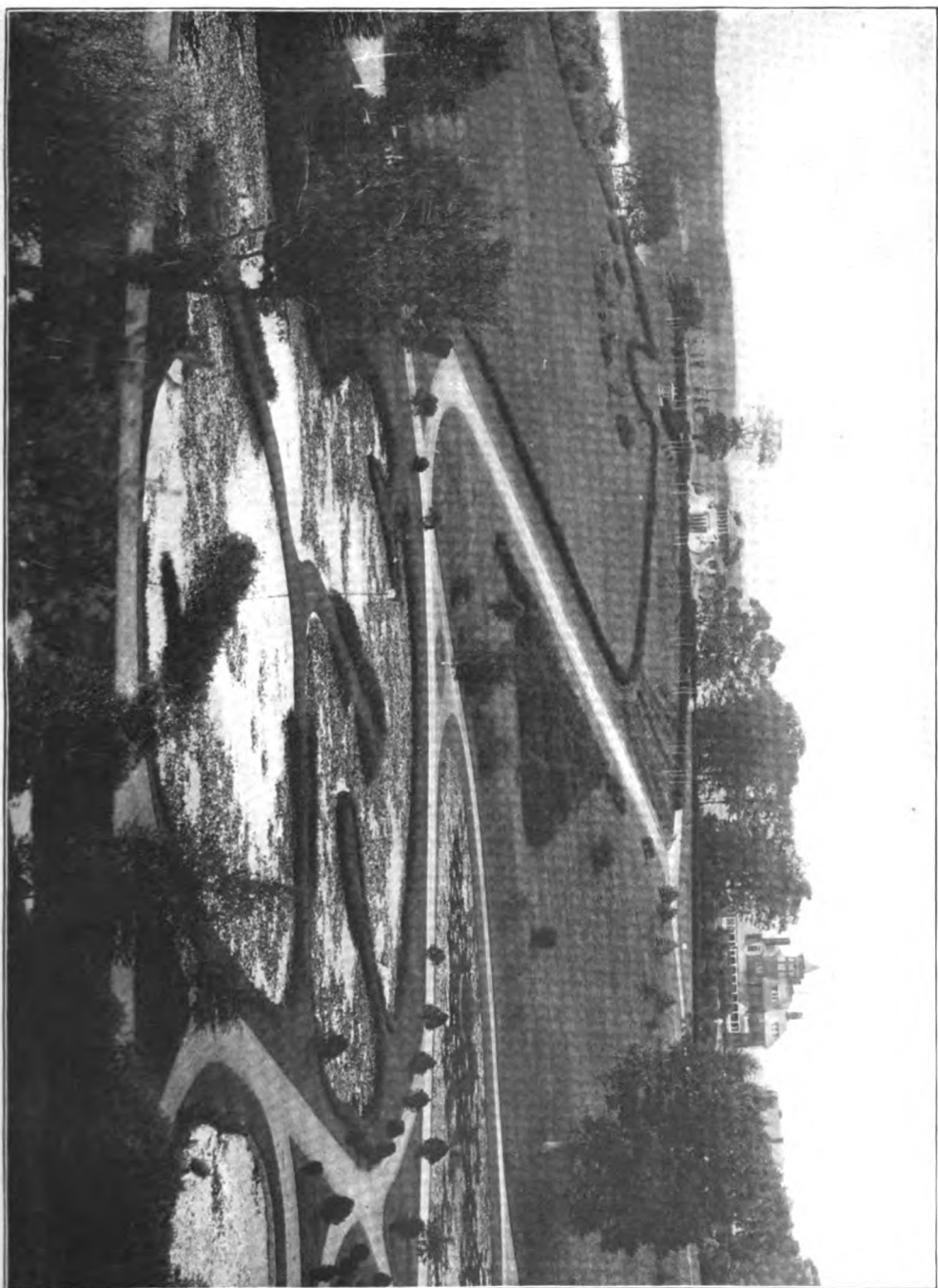


Photo. by Copeland, Springfield, Mass.

THE BARNEY ENTRANCE TO FOREST PARK, SPRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS

THE ARCADE



ART MUSEUM, CITY LIBRARY ASSOCIATION, SPRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS.



Photo. by Bosworth & Murphy, Springfield, Mass.

SCIENCE MUSEUM, SPRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS.



Photo, by Copeland, Springfield, Mass.

POLICE BUILDING, NEAR OLD CITY-HALL SITE, SPRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS.

residence sections are gratifying in their quiet and picturesque beauty; and a kind, over-ruling Providence recently removed from the heart of the town, by fire, a City Hall that few loved enough to mourn.

Springfield is fortunate in the possession of forty parks or parklets, scattered throughout the city. Some of these are mere triangles, fountain locations or street cut-offs, while six are about or over three acres in extent. Its one large park (Forest Park) is a fine memorial of public spirit. It is a joint contribution of twenty-five personal gifts of land and the purchase by the city of five other pieces. The first acquisition was by gift in 1884 when Orick H. Greenleaf donated sixty-five acres as the nucleus for a public park. The largest donor is ~~the~~ Everett H. Barney, who has added ~~104~~ acres to the lot, so that now the thirty different parcels given or purchased amount to 464 acres. Mr. Barney has gone to considerable expense in the making of his parcel a fine entrance to the

main body beyond. He has planted out vast numbers of trees which are growing rapidly; built a picturesque series of steps for the flowing of a stream which feeds the thirteen lily ponds, planted out thousands of exquisitely beautiful lilies and lotuses in these ponds, and in addition, erected an enduring and imposing outlook on Peconsic Hill, near the entrance, which affords a commanding view of the beautiful Connecticut River Valley for many miles. The chief charm about the main body of the park is that the stream, forest and open are left for many acres in a purely virgin condition. Here one may find the pussy willows, the cat-tails, and the water-cress just as in the wilds; the forest is untouched except to clear away some of the dead timber, and where drives have been necessary through it, they have been laid out with an artistic eye and considerable engineering skill. Much of this work was done, *con amore* and without pay by John Olmsted, a Springfield engineer of remarkable taste. There are upwards

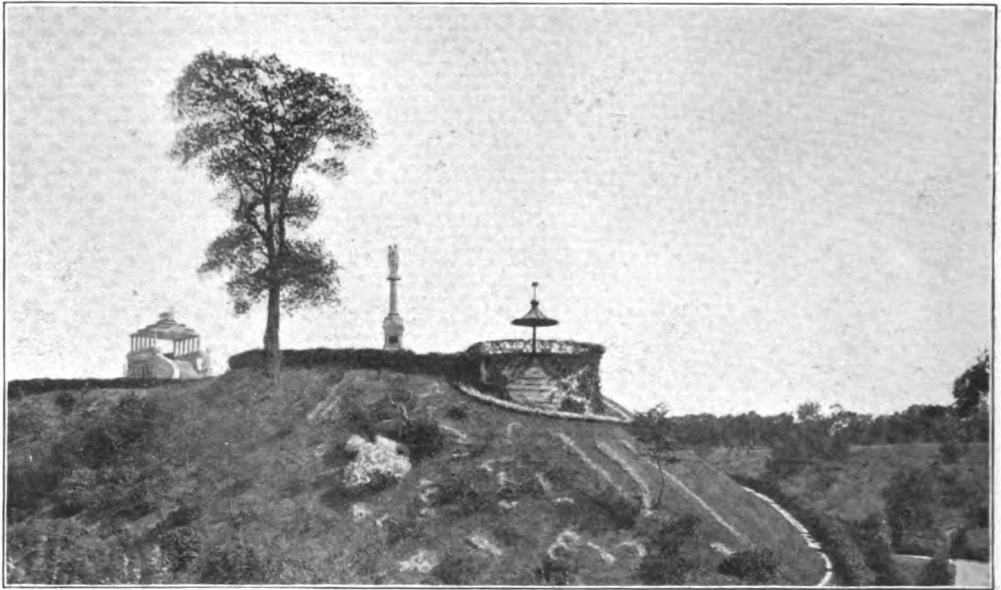


Photo. by Copeland, Springfield, Mass.

ENTRANCE TO FOREST PARK.

of six hundred listed different species of plants, flowers, and vines for the botanist to study, and over two hundred known species of birds that frequent the park. In addition, friends have contributed zoölogical specimens, including a large quantity of native wild geese, ducks, etc. A fine playground containing 850,000 square feet of level land is set apart for baseball and other outdoor games. The Peconsic brook which flows through the westerly end of the park, adding so much of life and charm to the scene, has a clay bed and in flood time this washes away and the banks cave in. To prevent this a proper channel of stones has been constructed, and rare specimens of evergreen trees and shrubs have been set out along its banks thus adding to their retaining power and the attractiveness of the stream.

Of the other thirty-nine parklets scattered throughout the city little need be said but that they have all been made contributory to the adornment and healthfulness of their respective neighborhoods.

Springfield has a Library Association

composed of public-spirited men. They have already erected a fine science building and one even better appointed for an art museum. The old library building is much too small for present purposes and Andrew Carnegie has donated \$150,000 for a new building. As far as known this is the only civic gift for a library made by Mr. Carnegie without conditions, his explanation of the omission being that Springfield had so perfectly demonstrated its public spirit in all such undertakings that he felt it better to unhamper such a city, than to make the conditions he ordinarily found useful. When it is remembered that in the Art Museum is the collection of Mr. George Walter Vincent Smith, which in many works of art is useful and priceless, and that James P. Gray recently left a bequest of \$650,000 for the purchase of pictures for a City Art Gallery, and Edward M. Walker left bequests of \$500,000 for parks, hospitals and science, and that Springfield has had many citizens who have made similar gifts, it can be seen that Mr. Carnegie's apparent indifference rested

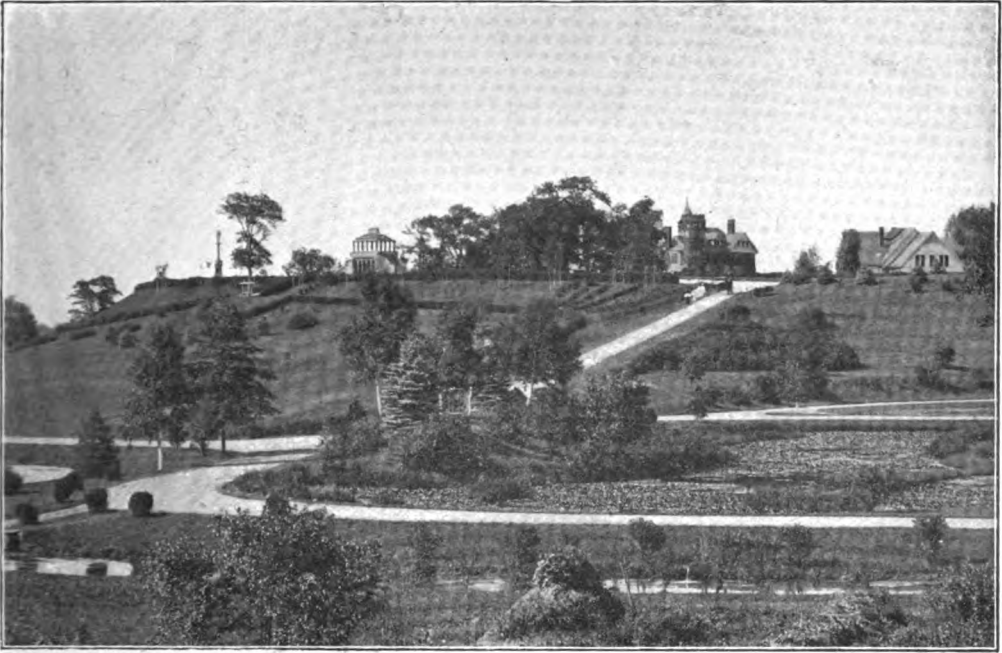


Photo. by Copeland, Springfield, Mass.

FOREST PARK, SHOWING LILY PONDS, MR. BARNEY'S HOUSE AND MAUSOLEUM, SPRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS.

upon a far different basis. I merely refer to this not so much as a matter of importance in itself as indicative of the way a city's acts are known to, and understood by, the thoughtful on the outside.

In spite of all that has been done for the civic betterment of Springfield, however, several very bad conditions still face her citizenship. She has practically not a foot of river-front. I use the word practically. Technically she does own a few feet, but they are hemmed in by railroad sheds and the only approach is through a "hole in the ground" cut to allow passage under railway tracks. Hence the river is neither attractive in itself or in its approaches, and so long as the railroad remains it is impossible that it be made so. All along the main part of this beautiful river-front are the tracks of the New York, New Haven and Hartford railway, the portion closest to the heart of the city being occupied by freight-

sheds, lines of parallel track, and all the teaming consequent upon such business.

If this occupancy of a part of the city by freight business, which is always a public nuisance, completed the freight problem it might be endured, but it is not. Two other lines have freight terminals in the city, fortunately close together, so that practically two sections are destroyed as choice portions by this necessary but obnoxious business. In addition to this, the present arrangement of tracks and station are such that while the three separate branches of the New York, New Haven and Hartford railway all enter Springfield, they all have separate terminals and can in no way communicate directly with each other without the permission of the Boston and Albany railway, over whose tracks all three branches alone are permitted to enter the station. This station belongs to the Boston and Albany (which, as all know, is a portion of the New York Cen-

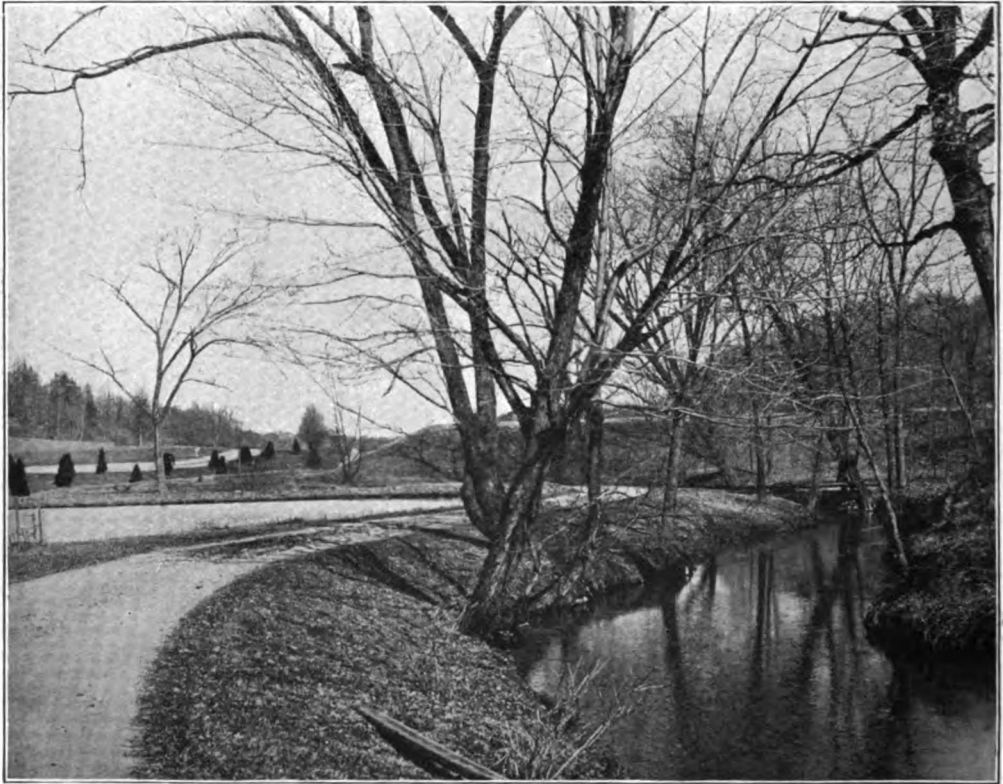


Photo. by Copeland, Springfield, Mass.

IN FOREST PARK, SPRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS.

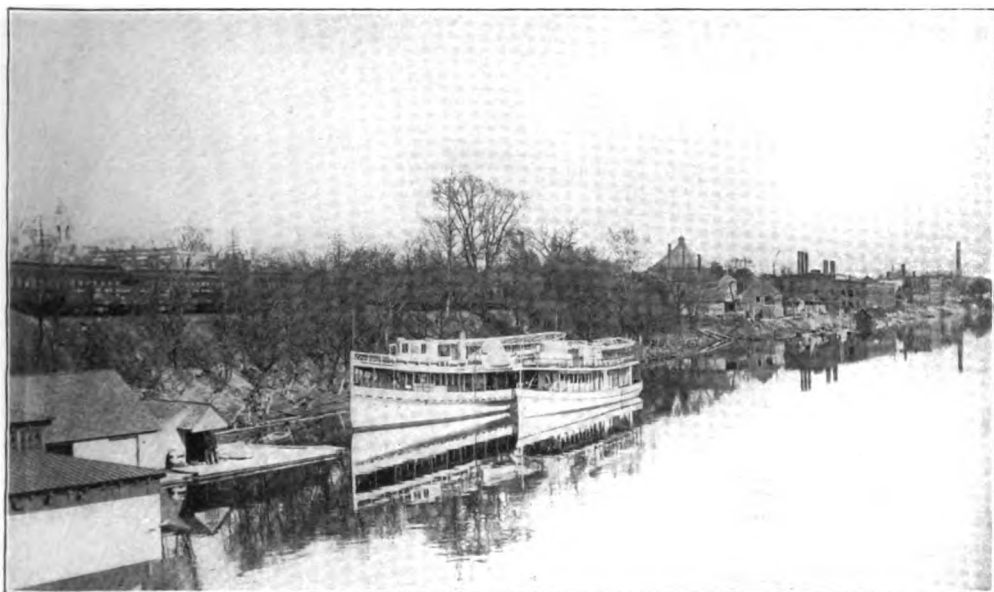
tral system) and the Boston and Maine. According to present plans it is conducted upon both an extravagant and dangerous system. The Boston and Albany has its ticket-offices, baggage-rooms, express-rooms, refreshment and waiting-rooms, corps of attendants, etc., on one side, and the Boston and Maine a duplicate set on the other side. A number of tracks lie side by side, and passengers, even the most observant and careful, going to one track, are in danger of being run over by trains coming in opposite directions on the tracks they are crossing. It has been a marvel that the keen-brained New Englanders have submitted to what in every western city of fair size, popular clamor would long ago have denounced and had changed, if need be by legislative enactment, as dangerous to human

life and therefore impossible to be maintained.

For over twenty years a few public-spirited "dreamers" (as they are called) have constantly kept before them the hope that some day they might be able to control some portion of the river-front, and make thereof a public park. A grassy park with a sufficiency of fine ornamental shade-trees by the side of a picturesque flowing stream always has peculiar attractiveness to all classes of minds. It gives an expansive view, and an openness, so pleasingly different from the closed-in streets of a city; it is good for driving, for automobiling, for bicycling, for horseback riding and especially for walking for all classes of the people. All alike enjoy it, each in his own peculiar way.

When these few men gave expression to their hope that some day the city of Springfield would own the river-front, the ordinary "business man" laughed at them, generally openly and fearlessly, for it seemed to them so impracticable, so impossible, so visionary. They were sometimes openly denounced as silly dreamers, as fanciful agitators of an impossible scheme for some ulterior object, and few were they who could see far

the roundabout way of Hartford, would be intolerable for her, yet such was their apparently unchangeable conditions. So she has had patiently to await developments ere she could move to obtain these essentials to the easy and economical conduct of her own business. The dreamers of Springfield, too, have had their eyes alert for openings for the carrying out of their long-cherished plans. Here is the story as to how fate has brought



THE RIVER-FRONT, FROM THE OLD TOLL-BRIDGE, SPRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS.

enough ahead to realize that possibly it was both feasible and practical.

There is a time in the affairs of cities and men when the visions of the seers come true if only the people are wise enough to seize their advantages. This time has now come to Springfield. It can well be conceived that the hemmed-in conditions of the New York, New Haven and Hartford railway, with no connection for her three separate systems converging in the city, no passenger-station rights, and no way of having direct communication between one portion of her system and another save by

them to the stage of ripeness that it needs only a few more steps and they will be consummated.

Before entering into full explanation, however, it will be well for the reader to look carefully at the map marked *Fig. 1* and fully understand the present situation of affairs. At the point marked *A* the New York, New Haven and Hartford railway main-line from New York comes into the city. It runs along the east bank of the Connecticut river until it comes to the Boston and Albany tracks, when it makes an acute angle and thus enters the Union station. Just before

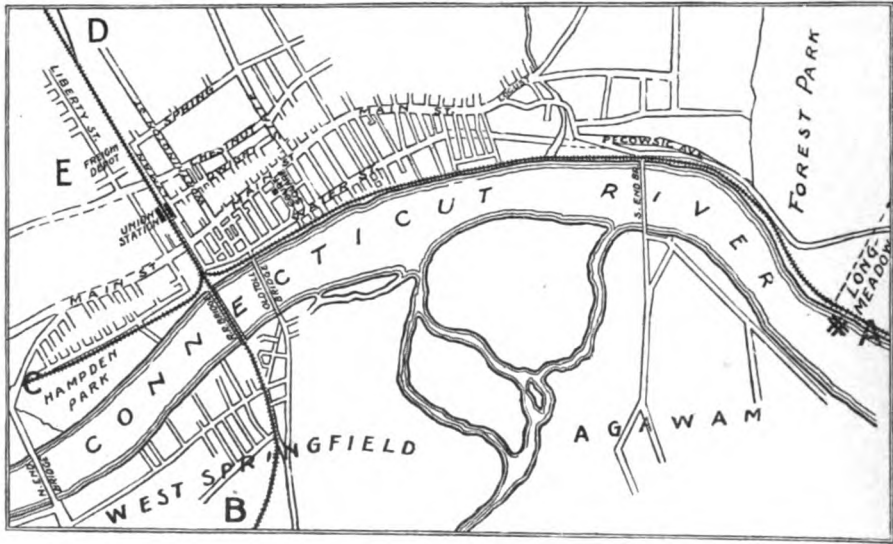


FIGURE No. 1.

the curve, however, on Water street, its freight tracks and shed are located, and in the pocket there, with the river on one side and the business heart of the city on the other all its ever-increasing freight business is crowded. Already it is impossible for it to do promptly anything like the business the growing city demands, yet it cannot expand or enlarge its facilities for there is no possible opening in its present condition. The main-line of the Boston and Albany enters from the west at *B*, and near the point thus marked the Tariffville branch of the New York, New Haven and Hartford railway by courtesy is allowed entrance to the city on the Boston and Albany tracks. At *C* the Boston and Maine enters on its own tracks to the north side of the station, where, as already shown, it keeps up a duplicate set of offices and officers corresponding with those of the Boston and Albany, on the south side. At *D* the Boston and Albany has its entrance to the city from the east and the narrow *V* marked by the tracks there shows the contact of the Highland division of the New York, New Haven and Hartford railway. At *E* is the freight-depot of the Boston and Albany railway,

and about opposite that, between Lyman and Worthington streets is the freight-house of the New Haven Highland division. The Union station is situated on Dwight street, so that it blocks that street north and south. The only way to reach the Boston and Maine side of the station with carriages is around either by Chestnut or Main streets. This is both a nuisance and a waste of time, an intolerable condition that none but good-natured conservatism would have long permitted. The tracks and approach to the station also block the continuation of Water street, going north, thus adding further complication to the already complicated problem of easy communication between all parts of a rapidly growing city.

From the map it will be seen that a little below the railway bridge is the old Toll Bridge. This connects Springfield with West Springfield, and is the only bridge leading directly from the heart of that business section. The other two bridges are fine structures, one at the north and the other at the south end of the town.

For some time it has been definitely determined that a new and modern

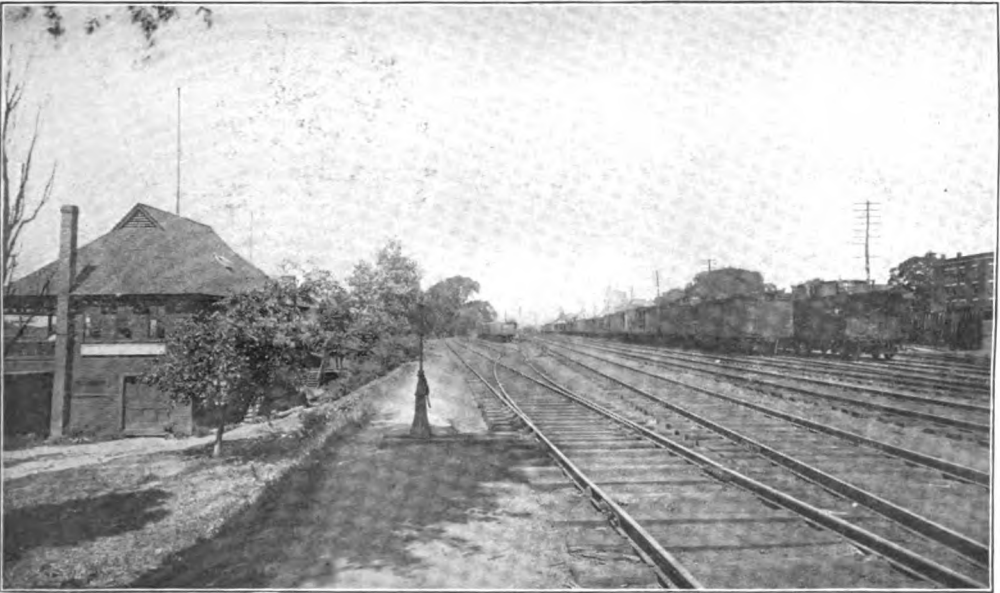


Photo. by Copeland, Springfield, Mass.

NEW YORK, NEW HAVEN & HARTFORD FREIGHT-YARDS AND TRACKS ON RIVER-FRONT, SPRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS, WHICH IT IS HOPED WILL SOON BE ABOLISHED.]

bridge should be erected in place of the old Toll Bridge. The present approach to this bridge is shown in the accompanying illustration. As it will be observed the almost immediate contact with the bridge is under the tracks of the New Haven road, where passenger traffic and constant switching of freight cars keeps up a never-ceasing racket overhead, both day and night. As this "underpass" is slightly below highwater level there are times when it is muddy and filthy and there seems no way of permanently improving it. In 1902 Mayor Ralph W. Ellis appointed a commission of three to consider the problem of building a new bridge to take the place of the old Toll Bridge. For two years this board of experts grappled with the problem. They saw what they had to contend with. One of the greatest of their difficulties was to determine upon a site for the bridge. The actual crossing of the river was a question of small importance compared with the matter of the approach from the Springfield side.

Hartford has just spent \$500,000 for the east approach to its new granite bridge, while the Hartford approach, which cuts through a whole large block, cost \$700,000. New York has spent fabulous sums to provide for approaches to its bridges, and whatever plan Springfield followed the expense of the approach would equal or possibly surpass the cost of the bridge itself. For, it was deemed at the outset practically impossible to think of going under the railway tracks; hence an overhead approach must be provided for.

Of the different approaches suggested one only need be mentioned here, as involving a question of more than local interest. Referring again to the map, a few blocks south of the Toll Bridge will be noted "Court Square." In 1902 nine hundred and fifty citizens of Springfield contributed over \$100,000 for the purpose of purchasing all the land and buildings thereon included in the blocks from Main street to the river front, on one side of which was the City Hall

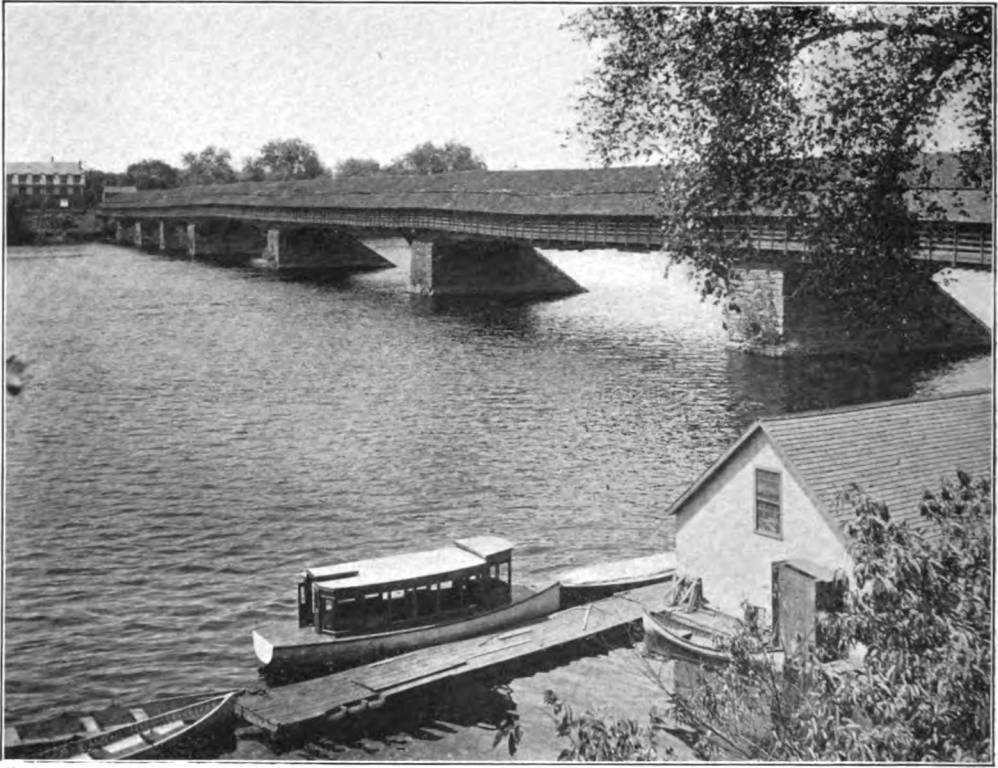


Photo. by Copeland, Springfield, Mass.

OLD TOLL-BRIDGE OVER CONNECTICUT RIVER, SPRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS.

(since destroyed by fire). The property was condemned and duly purchased, and the park commissioners are now awaiting the termination of certain contracts ere they began the tearing down of all the encumbering buildings. One hotel man well-known throughout the United States, Tilly Haynes, gave \$10,000 towards this project for the beautifying of his native city. It was this generous gift that really started the project.

In considering the approach for the new bridge there were many who advocated the use of this Court Square extension. Their plea was that it now already belonged to the city and, therefore, if used, would save further expense. But here comes the larger question involved. The nine hundred and fifty citizens who contributed the fund that

enabled the city to purchase the Court Square extension gave their money for an express purpose. That purpose made an implied agreement when the city accepted their money, or the properties purchased by them, to use the purchase as a public park. It is as imperative that a city keep faith as that an individual does. While a city is composed of its citizens, and, in the case, only nine hundred and fifty of its citizens contributed for the purchasing of the Court Square extension, the majority of citizens having accepted, through their duly elected officers, the gifts of the nine hundred and fifty for a specific purpose could not alienate that gift without a direct violation of a moral obligation. There is no doubt that violation of good faith has often operated to deter people from making gifts to cities. It is true

Photo. by Copeland, Springfield, Mass.

CITY LIBRARY, SPRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS.

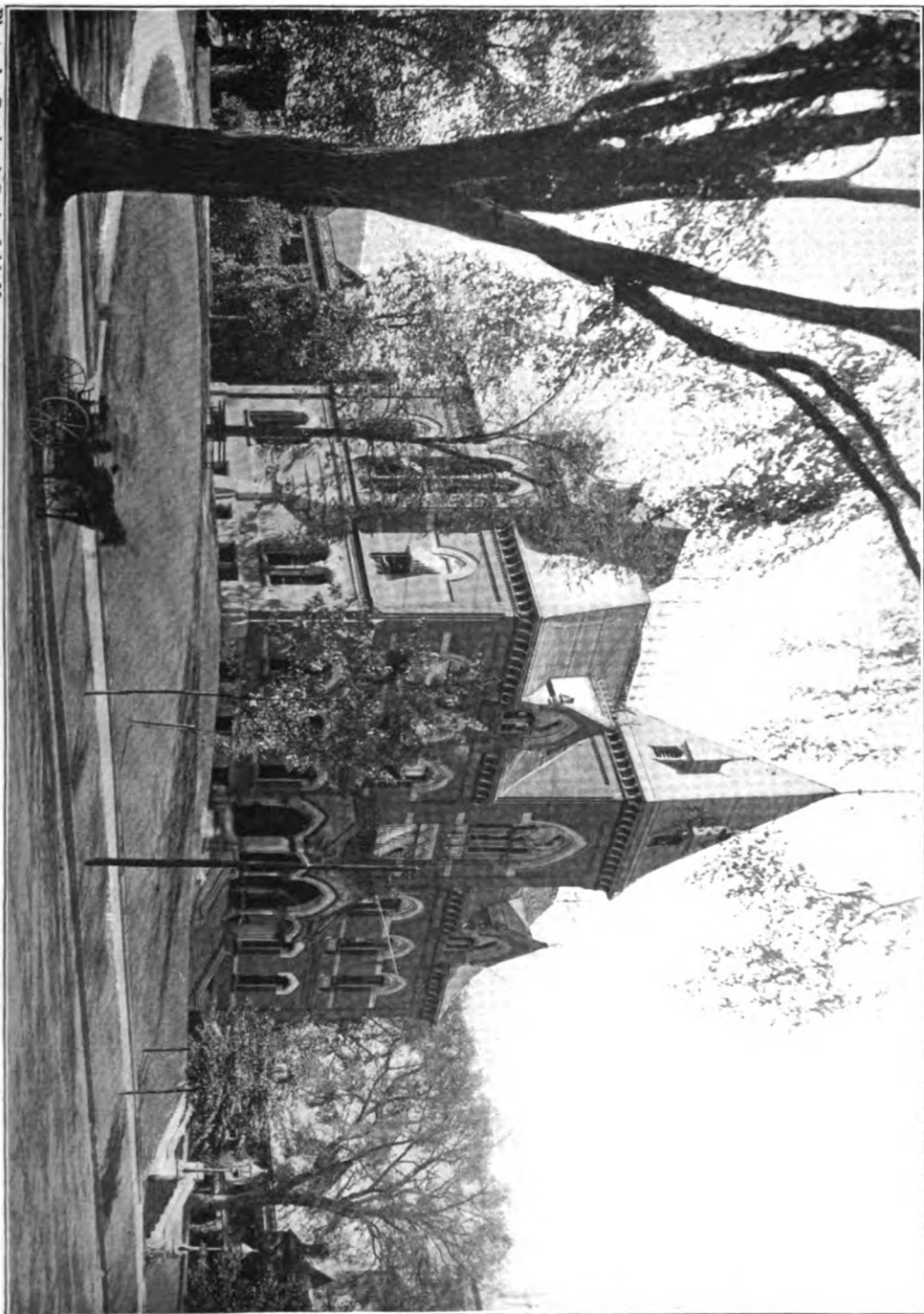




Photo. by Copeland, Springfield, Mass.

A BEAUTIFUL OLD-STYLE HOUSE, NOW IN THE WATER-STREET SLUM-DISTRICT, OWING TO THE CLOSE PROXIMITY OF RAILWAY AND FREIGHT-SHEDS, SPRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS.

that the "kinks of donors" should not always be allowed to influence in the acceptance of their gifts, yet it is equally true, that when gifts are made for a specific and confessedly beneficial civic purpose, the moral obligation implied in the acceptance of the gift should be rigidly complied with. This spirit influenced the bridge committee of Springfield. Though they discussed the feasibility of the project in their report, they insisted upon the moral obligation of the city being observed to preserve the Court Square extension as a public park. In the discussion of their plans it was found necessary to consult the president of the New York, New Haven and Hartford railway as to the conditions upon which a bridge approach over their railway tracks could be built. It was in one of these conferences that the wisdom of the

city's "dreamers" was made manifest. Railroad presidents are generally not visionary. Practical results in the shape of material benefits are the things that most appeal to them, yet they necessarily see plans on a larger and more comprehensive scale than most men. Remembering the needs of the New Haven railway, as to the union of its three branches, and owning of its own tracks through the city, as well as the enlargement of its freight facilities the president came to the conclusion that if he could pool issues with the city of Springfield the two combined could secure from the legislature, in spite of the opposition of the Boston and Albany, all that both needed. Consequently, President Mellen made the remark as a feeler, that if the people of Springfield really had any practical idea as to their possessing the river-front and



Photo, by Copeland, Springfield, Mass.

CORNER OF ELM AND WATER STREETS. SHOWING LAND CLEARED OF BUILDINGS FOR THE COURT-SQUARE EXTENSION. PRESENT APPROACH TO RIVER-FRONT UNDER RAILWAY SHOWN ON THE LEFT.

making a city park of it, why would it not be a good thing for the city to join hands with the New Haven railway, purchase its right of way, aid it to secure the long-needed concessions from the Boston and Albany, and it, the New Haven railway, would at once remove its tracks to the other side of the river, cross the Agawam meadows, unite with its Tariffville branch, join with the Boston and Albany in building a new bridge across the river for railway traffic, giving them full trackage, pay their share of the rebuilding of the Union Station, erect a new freight-depot on the site which is now the terminus of their Highland division and thus, at one and the same time, solve a lot of problems that had been vexing both the city and the railways for a number of years, and that it seemed could not be settled without the passage of many more years, much conflict, and the expenditure of many millions of dollars.

Upon being asked the approximate

cost of the change of tracks, President Mellen suggested that it might be in the neighborhood of three million dollars but that, if the city would pay one million or thereabouts his company would sustain the rest. Here was a problem for the careful consideration of the commission. They saw at once that with the tracks of the New Haven railway removed from the river-front over half the expense of their new bridge would be eliminated, and the vexed question of the Court Square extension settled without friction by its retention as a public park instead of a bridge approach. They saw the nuisance of the freight-sheds and tracks removed from Water street and located near the other freight-depots, thus concentrating in one part of the city this objectional feature. They saw the wonderful possibilities of the river-front with these tracks removed for two miles and a half; the building of an embankment, a beautiful driveway and promenade, with occasional wider places where

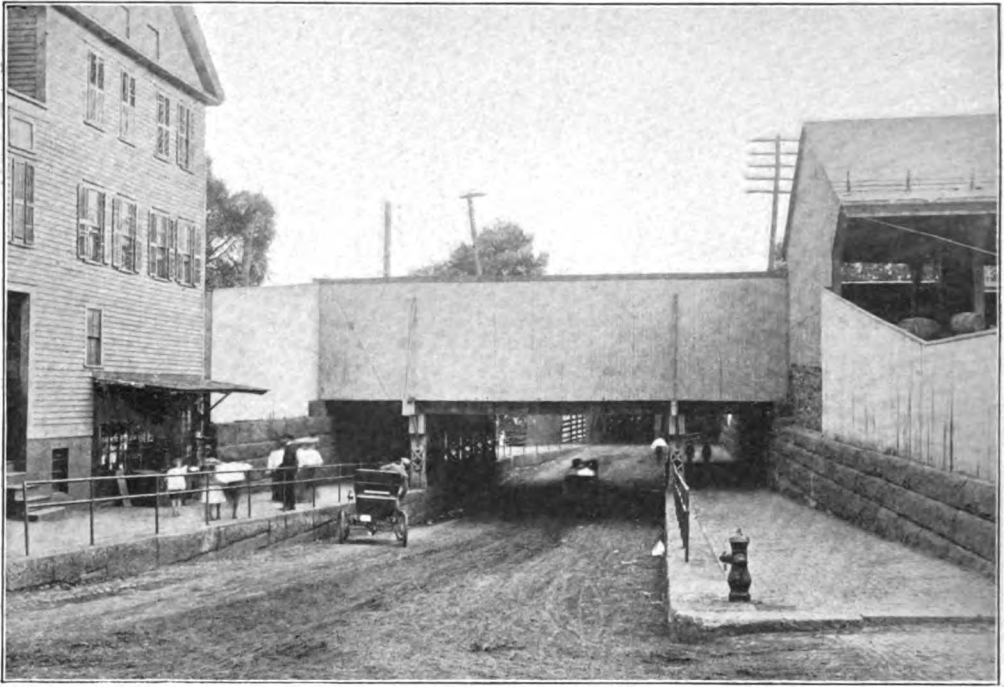


Photo. by Copeland, Springfield, Mass.

APPROACH TO OLD TOLL-BRIDGE, UNDER RAILWAY TRACKS, SPRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS.

small plots already owned by the city could be utilized as park additions. They saw Water street and Dwight street extended through, the dangerous features of the station are to be eliminated by building a new station on the street-level, and having stairways leading to the separate tracks, so that there would be no more crossing of tracks to go to, or come from, trains. Here was a vision indeed. But there were still many things in the way. The ideas of Vice-President Van Etten of the Boston and Albany road had to be secured, and his coöperation if possible. This did not seem so easy a task. But large men see large propositions in a large way, and the moment this was laid before him he realized that the union of the New Haven railway and the city in the project meant its certain success before the legislature. Why, then, fight a forceful conclusion. Far better acquiesce and have a full hand in shaping matters, so, as might have been

expected from a far-sighted man, he agreed to everything asked for or suggested, and even went further. He proposed the appointment of a joint commission, composed of three members, one from the city of Springfield, and one from each railway to definitely decide upon plans, so that instead of fighting out details in a legislative committee, the united forces of the three interests could go to the legislature and ask for what they had unitedly agreed upon. This was such a sensible proposition that it was accepted and that commission is now in force, composed of Mayor E. E. Stone, representing the Boston and Albany, F. S. Curtis, representing the New York, New Haven and Hartford, and Nathan D. Bill, representing the City of Springfield.

While the matter is not yet definitely settled it is supposed that before this article is printed the offer will have been made formally to the city by the New

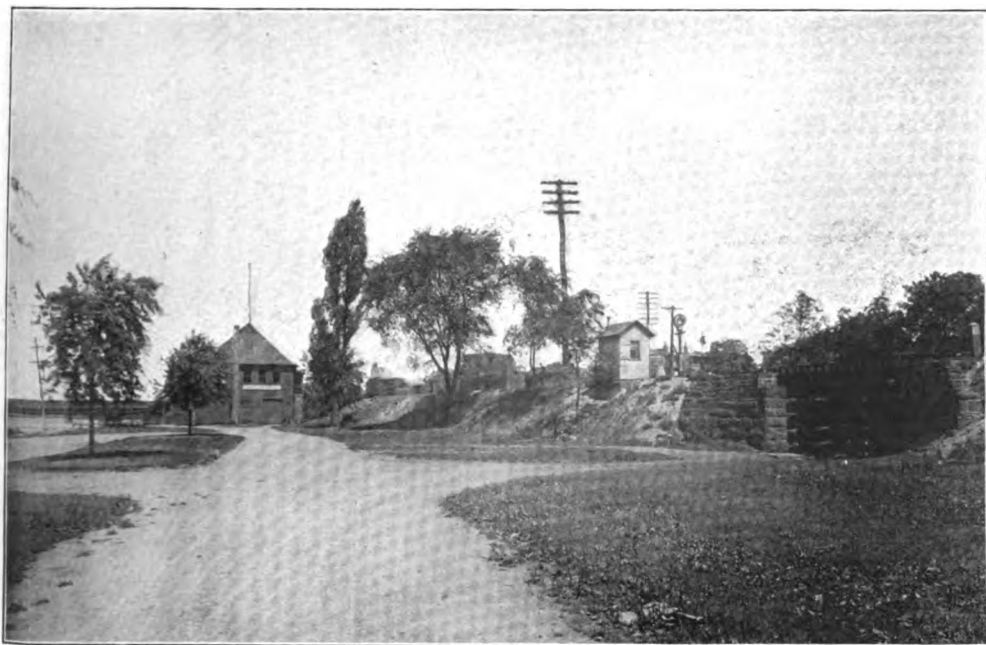


Photo. by Copeland, Springfield, Mass.

RIVER PARK AND BOAT-HOUSE, FOOT OF ELM STREET, PRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS.

Haven railway. Then it must be decided by the vote of the citizens. In presenting it to them the esthetic will enter but little into the argument. The reasoning will be somewhat as follows: The city intends to build a new bridge. If it must be over the tracks of the New Haven railway the necessary approaches will cost not less than \$350,000 additional to the cost of the bridge itself. If the city accepts the railway's offer, the \$350,000 will be saved, and may therefore be deducted from the purchase-price, one million dollars, of the two and one half miles of river-front. This leaves a net cost of \$650,000. In return for this the city receives property of an assessed valuation of \$427,000. But this does not include the land of the original trackage, two miles and one half long and varying from fifty to sixty-seven feet wide. This would bring the actual valuation fully up to \$750,000, for it is a well-known fact that property is always assessed at much less than its actual value.

One other difficulty that apparently stands in the way of the removal of the railway tracks should here be mentioned, as it is one that other cities may also have to face. There are three or four factories located on the side of the tracks, which daily use large quantities of coal. Without the railway they will practically be helpless. Under the present law of Massachusetts if the railway company voluntarily removed its tracks across the river, depriving these concerns of their freight facilities, the corporations could sue the railroad and recover damages. If the railroad, however, moves its tracks under a legislative act petitioned for by the city, the corporation will have no claim against the railroad. But in this, as in other questions, the higher morality of the act should be considered. The city would be acting unjustly to deprive these corporations of the facilities that determined their location without some adequate compensation. In Springfield, however, it is proposed to adopt a

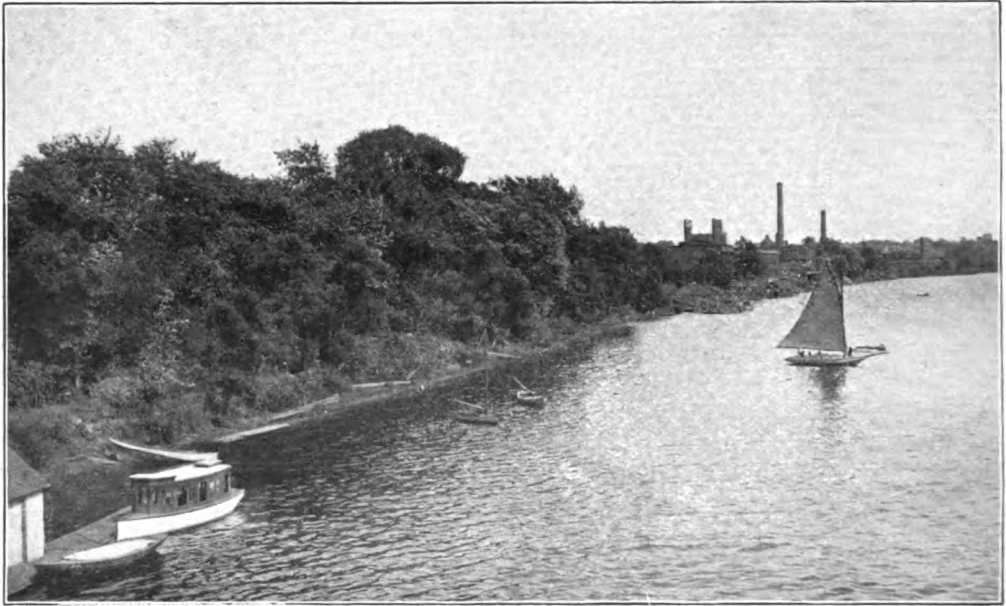


Photo. by Copeland, Springfield, Mass.

CONNECTICUT RIVER FROM OLD TOLL-BRIDGE, SPRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS.

plan which fully meets the requirements of the situation. The President of the New Haven road agrees to put in a switch for coal-cars, etc., and the street-railway will extend its tracks past the various plants, with sidings for each one. The city can then pass an ordinance giving the street-railway company the right to deliver coal or heavy freight over its tracks to the region thus affected for a certain term of years, until the natural law of expansion will practically render a removal of the plants necessary.

It is proposed to pay for these extensive improvements by the issuance of fifty and sixty-year city bonds at a low rate of interest, and the provision of a \$10,000 yearly sinking-fund which shall be applied at the proper time to the redemption of the bonds. Thus the present taxpayers will not over encumber their property and they will leave to the citizens of the future a share of the burden of paying for a benefit, the whole of which, during their lifetime, will accrue to them, as well as be a treasured good to be handed on to their successors.

We congratulate Springfield upon its opportunity and we trust that no untoward circumstances will interfere to prevent its complete fulfilment. It does not require much of a prophet to see the marvelous improvement that will come to the city when the tracks and freight-sheds shall be banished and the whole river-front for two miles and a half changed from a rough, uneven bank of cinders, mud, rubbish, and low, dingy buildings, to a parkway and boulevard, protected by a strongly-built stone or cement embankment, with lawns, dotted here and there with masses of shrubbery, flowers, or fountains, with, now and again, a shady pagoda and clusters of seats. A band-stand would be an addition, where, on summer evenings, the city band would discourse sweet and invigorating music to the delight of the citizens whose healthfulness, pleasure and comfort would be thus ministered to as they enjoyed the picturesque and beautiful river flowing at their feet.

GEORGE WHARTON JAMES.

Pasadena, Cal.

WILLIAM WHEELWRIGHT: THE YANKEE PIONEER OF MODERN INDUSTRY IN SOUTH AMERICA.

BY PROFESSOR FREDERIC M. NOA.

PART II.

OUR READERS will recall how, after six years of strenuous efforts, Mr. William Wheelwright at length succeeded in organizing The Pacific Steam Navigation Company, of London, and had two sister steamers, the "Chile" and the "Peru," built by Messrs. Charles Young and Company, of Limehouse, England. One can form no true conception of the excitement caused when these two vessels successfully passed through the Straits of Magellan, in October, 1840, and made their sudden apparition in the ports of Valparaiso, Chile, and Callao, Peru, except by reading the accounts of that transcendent event in the leading South American newspapers of that period.

On the 16th of October, these two steamers, the first transatlantic liners ever to traverse the waters of South America, arrived in the harbor of Valparaiso, and were welcomed with deafening salvos of artillery from all the Chilean warships and forts. The population turned out *en masse*. Four thousand people occupied every point of vantage on the heights overlooking the bay, in order to feast their eyes on what to them was an eighth wonder of the world. Military bands were playing music, while Wheelwright, from the deck of the "Chile," with his hat in his hand, was bowing his acknowledgments to the wildly cheering spectators.

With the arrival of the "Chile" and "Peru," the modern era of commerce and industry was inaugurated in South America. Compared with the mammoth palatial transatlantic vessels of the present day, those two little steamers, each of 700 tons, 150 horsepower, 180

feet long, 30 beam and 15 depth of hold, with cabin accommodation for 150 passengers and capable of receiving 300 tons merchandise, were modest indeed. Their advent, however, marked a peaceful, beneficent revolution of the most far-reaching consequences, and the master-genius which had brought them into active service was worthy of all the honors and tributes usually accorded only to great generals and admirals returning from a successful war.

An ovation as tremendous as that given him at Valparaiso, was extended to Wheelwright when the "Peru" steamed into the port of Callao, Peru. Besides the popular demonstration, the President of the Republic, accompanied by the entire diplomatic corps accredited to that country, went on board the vessel, where a sumptuous banquet was served in the *salon*, at which over one hundred persons sat. Of course, a number of patriotic toasts were drunk, and Mr. Wheelwright, in answer to the congratulations of the President, explained the advantages which South America would enjoy through the operations of the new Pacific Steam Navigation Company, and predicted that new and prosperous communities would grow up in Australia, Japan and the farthest Antipodes, and that South America would have a very large share of the extensive foreign commerce of the Asiatic Orient.

Wheelwright had now established, after six years' unremitting efforts, his Pacific line of steamers. Matters seemed at last to be running smoothly, when an accident to the machinery of the "Chile" threatened to wreck his enterprise, as he did not know where to take his ship for repairs. At length, with much difficulty, he brought the ship into Guayaquil,

which was the only South American port having anything like proper docking facilities. This experience was useful, as he henceforth did not rest until he had induced the various republics bathed by the Pacific to have modern docks, light-houses and other improvements constructed.

Another terrible handicap was the utter lack of coal. Mines existed in the interior, but they had never been exploited. Wheelwright, with characteristic energy, made a number of journeys of exploration and soon discovered in Chile and elsewhere immense deposits of coal, copper and other minerals. It was not long before he had collected, at convenient points, all the coal he required.

The resourcefulness of this indomitable, indefatigable North American acted like an electric current in quickening industrial development in the remotest parts of the vast South American continent. The contagion of his example was seen in the establishment of the New Haven line of steamers at Panama, for coal-cars, etc., and the Steamship Company, will extend its tracks to the city, with sidings for each promoter. The city can then pass an ordinance enabling the street-railway company the right to deliver coal or heavy freight over its tracks to the region thus affected for a certain term of years, until the natural law of expansion will practically render a removal of the plants necessary.

It is proposed to pay for these extensive improvements by the issuance of fifty and sixty-year city bonds at a low rate of interest, and the provision of a \$10,000 yearly sinking-fund which shall be applied at the proper time to the redemption of the bonds. Thus the present taxpayers will not over encumber their property and they will leave to the citizens of the future a share of the burden of paying for a benefit, the whole of which, during their lifetime, will accrue to them, as well as be a treasured good to be handed on to their successors.

The expenses of inaugurating the Pacific Steam Navigation Company had been enormous, and as yet the undertaking was yielding no profits. The London directors naturally grumbled, and there was serious talk of deposing Mr. Wheelwright as superintendent. Fortunately, he had gained powerful friends in South America, the entire diplomatic corps stationed at Lima, Peru, testifying to his incorruptible integrity and remarkable abilities and the inestimable benefits which he had conferred upon the southern half of the Western Hemisphere. In the face of such testimony, the London cabal fell through, and he was retained as superintendent. The commercial community of Valparaiso determined that a full life-sized oil painting of this great North American benefactor should be hung in the *salon* of the Merchants' Exchange of that city, and, on the 15th of February, 1842, presented him with a splendid silver trophy, with a suitable inscription.

Wheelwright might now have contented himself with what he had already accomplished and achieved, but he felt that his mission in behalf of his adopted country, South America, was by no means completed. Steam navigation on the Pacific was well, but it must be supplemented by railways.

His first undertaking in that direction was to build Copiapo, in the desert region of northern Chile, the extremely fertile and silver mines of which here and fully worthless because Co-flowers, or twenty miles inland from the again, a shallow bay, on the Pacific, seats. A band connected only by an iron wagon-road. Wheelwright's personality prevailed over the population of the desert, whose heathenish and comfort would be thoroughly modified as they enjoyed the fresh air, with the beautiful river flowing at the mouth.

GEORGE WHARTON converted
Pasadena, Cal. docks.
to the

concession of a Chilian rival, for \$30,000, and organized a company, with a capital of \$3,750,000 to build a railway from Caldera to the mines of Copiapo, by the most direct route over the Andes, 51½ miles. For this purpose, two American engineers, Allen and Alexander Campbell, came over from the United States and brought with them a corps of skilled artisans, locomotives, cars and other rolling-stock. The rails were imported from England. Work was begun in 1851, steep gradients up to a height of 6,600 feet were overcome, and the road was opened to public passenger and freight traffic at the beginning of 1852. This railway, in those days, was a marvel of engineering construction, and trains of ore could be brought right up to the wharves of Caldera, where the minerals could be loaded upon steamers.

In 1855, Mr. Wheelwright surrendered all his interests in the now highly successful Pacific Steam Navigation Company, so that he might devote himself exclusively to railroad construction. His first effort in this direction was an appeal to the government of Chile for permission to build a railway from the port of Valparaiso to Santiago, the capital, ninety miles inland. The latter city lies at a considerable elevation above the Pacific, and the engineering problems to be solved were by no means easy. The Chilian authorities denied Wheelwright's application as his proposal appeared to them far too revolutionary. Many years later, when a more enlightened administration had come into power, the railway was built precisely as Wheelwright had planned, and its usefulness has been abundantly proved.

Not dismayed by this rebuff, he now turned his attention towards the extensive Argentine Republic, stretching a thousand miles from the eastern slope of the towering Chilo-Argentine Cordillera of the Andes to Buenos Ayres, on the broad estuary of the La Plata river, which empties into the South Atlantic ocean. Through this unreclaimed re-

gion, fifteen hundred miles long by one thousand wide, extended a wilderness of pampa plains like the great western prairies of the United States in the early '40s and '50s. The natural fertility of these level plains was attested by the millions of wild cattle and horses roaming at will over them, in unrestrained freedom except when some of that host were lassoed by the uncouth Argentine Indian and half-breed rough-riders. This was an ideal country for railway construction, and, as Wheelwright clearly perceived, must, in a comparatively few years, be opened to European immigration and modern civilization. He conceived the startling project of a *Transandean Railway*, a thousand miles long, carried into the heart of the Andes, among the loftiest mountains in the world, and thence through the pampas, the purpose of the proposed railway being to connect Caldera, Chile, on the Pacific, with the port of Rosario, Argentina, on the majestic Parana river, one hundred and eighty-nine miles above Buenos Ayres. The thought of constructing such a railway had occurred to him, as he very clearly explains in a memorial addressed, in 1867, to President Pérez of Chile, as early as 1850. He had personally explored the pass of San Francisco (16,000 feet), through which the Andes were to be pierced from the Chilian side, and had observed year after year that it was free from ice and snow, and was never blocked, even in the worst winter months. He engaged an intelligent Chilian miner to examine the approaches more carefully, and the latter reported the territory rich in minerals. Wheelwright next organized a corps of expert engineers, under Mr. Allen Campbell, but Mr. Campbell having been summoned, in 1853, by President Urquiza of the Argentine Republic to survey and prepare the route of a railway from Rosario to Cordova, Central Argentina, Wheelwright willingly assented that he should take his corps of engineers with him, and postponed his own enterprise. In 1858, Messrs. Rolfe

and Flint examined the ground previously inspected by the Chilian miner Naranjo, and found it perfectly practicable for a railway. Wheelwright further advocated his cause by forwarding to the Royal Geographical Society of London, in 1860, an extremely able paper on the Chilo-Argentine railway trunk-line he proposed, and showed its value to Great Britain in promoting the prosperity and commercial importance of her promising colonies in Australia. His views were warmly commended by Admiral FitzRoy and other learned scientists. Unfortunately, as far as Chile was concerned, Wheelwright was far ahead of his times, and that republic rejected his proposals. Nations are like individuals: they must learn by bitter experience. Forty years have elapsed since Wheelwright presented his magnificent conception to the authorities of Chile, and only now is the Transandean Railway, binding Valparaiso with Buenos Ayres, rapidly approaching completion, but at tremendous expense as miles of tunnels have had to be bored through the Chilo-Argentine Cordillera, in order to traverse passes 12,000 to 14,000 feet above sea-level, which are blocked in winter by frightful drifts of snow. When the railway shall have been opened, Valparaiso and Chile will save ten days over either the Panama route or that of the Straits of Magellan in reaching Europe and Asia, as Wheelwright pointed out would be the case. Long before others had ever dreamed of the great railway systems of South America, his penetrating mind foresaw the splendid prosperity awaiting the sister Latin-American Republics of Peru, Bolivia, Chile, Brazil, Paraguay, Argentine and Uruguay when they should be bound together by a network of international and transcontinental railways.

Wheelwright had the rare gift of always discovering the line of least resistance, and, as the attitude of Chile did not permit him to begin his Transandean Railway from the Chilian side, he resolved to return to Argentina and Buenos

Ayres, where, in 1823, he had been so strangely shipwrecked. His first step was to secure the construction of the Grand Central Argentine Railway, from the port of Rosario on the Parana river, one hundred and eighty-nine miles above Buenos Ayres, to Cordova, Central Argentina, a distance of 246 miles. There is a romance in the construction of this first link of the present extensive network of railways in the Argentine Republic, which has now reached a grand total of 18,894 kilometers or 12,000 miles, that might be well worth describing in detail if the limited space at our command permitted. Seventeen years of obstacles, ordeals and disappointments had to be endured before the road could be completed and opened to the public.

It will be remembered that, in 1853, Mr. Wheelwright despatched to the Argentine Republic, at the request of President Urquiza, Mr. Allen Campbell and a corps of expert engineers to survey the region between Rosario and Cordova, and to trace the line of the new railway. The unsettled conditions of Argentine politics proved a severe handicap to progress. Soon, a rival appeared in the celebrated Henry Meigs, who had built such wonderful railways in the loftiest Peruvian Andes, according to plans already elaborated by Wheelwright. Meigs proposed a Transandean route between Buenos Ayres and Valparaiso, through the Planchon territory, a region infested by hostile Indian tribes. This was a far more difficult route and served only to discredit Wheelwright's enterprise. The latter, however, persevered in his own project, depending, as he had always done, throughout his long career, on obtaining *private capital*. The concession granted to Wheelwright and his partner Buschenthall required the railway to be completed within five years, but, in the interval, a civil war broke out in the Argentine Republic, and the necessary capital was not forthcoming. Buschenthall surrendered his interests and Wheelwright remained in sole charge.

The latter arrived in London in 1861, and found himself, for the time being, completely at a standstill. At the suggestion of his old friend Señor Alberdi, the Argentine minister, he decided to return to Buenos Ayres, and appeal to the new president of the Argentine Republic, General Mitre, who had just come into power as the result of a successful revolution. He was favorably received; the Argentine congress passed the necessary legislation, and, on the 16th of March, 1863, President Mitre renewed the expired contract of 1855, with some additional concessions. Unfortunately for Wheelwright's plans, the three allied and contiguous South American states, Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay declared, at this moment, war against their neighbor Paraguay—a war that was to last four years and prove the most desolating, destructive and bloody of all the wars that have afflicted South America since she gained her independence from Spain, in 1825. Never was the wastefulness of an appeal to arms more clearly demonstrated; and Wheelwright's beneficent work of peaceful civilization was blocked for lack of laborers.

At length, in 1867, the skies brightened. Peace had been reestablished, and enlightenment and industry might continue their onward march. Wheelwright had utilized the intervening years, and such was the confidence he inspired among British capitalists that, when he visited London in 1864, he secured the powerful coöperation of Mr. Thomas Brassey, the great British railway magnate, and formed a company, with a capital of \$8,000,000, two-thirds of which was immediately subscribed. The work was now rapidly pushed forward, colonies of European agricultural immigrants settling along the route as the construction progressed, and in 1870, under the Presidency of General Sarmiento, Mitre's successor, the two hundred and forty-six miles of the single-track railway, from the port of Rosario to Cordova, were completed. On the 16th of May,

the railway was solemnly inaugurated and opened to the public, with the most imposing military, religious and civil ceremonies. The Argentine Minister of the Interior, who represented President Sarmiento, delivered a long, grandiloquent address, but did not pay a single word of tribute to Wheelwright, whose genius and dogged perseverance had brought the first railway of Argentina into existence.

The double-dealing of President Sarmiento, in his relations with Wheelwright, is the one black stain in the administration of that otherwise great Argentine statesman. Wheelwright's aim in constructing the Grand Central Railway was that it should serve as the first connecting link for a Transandean railroad between Chile and Argentina, up through the pass of San Francisco, 16,023 feet above sea-level, which would necessitate only two tunnels, of comparatively easy construction. At the request of the Argentine government, and relying upon its good faith, he successfully used his influence in England to raise a loan of \$30,000,000, with the distinct understanding that it should be devoted exclusively for extending the railway already constructed, so as to realize as quickly as possible his Transandean railroad. President Sarmiento no sooner got control of these millions than he devoted them largely to the construction of great warships and the purchase of armament and military supplies, on the pretext that the vexatious boundary dispute with Chile required that the Argentine Republic should be put in a thorough state of defense. The inevitable result was that Chile followed suit, and for many years the two most progressive of the Latin-American Republics were enormous armed camps, ready to fly at each other's throats, until General Roca, ex-President Mitre and other statesmen and philanthropists of Argentina and Chile induced both republics to disarm and submit their differences to impartial, international arbitration. Sarmiento's unjustifiable action

worked indescribable harm to the cause of peace, industry and enlightenment in South America, and, for thirty years, delayed any practical steps being taken towards the building of a Transandean railroad.

Wheelwright was now more than three-score-ten, and was weighed down by infirmities, sickness and many domestic afflictions, but the brave spirit of the grand old Puritan pioneer did not yet permit him to regard his self-imposed mission in South America as completed. He accordingly entered upon his last great public undertaking, which was nothing less than to convert Buenos Ayres into the splendid maritime metropolis which it has since become.

Buenos Ayres is not naturally a good place for an international port. It lies on the right bank of the estuary of the La Plata river, 275 kilometers or 172 miles from the mouth of that river, which empties into the South Atlantic. The estuary is 45 kilometers or 28 miles wide at Buenos Ayres. Up to about 1870, the water was so shallow that the largest steamships had to anchor miles and miles lower down the estuary, and transfer passengers and freight to light-draught vessels, which, in turn, transferred them to covered wagons, and, with infinite labor, delay and inconvenience, they were brought at last into the capital city of the Argentine Republic. There was really no necessity for this primitive way of carrying on business, as Nature had constructed, thirty-one miles to the south of Buenos Ayres, the Bay of Ensenada (now rechristened the Bay of La Plata), one of the finest and most magnificent harbors in the world and capable of accommodating the tremendous navies of the United States, Great Britain and Japan. Wheelwright perceived, as had the great Argentine statesman Rivadavia, whom he met in 1822, and as the earliest Spanish conquerors had also perceived, that here at the bay of La Plata was the true harbor of Buenos Ayres. All that was needed was a connecting railway of only

thirty-one miles, to convert Buenos Ayres into the great maritime metropolis and emporium of Latin America. He resolved that this should be accomplished, as it formed a necessary part of his gigantic project of a Transandean railway which should unite Chile and Argentina and bring them in rapid and sympathetic touch with the entire civilized world. He had already, in 1863, secured the requisite concession, but the vicissitudes of Argentine politics, the war with Paraguay, and, worst of all, the lukewarm attitude of President Sarmiento, obstructed matters until 1870, when Wheelwright secured the services of two competent contractors and the work was thenceforth pushed rapidly to completion. On the 31st of December, 1872, fifty years after he had been shipwrecked in South America, near this very spot, the new railway of Ensenada, or La Plata, was opened to the public with the most elaborate ceremonies, President Sarmiento himself being present, but studiously avoiding, in his address, one word of tribute to the unselfish North American pioneer. The truth is that Sarmiento had not wholly outgrown inveterate Spanish traditions, and refused to listen to Wheelwright, who now proposed to construct adequate docks at La Plata to accommodate transatlantic steamers. The former, with inordinate conceit, declined the offer, though it would have cost only \$200,000, and decided to accept the project of one Bateman who undertook to dig a large canal behind the river La Plata at Buenos Ayres, with the expectation that such a chimerical scheme would attract international commerce to that city. Sarmiento's blunder caused twelve million dollars to be uselessly sunk and wasted, and, after all, years after Wheelwright's death, wharves and public improvements were made in the Bay of La Plata, which is to-day the greatest maritime port of the Argentine Republic, and has made Buenos Ayres an imperial city and the beehive of one million cosmopolitan inhabitants.

During the fifty years of his industrial labors in South America, Wheelwright never forgot his own native country and Newburyport, the beloved city of his birth. He revisited it several times; in 1829, when he married Miss Bartlet; a second time he was in Newburyport in 1853; again, in 1855, accompanied by his wife, he hastened home on account of the approaching death of his venerable widowed mother who had reached ninety years, and he had the infinite satisfaction of finding her still alive and able to welcome him. A few years later, he lost three sisters, to whom he was tenderly attached. His only son, a promising young man of twenty-two, died at Kew Green, London, in 1862. This bereavement was followed by another, on December 17th, of the same year, when he lost his little grandson, the idol of his heart, after leaving Lisbon, and saw him consigned to a watery grave.

This high-souled North American benefactor of South America had a tender regard for all his family and was ever solicitous for their happiness and comfort. One of the fine Wheelwright houses now, through the philanthropy of some of his nearest relatives, the Old Ladies' Home of Newburyport, was purchased by him in 1841 for the use of his mother, and, after her decease, was occupied by his sisters Susan and Elizabeth.

Wheelwright's health utterly broke down by the middle of 1873, and, on his physician's advice, he sailed from Buenos Ayres for London, where he received all the attention that the best medical skill could afford, and was surrounded by the affectionate care of his loving family. Nevertheless, he failed rapidly, and he expired on the 26th of September, of that year. His remains were transported to Newburyport, where funeral services were held October 17th, at the Old South Church, where his ancestors worshiped, where he was baptized, and where he always attended service when in Newburyport. Funeral discourses were delivered by the Rev. Dr. Withington, of

Newbury, and Dr. Cone, of Springfield, Massachusetts. Flags were displayed at half-mast, and a long procession followed him to Oak-Hill Cemetery, where his dust reposes "till the day break and the shadows flee away." A chaste and artistic marble monument, in keeping with his Puritan spirit, and brought over from Italy, marks his last resting-place, in that extremely beautiful cemetery of Newburyport, on the summit of the "Old Indian Ridge," whence can be seen a glorious view of orchards, hills, valleys, rocks and forests, and where the singing of birds seems a perpetual tribute to the memory of this wonderful industrial pioneer of the southern half of the New World.

His death was sincerely mourned throughout Latin America. Grateful Chile did not forget her noble Puritan benefactor, and in 1876, three years after his death, a splendid statue of him was erected and unveiled in front of the Merchants' Exchange of Valparaiso, the money for that purpose having been raised by popular subscription.

Studied from whatever point-of-view, Wheelwright's character and career are a source of purest inspiration to the young. He was a Puritan Chevalier Bayard, *sans peur, sans reproche*, fearless, without stain, intensely loyal to his family, friends and native city of Newburyport, for whose benefit he bequeathed a considerable sum for the establishment of a scientific school for worthy Protestant young men of the city, wisely leaving the question of its establishment to the board of trustees he selected and their successors. At present the fund amounts to \$400,000, out of which not a few of the sons of Newburyport have had their tuition paid at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, in Boston, until they graduated.

As a patriot, he was true to the best of American traditions, and maintained the dignity and rights of the United States firmly, quietly, and with no bombast nor resorting to the "big stick." He was,

moreover, a philanthropist, who lifted an entire continent out of barbarism and militarism of the worst sort into the light of modern industry, commerce, civilization and education. Like his illustrious fellow-townsmen and contemporary, the elder Garrison, his sympathies were world-wide, a striking instance of which was seen in his efforts, two years before his death, to induce the Liverpool Board of Trade to adopt measures which should establish transatlantic routes and lessen the dangers of collisions at sea.

When the true history of Latin America shall have been written, William

Wheelwright will rank as among the greatest of all her benefactors, because no sooner had the liberators Bolivar, San Martin and Sucre destroyed by force of arms the political sway of Spain than he took up the almost hopeless task of reconstruction, counteracted the pernicious influence of intolerable native tyrants and adventurers, and proved to the backward peoples of the now politically independent Latin-American Republics the inestimable value of religion, morality, culture, constitutional liberty, honorable peace, and right training.*

Malden, Mass. FREDERIC M. NOA.

OUR VAMPIRE MILLIONAIRES.

BY HENRY FRANK

HARD on the dramatic tragedy enacted on a metropolitan roof-garden, in which one rich man was whiffed into eternity and another forever disgraced his family and himself, occurred the taking off of one of the nation's oldest and wealthiest citizens.

The death of Russell Sage in his ninetyeth year, with pouch full-packed with a round hundred million of American dollars, is an event that justly calls for a season of moralizing.

Even now, while what tears may have

been shed for him are still wet up on his grave, the mercenary ghouls, whom his fabulous success has aroused to a mania for benefactions, are about to war over his clean-cut will, that they may snatch more from his heritage than was his intention.

Poor old Sage! He has carefully protected his physical remains from the intrusion of body-snatchers, by ensconcing it within a million dollar, steel-clad, triple-walled mausoleum; but the mercenary remains of his infinite collaterals,

***BIBLIOGRAPHY AND AUTHORITIES.**—Owing to the length of this contribution, the writer can only briefly express his heartfelt thanks for valuable information in regard to the life and career of Mr. William Wheelwright to Dr. José B. Zubiaur, Member of the Argentine National Board of Education of Buenos Ayres, and to Señor Francisco Cruz, of the same city, who supplied him with a copy of the Spanish original of Señor J. B. Alberdi's *Life and Industrial Labors of William Wheelwright in South America*. He is also indebted to the kindness of Mr. Laurence B. Cushing, Mr. John W. Winder and Mr. James E. Whitney, of the William Wheelwright Scientific School Fund, of Newburyport, Massachusetts, as well as to the Hon. John James Currier, the local historian of that city and author of *Auld Newbury*, and to the courteous Superintendent of Oak-Hill Cemetery, for important data and suggestions. Besides Alberdi's comprehensive *Life of Wheelwright*, the following authorities have been

consulted: *Observations on the Isthmus of Panama*, by William Wheelwright, London, 1844; a pamphlet, containing *Introductory Remarks on the Provinces of the La Plata*, by William Wheelwright; *Parana and Cordova Railway*, Report of Allen Campbell, Esq., C.E.; *Proposal for an Inter-oceanic Railway, between the Rio de La Plata and Pacific*, being a paper read at a Meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, by William Wheelwright, January 23, 1860. London, 1861; *Isthmus of Panama: History of the Panama Railroad*, by F. N. Otis, M.D., New York, 1867; *Peru*, by Clements R. Markham, C.B., London, 1880; *William Wheelwright: His Life and Work*: An address by Rev. John Webster Dodge, delivered at the Corlies Memorial Hall, Newburyport, Massachusetts, December 8, 1898. Issued by the Trustees of the Wheelwright Scientific School Fund, 1899; *Auld Newbury*, by the Hon. John James Currier, Newburyport, Massachusetts.

alas! may yet be exposed to the surreptitious invasions of the resourceful lawyer and the relentless claimant.

And what a reflection on the ethical tendency of the American people! What a sly and surly hint at the moral decrepitude of dear old Uncle Sam, whose personal independence was the boast of all his children, and who "would as soon brook the devil himself," as to accept a free gift from any lord of wealth the universe might produce.

But thanks, now, to our Carnegies, Rockefellers, Fricks, Clarkes, Sages, etc., we are speedily becoming a nation of busy beggars, and true to our alms-beseeching predilections we are learning soundly to berate what derelict Croesus may perchance forget to remember us in his niggardly will.

O Antony! What an audience you would have had had you been permitted to appeal to these eighty million free American citizens with the promise of revealing not the paltry contents of the will of a pretentious Cæsar, but the multiple promises of the first budding billionaires the ages of competition have yet grown!

What startling surprises yet remain for us anxiously waiting votaries of Dame Fortune, when the Pandora Box of such wills as those of the Russell Sages, the Marshall Fields, the Rockefellers, Vanderbilts, and Carnegies will have been finally probated!

Surely even hope will have fled with all the other promised blessings, for most of us, ere Pandora will have slapped shut the door, and we shall sorrowfully be forced to return to our crust and our bench of toil!

What splendid beggars our splendid millionaires are making of us! Think of Carnegie tossing his wanton savings to the scrambling multitude, who now and then turn upon and rend him because they think he has not given them enough.

Behold even cities falling at his golden feet, beseeching him to come to the relief

of their distressful needs, and enable them to erect a school-house, or a library, a theater, a church, or a hospital, and then returning a volley of billingsgate because he seems indisposed to accommodate them.

Once the benighted and decrepit Republics of Italy sent their agents to scour all Europe for one who would accept the honor of their thrones to rule over them. But we all-gloriously free citizens of the world's first and only Republic are already learning to humble ourselves at the feet of the multi-rich that we may become their willing slaves for the honor of their benefactions.

O Washington! Bestir not thy bones within thy restless grave! Didst thou return, the enervated beneficiaries of our oily Croesuses would but break thy sword across their knees if they thought it would tickle a few more shekels from the coffers of their gold-bedecked divinities.

All seriously, I wish to register my opinion that the chiefest wrong the amassment of wealth in the coffers of the privileged few entails upon the multitude is that it generates a disposition to receive the crumbs from our Barmecide plutocrats as they crowd round their tables and beg for recognition.

Here lurks, by no means, a slight or venial danger. Once weaken the hardy muscles of our generation and their posterity become frail and flaccid not only in brawn but also in brain. Once let it become an instinctive feeling that if circumstance remove from them the opportunity to make their own livelihood these dear friends of the people stand ever ready to make them the recipients of their designing favors, and it will not be long before the sturdy manliness of our nation will have been atrophied.

We have even now before us a saddening proof of this too easily encroaching disposition of evil. Witness the situation in San Francisco. Where ever was there to have been found a prouder, a freer, a more self-reliant and independent people

than those that dwelt along the golden strands of the Pacific? Before the fire and earthquake, should any boastful money-bag have presumed on the common frailty of human nature and proffered those proud San-Franciscans the overtures of charity, it would have been better for him had the earthquake first swallowed him alive.

But now behold the change. The newspapers inform us that so greedy have these same San Franciscans become for the reception of the benefactions befalling them, thanks to the whole world's generosity, that they literally crowd the relief centers, exercising ingenuity and cunning to receive more than their individual shares and even selfishly cheating others if they can.

I sincerely hope this report may be untrue; and being acquainted with the instinctive nobility of the San Franciscan character I am inclined to think the newspaper report is an unmitigated falsehood.

Nevertheless, it would not surprise us to learn that there is a grain of truth in it; for human nature is everywhere the same, and once the correct environment is developed for the generation of beggary and indolence, and such a disposition might be produced even in the virile veins of the citizens by the Golden Gate.

Thus if by virtue of faulty legislation, vicious politics, and perverse social conditions, our civilization shall develop an increasing number of multi-millionaires, it may be clearly foreseen that the majority of the population will become but pensioners on the bounty of their privileged benefactors.

I need not remind the keenly intelligent readers of *THE ARENA* how all unobserved and surreptitiously evil customs slowly wind themselves into the characteristics of the body politic, till at length they become its fixed and controlling forces, from whose grip escape is impossible save through revolution.

All the social and economic evils that finally overpowered and ruined Rome were generating in embryo hundreds of

years before their finally destructive culmination. The Gracchi brothers clearly discerned this tendency a hundred years before the noble Brutus felt that he must thrust his loving sword through the breast of Cæsar, who had in the eyes of the conspirators become the gigantic personal symbol of every danger that menaced the Republic.

Yet so slowly did these evils reach their climax that the people were scarcely aware of their existence till they were already victims of their nefarious mastery. Let us not deceive ourselves. The nature and disposition of our day and generation are not other than at any period of human development. We are all but products of the environment that generates us.

The only difference between us and preceding periods of human history is that we develop more rapidly. It required one hundred days in Cæsar's time to travel round the world. Now it can be done in less than sixty. Yet Cæsar's world was but a bagatelle compared with ours. His empire stretched from the Bay of Biscay to the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, from northern Africa and Egypt to the lower Alps and the Adriatic. What it then required a hundred days to accomplish could now be done in almost as many hours.

Even our immediate forefathers of two hundred years ago were as slow compared with our agility as a barnyard fowl to a mountain eagle. It took a six-horse coach six days to go from Edinburg to Glasgow and return in those snail-like centuries.

"Economy of time was a virtue but little practiced by our ancestors. The innovator who proposed to effect a saving of it was regarded either as a fool or a revolutionary. To a race which lived in the constant prospect of eternity, this life at best was but a 'fleeting show,' and any attempt to multiply its moments was frowned upon as vanity."

Thus, to-day we live as much in a

single hour as they lived then in a day; our weeks are months; our months, years.

Consequently, as we have advanced so much more rapidly than our ancestors in all other respects, we need not be surprised to learn that in the acquisition of wealth we have so far outstripped their individual efforts that comparison were an absurdity.

Of course, all antiquity had no possible chance of sporting an excessive display of personal wealth. That of kings and potentates is not to be considered, for this was the direct result of exploitation and robbery, and not that of personal effort or skill. Hence, only now and then we read of a really rich man in ancient times.

There are three inventions that have come in the course of time on which almost wholly have depended the possession of personal wealth. These are the right of personal property, the negotiability of commercial paper, and the practicability of infinite machinery.

When we recall that all wealth originally consisted of so much land and so many cattle, which called for large estates with burdensome seigniorages, it becomes evident that in such times none but the rulers themselves could possess riches. Property could not be concealed from the grasping approach of the regal exploiter. As soon as a country was well developed in mines, agriculture or live stock, it lay open to the predatory disposition of the sovereign, and he forthwith confiscated it.

When money first begun to be recognized as a medium of exchange it was so crude, gross and massive, that it could not be easily hoarded. When negotiations were consummated it required the moving of these massive piles of copper or iron or silver or gold (the latter comparatively very recent). What was so easily seen was as easily taken; hence the poverty of the subject, and the wealth of the sovereign.

But with the advent of negotiable

paper all this was changed. Paper can be concealed and it requires but a small space for its accumulation. Here, then, entered the first wedge of approaching individual or competitive wealth.

Anon came the ingenuity of productive machinery which has so totally revolutionized the industrial world. With its advent individual wealth began to ascend to its dizzying heights. Adam Smith scarcely dreamed of the ultimate effect which the marvelous development of inventive machinery would produce in the creation and distribution of wealth. Nor did he foresee that while machinery would greatly increase the industrial wealth of a people, it would also be the prime cause of existing poverty, because of the facility with which human labor could be displaced by it, and the singular opportunity it afforded the controlling capitalist to market and pocket the major share of the gains.

As formerly the sovereign by right of his divine authority could put his undisputed claim upon any property that his subjects might cultivate and improve, so, to-day, the capitalist by right of the power which riches alone can exercise, seizes the major portion of the industrial fruits of labor, because he can seize and own, or, by legislative grant, possess the machinery, without which labor in this age could produce nothing.

Therefore, in our generation individual wealth has grown out of all proportion to its former dimensions in the perspective of history.

Because human labor can be displaced in so wholesale a manner, and it is so much cheaper and easier to gain control of a single machine than of a hundred or a thousand men, the individual capitalist is to-day the world's unparalleled prince of millionaires.

Never before in all history has so much wealth been produced, and perhaps never before was such an ill-proportion of this same wealth owned by the toilers who are its immediate creators. This is the real meaning of the oft-repeated state-

ment that "the rich are growing richer and the poor poorer." The poor perhaps to-day in the bulk have more wealth than ever before in history; but their proportion of the actual wealth they themselves produce is constantly growing less and less.

Statistics are dull but sometimes interesting enough to be sensational. Let us read:

"In woolen goods modern machinery has reduced muscular labor 33 per cent. in the carding department; 50 per cent. in the spinning department, and 25 per cent. in the weaving. In some kinds of spinning 100 to 1 is the proportion that represents the displacement. In the whole United States in 1886 the machinery was equal to 3,500,000 horse-power. If men only had been employed it would have required 21,000,000 to turn out the actual total product; the real number employed was only 4,000,000. To do the work accomplished in the United States in 1886 by power machinery and on the railroads would have required men representing a population of 175,000,000. The actual population in the United States in 1886 was something under 60,000,000 or a little more than one third."

Thus comments the report of the United States Commissioner of Labor in Washington for 1886. Here, then, we lay bare the most effective social mechanism for the acquisition of individual wealth. That 10 per cent. of the population have already acquired 90 per cent. of the entire wealth of the nation, is nothing surprising when we find how easy it is for the owners of this miraculous machinery to divert its products from the comparatively few laborers necessary to manipulate its mysterious organism.

To accomplish the enslavement of 20,000,000 full-grown brawny citizens of a mighty commonwealth may be a forbidding venture. But if the entire working capacity of these 20,000,000

can be exploited through the accommodating mechanical devices which can be operated by one-fifth of the army of employes, or only 4,000,000, the task may not appear so formidable or impossible.

This is what the invention of machinery has done for the modern barons of commercial feudalism. It has taught them the secret way of stealing the value of human labor by displacing a vast army of producers, the responsibility for whom rests not on their shoulders, forsooth, and the effect of whose labor upon machinery is increased from ten to one thousand per centum.

What wonder the Socialist agitator cries for the popular possession of the means of production! What wonder the capitalist holds on with the grip of a drowning man; realizing that if this last feature of a departing feudalism, however disguised, be seized from him, the Capitalist will himself again be converted into a manual or mental laborer, and the common laborer will once again become a potential Capitalist!

Russell Sage, we are told, was ninety years of age when he passed from the feverish theater of modern financial life. He lived, therefore, through the entire period of his country's progress from primitive squalor and poverty to the most dazzling wealth that ever emblazoned the commercial crown of a community.

When he was born the entire nation was reputed to possess less than three billions of dollars in actual wealth.

To-day one man alone is reputed to be able to draw his check for more than one-third of the whole nation's wealth when Russell Sage's baby eyes first opened on the morning light.

When Sage was born the per capita wealth of the country is said to have been less than \$300. In 1890 the per capita wealth was reputed to have been about \$1,300. To-day, probably slightly more.

When Sage died he had gathered into his individual coffers a total amount of riches equal to the combined average possession of 333,333 of the citizens

of his country at the time of his birth.

Had he annually earned but the sum which was equivalent to the average per capita wealth of his fellow-citizens at the time of his birth, it would have taken him over three hundred thousand years to have hoarded the amount which he is reputed to have gotten into his personal coffers within the comparatively brief space of four-score and ten years; provided, that he had not spent a cent of it, and had relinquished the accruing interest.

On the basis of this calculation he succeeded in hoarding in a single year what it should have taken him five thousand years to have acquired had his annual earning been but the per capita wealth at his birth-time.

And let it not be forgotten that the per capita wealth of our people at Sage's birth was but little less than the amount that the average laborer earned in a single year in the highest wages, in 1890.

In that year the average annual earning of the laborer was \$550. Making our calculation with that figure as the basis, we find that it would have taken one hundred and eighty-one thousand eight hundred and eighteen years, for a single person to have accumulated the treasure trove that Russell Sage left as his heritage when the steel locks snapped shut on his amazing mausoleum.

Here, then, is food indeed on which the thoughtful mind may ruminate long and profitably. Are we to call down the lightning of condemnation on the memory of such a man? Should his memory be blotted from the consciousness of the age because of his personal shortcomings? Is his whole life worth nothing more than the dried and hardened hide that stretched across his shrunken skeleton when it was finally laid to rest in its costly abode?

Let us not forget, first of all, that Russell Sage was the direct product and therefore an essential factor of our existing civilization.

If we blame him for pursuing sordid

and mercenary ideals, then we must not fail to blame ourselves for having by common consent set up the ideals which he adored. If he was blind with greed and crazy with avarice, he was made so by the conditions which we, of our own free and intelligent volitions, permit to exist.

That the age must needs generate such curious commercial ghouls as we witnessed in this worn-out relic, goes without saying. When everybody is seized with the mania for money-getting the hoarders will naturally fall into two classes: those who exploit the producers, and those who exploit the exploiters.

Such men as Rockefeller, Carnegie, Vanderbilt, etc., make it the supreme business of their very busy lives to extract from the blood and brawn of the sweaty toiler all that they can possibly squeeze, by every artifice and device known to modern industrial science.

They are the *direct* exploiters. They are the modern walled and castled barons, who publicly announce that any who pass their way must expect to be marauded and relieved of what their purses contain.

If this statement seems too severe recall the infinitely mischievous legislation relating to the tariff, which made Carnegie and his class so wealthy, and the hold-up, cut-throat, secret-rebate scheme inaugurated by the Standard Oil Company and the interested railroads.

But Sage and his class are even shrewder than the former. They are the *indirect* exploiters, or the exploiters of the exploiters. They wait till the direct exploiter has ensconced the burden of his predatory excursions in some place of safe-keeping, and after dark, so to speak, seek out its whereabouts, that they in turn may convert it to their personal use and gratification.

The Carnegies, Rockefellers, etc., are the commercial soldiers who go forth to slay and conquer, so carefully armed that the issue cannot be questioned and injury to themselves is absolutely impossible. They pile up their trophies heaven-high

in the glare of the sun as each victory is achieved.

The Sages, and their ilk, on the contrary, are the army sutlers, who follow it through all its bewildering ramifications, yet risk neither life nor fortune, but prey upon its necessities.

As the tramp and the millionaire are ground out of the same hopper, though at opposite ends as it were, so the predatory exploiter of the toiler produces another exploiter who lives upon himself. Sage, after he entered Wall street, made it the one only business of his labors to pile money mountain high, and preserve it in an idle state, as verily as ever miser gloated over his hoarded stores. He produced nothing for society or posterity; he only gratified his own mean and selfish ambition; and slaked his thirst for gold by ever pouring over his parched palate an endless stream of the golden fluid.

Sage seldom made mistakes; for his ventures were such that mistakes were next to impossible. He always played with loaded dice.

But the appalling fact must not be overlooked that as the Rockefeller type of the producing exploiter increases the Sage type of non-producing and blood-sucking exploiter will also increase. Yea, the time must come, if this heartlessly predatory exploitation continue, when piles of wealth will be hoarded so high, that the ultimately overshadowing type of the millionaire of which our proud nation shall boast will be the vampire-type, the harpy-type, the type that Sage and the Wall-street cormorants preëminently symbolize.

Yet there are some who would gloss over the crudity, the crassness of such a commercial conscience (or lack of conscience) as Sage disported, by diverting attention to his personal character, his honorable integrity, his noble home-life, and the like. They seem to forget that Sage acquired these habits in the very same manner that he came to his commercial characteristics. It was but the consequence of environment. Had he

been differently encamped in infancy and early manhood, he would have manifested opposite personal qualities. But that has little to do with the problem involved, in the development of such a startling and gigantic miser in a nation which of all others should be void of such a blemish.

It was the age that made him. True. An age whose mind is bent on money-making only must needs create a mind and heart benighted and seared by the very blight that constitutes its most consuming passion.

Sage's only thought was money; his only passion was gold; his only dream was a spectral mountain charged from base to summit with that element that for him and his age became the supreme symbol of wealth and power. His commercial and economic example was not for good, however exemplary his home-life and personal character may have been.

He has been the chief factor in creating in the imagination of the American child a Might God, whose power is proportioned only to what riches can attain. He has exalted the profession of the thimble-rigger, who gambles not with chance, but with the coin that never falls save on the side that he desires. Unless we would apotheosize the profession of the Miser, we should be wary of our apologies for the ethical shortcomings of Russell Sage.

To be a good husband and father is not necessarily to be a good citizen. I have not yet heard that Al. Adams, the distinguished policy-man, whom the courts conveniently retired to a penitentiary abode, was not much beloved and admired by his devoted wife. Doubtless he was all that a wife could demand as a kind and appreciative spouse. Yet there are some who resort to such reasoning to exonerate the pitiable qualities of the departed Sage.

The point, however, that I desire to emphasize is the combined culpability of the entire citizenship of our nation in being the direct cause of the creation of

its Sages, its Rockefellers, its cormorant capitalists and murderous monopolists, on whom individually only a portion of the general blame must fall. They are our handiwork: the product of our national genius. They are the objects of our laudation or disapproval, according to the character of our ideals. If they are to be blamed, we are at fault. If they are worthy of praise, the honor is ours. Let the nation's conscience decide.

The scientific historian of the future will not darken his pages with condemnation of these culpable individuals, but will discern in ourselves the factors that were directly responsible for their existence.

Russel Sage stands as the Vampire-

Symbol of our civilization. May his tribe be few. His devoted widow may well wish to scatter ten millions of his hoarded possessions in charity to blot out the memory of his sordid career.

But Sages will continue to be so long as acquisition becomes the supreme passion of the race. While gold runs in the blood of the ambitious, the vampire-miser will suck the veins that contain it.

Russel Sage is dead; but the Money God, whom he adored, still stands under the towering spire of old Trinity, to mock its noble epitaphs and lure its lukewarm worshipers to Wall street's vain illusionment.

HENRY FRANK.

New York City.

WHY I AM A SOCIALIST.

BY ELLIS O. JONES,

Director in the Intercollegiate Socialist Society.

I AM A Socialist, not because I hate capitalists, but because I hate capitalism. The capitalist system, once an economic necessity, has become an economic impossibility. The literature of exposure has proved to us that it is a soul-smothering, body-breaking relic of the past.

I am a Socialist because competition in the means of mere existence is war and begets hate; while socialism, coöperation, is peace and begets love.

I am a Socialist, not because I want to profit by or exploit the labor of others, but because I object that others should profit by or exploit my labor without my consent.

I am a Socialist because I believe that the present system of production for profit, and not for consumption, involves untold waste of wealth and labor. I object to all kinds of waste.

I am a Socialist because wealth is produced alone by labor and labor alone is

entitled to the product. Under the present system, there is a small class which produces little and consumes much, wasting the product of others with criminal license and lavishness. On the other hand there is a large class who produce nearly everything and yet are barely able to retain enough of their product to keep body and soul together.

I am a Socialist, not because I do not believe in work, but because I do not believe in slavery. The present system is one of industrial slavery, the product of an out-worn profit-system, and is more barbarous and more merciless than any the world has ever before known.

I am a Socialist because, like most of my countrymen of all classes, I see about me everywhere graft and corruption, municipal, state and federal. I see corporation thievery, large and small. I see food adulteration. I see little children sent to the factories and the mines almost as soon as they are out of swad-

ding clothes. But, unlike most of my countrymen, I see in these merely the unmistakable symptoms of a constitutional, bred-in-the-bone disease of the social organism.

I am a Socialist because I believe in the collective ownership of the social means of production and distribution and because I am a single-taxer and believe in the collective ownership of land.

I am a Socialist because I believe that the only way to regulate the trusts is to own them. Efficient regulation is virtual ownership.

I am a Socialist because I am a democrat and believe in a government of the people, for the people and by the people. Such a government is not possible unless the people own the government. At present the government is conducted by parties whose organizations are financed by the beneficiaries of valuable governmental rights and monopolies—social wealth—which are made valuable by the people and should be owned by the people.

I am a Socialist because I believe that the appalling increase in divorce is but proof that the capitalist system is destructive of the home and family. The same is true of the increase of prostitution and the decrease in the size of the family.

I am a Socialist because I believe that the trust is the natural product of a highly organized society. It is a product of the society and should be owned by and conducted in the interest of the society, and not in the interest of one man or set of men.

I am a Socialist because I am an individualist and because I believe that the ever-increasing population of our penal institutions is thoroughly systematic and but the natural result of an unsentimental, unmoral competition for mere existence which forces men to lie, steal and cheat, in short, to violate every injunction of the decalogue, placing the dollar above the man and substituting the rule of gold for the golden rule.

I am a Socialist because I believe that

socialism is the only practical and scientific philanthropy. Our eleemosynary institutions and societies would be unnecessary if man were universally allowed the right to work and to receive his full product.

I am a Socialist, and not a Prohibitionist, because I believe the appalling consumption of liquor and tobacco and other artificial and pernicious stimulants and narcotics is the direct result and not the cause of the strenuous struggle for existence which forces man to welcome with outstretched arms and tempting, if only temporary, relief from its nerve-racking toil and worry. This is the conclusion reached by the eminent Frances Willard after a life-long labor in the cause of temperance.

I am a Socialist because I believe in the simple life and because the simple life is impossible in this dollar-chasing age of bustle, strife, turmoil and complexity. I know many men who have read Wagner's *Simple Life* and who agree with every word he says but who find it impossible to follow him solely on account of the exigencies of business. When the great mass of the people must perforce give all their time and attention to the wherewithal of mere existence, such books are a dismal burlesque.

I am a Socialist and belong to the Socialist party because it is the only all-embracing party that deals intelligently with economic cause and effect. It stands for definite principles and it always stands for the same principles, the collective ownership of the social tools of production and distribution, which it seeks to secure through the initiative and referendum or not at all. The Republican and Democratic parties are merely organizations for profit managed by politicians whose motives are pride, pelf, pruriency and power and who are sustained, first, by the money of those who expect to profit materially from such sustenance and, second, by the votes of those who are ignorant of their economic welfare.

I am a Socialist and belong to the Socialist party because I am a republican and believe in placing measures above men. A public officer should be the representative of the people, a public servant and not a public ruler. It is more important to vote for something than to vote for somebody and only by voting the Socialist ticket is this possible.

I am a Socialist and belong to the Socialist party not because I am a partisan but because I am a patriot. Partisanship is the foe of logic and reason and the friend of mere might, irrational precedent, economic sophistry, superstitious tradition, inane generalities, and political hero-worship.

I am a Socialist and belong to the Socialist party because I believe the destiny of man is to move onward and upward and not to "stand pat" or to degenerate, and because I would rather be a rear-rank soldier in the march of progress than a bursting parasite on the most elaborate autocratic or plutocratic system imaginable. Radicalism is superior to superficialism and advancement to conservatism or retrogression.

I am a Socialist and belong to the Socialist party because it is the party of the

people. All power, in all ages, must spring from the people and, no matter how far it apparently becomes separated from them it must eventually return and be assumed by them. In the past few decades, the modern industrial and commercial barons—social parasites—have developed so rapidly that the people, always slow in their social movements, have not realized their own insidious enslavement. But the gigantic pendulum that marks the cycles of human activity is once more nearing the end of its arc. From nearly every land on the globe, comes the news of a popular restiveness under the soulless tyranny of King Profit. Although its phase may be different in different countries, the cause is everywhere the same and the manifestation of the effect, a world-wide popular uprising is at hand. This world-wide popular uprising, whether it be called reform or revolution and whether it be by ballot or by bullet will find expression through the mediumship of the only world-wide political party the world has ever known—the International Socialist Party.

ELLIS O. JONES.

South Orange, N. J.

THE RECENT RECKLESS AND IRRESPONSIBLE ATTACKS ON CHRISTIAN SCIENCE AND ITS FOUNDER, WITH A SURVEY OF THE CHRISTIAN-SCIENCE MOVEMENT.

By B. O. FLOWER.

I. A FREE AND JUSTICE-GOVERNED PRESS
THE HOPE OF DEMOCRACY.

DURING the week beginning October 28th of last year, the New York *World* published a series of sensational articles, accompanied in some cases by affidavits, which were well calculated

to convey to casual readers the impression that the statements published were truthful and not reckless assertions or half-truths upon which wholly false and unjust inferences were based. These statements and inferences, later proved to be false and unwarranted by the facts, were seized upon by other sensational journals

and scattered broadcast, carrying with them shameful untruths calculated to wrong innocent and highly respected citizens. As this example of newspaper irresponsibility is a striking illustration of one of the two most evil and sinister phases of modern journalism, it calls for special notice, not merely because of the wrongs done to the innocent and the deliberate attempt to cast odium on the religious faith of hundreds of thousands of intelligent and conscientious citizens, but because the high and sacred function of the public press is such that the cause of civilization, freedom and democracy cannot afford to have it degraded by reckless exhibitions of contempt for the rights and feelings of law-abiding citizens.

Excepting the public-schools of America, the daily press is, I think, the greatest popular educator and the most powerful bulwark of free institutions. Indeed, I hold that the hope of democracy for peaceful, evolutionary social advancement lies in a free and untrammelled press, and for this reason I have ever fought all reactionary attempts to curtail the freedom of the press, which might be so used as to thwart the onward march of science, social progress and human enfranchisement.

But while all this is true, I would not minify the sacred obligation that is imposed on our press, to be resolute for the maintenance of justice, fairness, honesty and truth, or the exercise of the same reverence for the rights of others that its editors would ask for themselves; and especially do I protest against attempts to scatter the poisoned seeds of slander and untruth that foster bigotry, intolerance, prejudice and hate, or which work injustice to the innocent. The man who in the far West is said to have flung a handful of thistle seeds to the wind little dreamed that in time they would be the means of filling the land with a plant that has become a pest from ocean to ocean. So with the poisoned seeds of falsehood and slander, especially where facts are so distorted that they appear to warrant

wholly false inferences in such a manner as to injure others or a cause. The real facts may later come to light, but never can the wrong wrought be wholly undone. Thus it is the high and sacred duty of all friends of justice and truth, and especially of friends of a free press, to insist that our journalism shall at all times reflect that fine conscientious sentiment that scorns to seek gain by traffic in falsehood and slander.

If democracy is to unfold and blossom in its full splendor, we must have a free and untrammelled press, but that press must recognize its august mission and the inescapable obligation and duty it owes the public, and it must be great by virtue of being just, conscience-guided and truth-reflecting.

For this reason I protest against the reckless and unscrupulous journalism of which the case I am about to notice, though peculiarly flagrant, is nevertheless a typical example.

II. THE "WORLD'S" ALLEGED EXPOSE AND THE FACTS IN THE CASE.

The alleged *exposé* which was made in the New York *World* rested for its news value on certain statements that claimed to be facts. These grave accusations, made in the most circumstantial manner, embraced charges of deliberate lying and of practicing fraud, on the part of Mrs. Eddy. They declared as facts that she had not for months even left her room; that she was senile and so decrepit that when seen she could not have walked down stairs; that she was the victim of cancer and was being treated by a cancer-specialist; and finally, that she was in the hands of a band of unscrupulous persons who had gained control of a treasure estimated at fifteen million dollars.

Now for the facts.

On the publication of the *World's* alleged *exposé* a number of affidavits were promptly made and sworn to, refuting the various falsehoods that the *World* had given currency to. These sworn



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THE FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

One of the most magnificent church edifices in the New World. It has a seating capacity of 5,012 and cost two million dollars, every cent of which was paid before the temple was dedicated.

statements by persons who knew the facts and persons whose reliability is not questioned by any who are acquainted with them, declared that Mrs. Eddy had daily taken her drives; that Mrs. Leonard had never so much as stepped inside Mrs. Eddy's carriage; that Mrs. Eddy had no disease and had had no physician whatsoever other than God; and that, in a word, the statements deliberately made by the *World* were absolutely false. The affidavits were further reinforced by a number of statements from leading citizens of New Hampshire, holding prominent positions in public and business life, of which the following are typical examples. The first statement is by the well-known and popular Mayor of Concord, Charles R. Corning, who is

also Probate Judge for Merrimack county:

"I have known Mrs. Eddy by sight for many years and have seen her in her carriage many times, and within the past season Mrs. Eddy has passed up Pleasant street and down Green street daily, and I know that the sole occupant of the carriage has been Mrs. Eddy. I had never met Mrs. Eddy face to face at her residence, Pleasant View, until to-day. Mrs. Eddy received me this afternoon in company with General Frank S. Streeter, who is and has been an attorney of Mrs. Eddy for several years.

"As I had heard so much concerning the precarious condition of Mrs. Eddy's health, I feared that there might be some foundation for such reports, but the fact

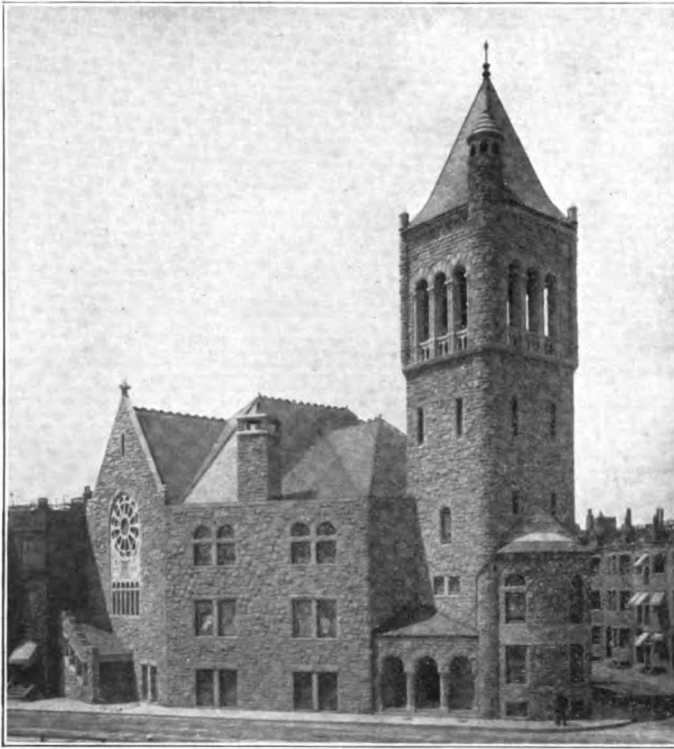


Photo. by Reid, Boston, Mass.

THE OLD MOTHER-CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST,
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

This church was built in 1896 and was the first Christian Science Church erected. It stands immediately in the rear of the large temple and cost \$125,000.

was utterly different. I spoke to Mrs. Eddy, and I listened for nearly half an hour to her conversation. She is keen of intellect and strong in memory. She is a surprising illustration of longevity, with bright eyes and emphatic expression, and of an alertness rarely to be encountered in a person so venerable."

Mayor Corning was interviewed by a reporter for the *Boston Herald* on October 29th, after his visit to Mrs. Eddy. In this interview he said:

"I had gone expecting to find a tottering old woman, perhaps incoherent, almost senile. Instead, when she rose to greet her her carriage was almost erect, her walk that of a woman of forty. I have seen many old ladies, but never one

with the vigorous personality of Mrs. Mary Baker G. Eddy. I can think of no more distinguished woman of her years in the world to-day; that was the impression she gave me, and it was the first time I had met her face to face.

"You have a cosey corner here, I see, Mrs. Eddy," said General Streeter.

"Yes, and some people would like to see me in a closer corner," remarked Mrs. Eddy, quickly.

"I call that good repartee for a woman over eighty," continued Mayor Corning.

"She remembered local incidents and happenings of recent date, talked family matters with General Streeter, and to try her mind he asked her concerning the date of her donation of

one thousand dollars annually to the State fair. She remembered within a few days when the agreement was drawn up two years ago. To say that she is mentally vigorous is inside the mark. She is wonderful for an octogenarian. Her face is not full, her figure is slight, but she looks commanding, her eyes are bright, her hand-clasp is firm. We talked with her for half an hour, and at the end of that time, when she rose to bid us good-by, Mrs. Eddy showed no sign of fatigue. I should certainly say she is capable of attending to her own business."

General Frank S. Streeter, one of the leading lawyers of New Hampshire, accompanied Mayor Corning, and in the course of an extended statement of his visit, in which he completely refuted the



Photo. by Leonard, Denver, Colo.

FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST, DENVER, COLORADO.

World's allegations in regard to Mrs. Eddy's physical and mental condition, he said:

"Mayor Charles R. Corning drove out with me to Pleasant View about four o'clock this afternoon. I sent a note to Mrs. Eddy, asking that we be permitted to call on her, and the request was almost immediately granted. She arose and most cordially greeted the mayor and myself, exhibiting no appearance of weakness or decrepitude, but a physical activity not ordinarily to be found in persons many years younger.

"The conversation covered a variety of subjects. She spoke briefly and without bitterness of the false statement being circulated with reference to her health and even her death, and said that she was in the hands of an infinite God in whom she had perfect trust, and that He would care for her.

"After a very interesting half-hour's talk with Mrs. Eddy, we returned.

"I may emphatically say that Mrs. Eddy is a remarkably well-preserved woman for one of her advanced years. Her physical health appears substantially the same as when I last talked with her, something over a year ago. As shown in the talk to-day, her mind is not only unimpaired, but she exhibits the same clearness, strength, alertness, and vigor which have so long distinguished her."

The *Boston Journal* engaged a well-known lawyer, who, the *Journal* stated, was not an interested party, was not a Christian Scientist, had never had any business transactions with Mrs. Eddy or the church, was a Roman Catholic in religious belief, and had nothing in common with the tenets of the faith, but who knows Mrs. Eddy and who knows her

well. This lawyer, together with two friends, personally testified to seeing Mrs. Eddy in her daily drives and in apparently the best of health. As a summary of his report the *Boston Journal* of October 30th said:

"Mrs. Eddy is not impersonated by a dummy. In her own carriage, in apparently the best of bodily health and vigor, she rode through the streets of Concord yesterday afternoon."

As reflecting the general feeling of the citizens of Concord, where Mrs. Eddy has so long resided, the following statement from J. E. Fernald, President of the National State Capital Bank, is of interest:

"I am informed there is a report in circulation, coming from persons outside of Concord, that the person whom I meet every few days driving, and to whom I am always pleased to bow, is not the Rev. Mary Baker Eddy, but some other person.

"Now I have known Mrs. Eddy for a number of years, and have had business relations with her since she came to Concord and made her home at Pleasant View, which relations extend up to the present time. I have also visited her in her home, so that I can state from personal knowledge that it is Mrs. Eddy, and no other person, whom I see riding in her carriage. I will also state that she stands high in this community. I do not find those who speak evil of her in this, her home city, and believe those who come here with evil reports come with malicious intentions.

"I am not a follower of the Christian Science faith, but make this statement as a citizen of Concord who wishes to see the things that are true, the things that are honest, and the things that are just, prevail."

The editor of the Concord *Patriot* thus

indignantly replied to the *World's* calumny:

"In substance the story of the *World* is false from beginning to end, and the manner of telling it most vicious.

"The writer, the editor of this paper, talked with Mrs. Eddy in her home three years ago, he talked with her again in her home two years ago, and talked with her again in her private room much less than a year ago. He has seen her in her carriage and bowed to her, and has had his salutations returned many, many times within the last six months, and within as recently as four days ago.

"He knows Mrs. Eddy well; knows her face and form; would pick that face and form in a glance, from among the faces of millions, and he has not been imposed upon in any way by any substitute which, as the *World* claims, has been riding in her carriage.

"At the different times when he has had the pleasure of talking with Mrs. Eddy, there was no marked evidence of failing health or departing faculties, in one of her years, but on the contrary she showed a quick familiarity with current events and a wonderfully vivid recollection of happenings long passed as well as a surpassing skill in foreshadowing the future."

The other daily paper, the *Monitor*, had this to say editorially:

"The *World's* story, as we are told, is the result of long investigations in Concord by the *World's* representatives. If this is so, their time here was ill-spent; for no honest investigator could have stayed here even so short a time as a single day without learning from indisputable sources that Mrs. Eddy is alive—and very keenly alive—to all that takes place in the world, and that she is constantly alert and thoughtful to do good to everybody, especially to the city of Concord.



Photo. by Rolfe, Concord, N. H.

FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST, CONCORD, NEW HAMPSHIRE.

"For more than fifteen years Mrs. Eddy has made her home among us; and she leads a simple and well-ordered life—as befits one who has a daily routine filled with great duties to a great cause. That she fulfils these duties to the last degree is evidenced by the growth and advance of the movement which she heads; and that she finds time for other good works,—for charity, for helpfulness, and for public-spirited coöperation in the affairs of the community where her home is fixed,—thousands of Concord people are ready cheerfully to attest. And they have now come forward with glad alacrity to refute the falsehoods of the *New York World*.

"Some of these refutations we are publishing in our news columns to-day. To

them we can add our personal testimony.

"The editor of this paper has enjoyed the privilege of Mrs. Eddy's friendship for more than ten years. During that time he has met her frequently and has corresponded with her almost continuously.

Her conversation and her letters—numbering hundreds and written almost entirely with her own pen—are pulsating with but one desire, the desire to do good,—to do good to individuals, to communities, and to the human race. Within a very short time the editor of this paper has seen Mrs. Eddy and with her taken counsel upon public affairs in Concord. She was then in a strength of spirit,

mind, and body far beyond what any one would have a right to expect from a woman of her age. Her words were direct and simple, her discernment acute and sympathetic, her manner cordial and unaffected. Since then the writer has met her carriage almost daily upon our streets and its distinguished occupant has never failed to return a smiling greeting of recognition. This has happened within four days, when, in a narrow street where recognition was certain, we met the real Mrs. Eddy, the Mrs. Eddy we have known for years, almost face to face. We knew her and we were known by her.

"When any one tells Concord that Mrs. Eddy is not one of our busiest, most

helpful, and most beloved and respected citizens, in full possession of her illustrious faculties of mind and in bodily strength beyond what her years warrant, Concord has a prompt and impregnable answer:

“‘We all know better!’”

It would require many more pages to present anything like fully the testimony of prominent and reputable citizens who know and who for years have known Mrs. Eddy, and who have completely refuted the various allegations so circumstantially made by the *World*. Not content with its false and slanderous attack on an old lady now in her eighty-sixth year, the *World* proceeded to rake up all the charges and criticisms, all the antagonistic statements and accusations, that the enemies of Mrs. Eddy and those who have viewed with alarm the progress of Christian Science have employed from time to time to discredit the founder of Christian Science and her work. Old charges and allege exposures were revamped, amplified, redressed and made to appear in the most sinister possible garb, and then were paraded just as though they had not done service on many past occasions. The fact that they had been thoroughly exploited and reëxploited time and again, and each time had proved innocuous, while Christian Science had apparently emerged from each such attack with renewed strength



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FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST, NEW YORK CITY.

and virility seemed to be lost sight of by the *World*.

Nor was this all. Many of the sensational papers seized upon the *World's* articles and, without waiting to find out whether or not the alleged exposure was true, sent them broadcast over the land. A postman who is an acquaintance of mine was weighed down with newspapers one morning, and in reply to a question as to his burden he replied that the papers were marked copies of a certain morning Boston daily being sent to the physicians and clergymen of his town. That some of these papers later admitted the falsity of the *World* articles does not exonerate them from their discreditable part in the



SECOND CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST, NEW YORK CITY.

shameful proceedings which constituted one of the most striking of recent examples of reckless and irresponsible journalism that amounts to moral criminality.

III. A WORD AS TO THE POSITION OF THE WRITER.

In thus protesting against a reckless, false and brutal attack on an old lady, a woman who is loved, honored and revered by hundreds of thousands of intelligent people and one whose life in her home city has won for her the love and respect of the community, and in protesting against this and other attacks made on the religious convictions of a large and intelligent body of our citizens, I wish to clearly state my own position. I am not writing as a Christian Scientist. Indeed,

I am free to say that from my somewhat cursory examination of Christian Science, which I have been able to make in spare moments in a life that is so occupied as to give small time for quiet thought or speculation on subjects that are not within the province of our special research, I have not found the explanations of the cures effected by Christian Science so convincing as to challenge my acceptance of the theory; nor has the philosophy of Christian Science appealed to me as the full-orbed embodiment of truth which its believers hold it to be. But I do know that it has achieved and is achieving a great work in healing the sick of afflictions of body, mind and soul; that it is giving hope and courage to tens of thousands of sorrow-darkened lives; that it is transmuting hate into love and



FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST, PITTSBURG, PENNSYLVANIA.

bitterness into spiritual exaltation in the cases of thousands of lives. And I know furthermore that its teachings are exerting a positive influence on the religious lives of its believers that is not apparent in the lives of the church-members of other denominations where the religious truths seem to be held in a perfunctory manner; and knowing these things, I demand for it, as its right, the same fair, just and intellectually hospitable treatment that I ask for my own religious views or that I demand for those of other faiths. My view of Christian Science is well-expressed by Tennyson in the words which he places in the mouth of the great Mogul Akbar, who, it will be remembered, welcomed to his court the learned exponents of all religious faiths, and in reply to the remonstrances of the Mohammedan chiefs against his hospitality to rival religions he exclaimed:

"There is light in all,
And light, with more or less of shade, in all
Man-modes of worship."

So I do not pretend to hold any brief whatsoever for Christian Science, nor to speak authoritatively for the followers of that faith, but only as an outsider who loves justice and fair play, who regards with indignation and disgust the morally criminal and brutal attacks that have been proved to be false and mendacious in character and that have not regarded the sanctity of age, sex or religious belief.

As one who for many years has fought against all attempts to retard free and honest investigation or the struggle for the enjoyment of a broader and fuller life; as one who has fought all the attempted aggressions of class interests, monopoly rights and special privilege whenever they have striven to fetter thought, to check the world's advance,



Photo. by Williams, Kansas City, Mo.

FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST, KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI.

to interfere with the just rights of the individual, or to place the people in the power of a class; and finally, as one who abhors intolerance and persecution that deny to others the rights we demand for ourselves, I protest against a continuance of this reckless campaign of falsehood and slander that has so disgraced our public press of late years in the treatment which it has accorded to Christian Science.

IV. FORMER PERSISTENT ATTEMPTS TO PROVE MRS. EDDY DEAD OR DYING.

As we have intimated, this is not the first time that reports have been industriously circulated that Mrs. Eddy was either dying or dead. Papers and individuals for the past several years at intervals have scattered abroad reports which, though absolutely false, have been so circumstantial in character that many were forced to believe them true until their falsity was overwhelmingly demon-

strated. [It will be remembered that a few years ago Mrs. Eddy was compelled to give an extended interview to the New York *Herald* reporters, in order to refute the positive statement that she was dead and her death had been hidden from the public. At another time it was declared that she was either dead or dying; at any rate, she was in such a decrepit condition that she could not see anyone. Her answer to this report was the appearance on her balcony, where she made a brief address to ten thousand of her followers.

These systematic, oft-repeated and vindictive attacks on the part of newspapers that hesitate

not to coin gold out of the crucible of falsehood, disturbing and harrassing the serene age of a woman who has long since passed her four-score mile-stone, must arouse every sentiment of chivalry and honor in the breasts of fair-minded citizens of whatsoever creed or faith.

V. THE TEACHING OF CHRISTIAN SCIENCE AS TO DEATH.

Respecting the teaching of Christian Science on the subject of death, I do not assume to speak authoritatively, but my understanding gained from reading the Christian Science literature which comes to my editorial table is that death is regarded as the incident and outcome of false material sense, and that immunity from death and its antecedent sickness and suffering can be realized only in the measure of man's attainment of spiritual understanding,—the mind that was in Christ Jesus. Christian Scientists be-



Photo. by Snyder, Cleveland, O.

SECOND CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST, KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI.

lieve that death does not pertain to the kingdom of divine Truth, and that as all men come to know Truth and are thus freed from the bondage of sin and sickness, they acquire dominion over death, a dominion whose completeness was shown to be possible in this life, by Christ Jesus, both when he raised Lazarus from the tomb, and when he himself arose victor over death's asserted power. Whether a given individual will acquire dominion over all that makes for death on this plane of consciousness, will depend upon the rate of his spiritual advance; but here or hereafter Christian Scientists believe, this dominion must be attained through the putting off of the old man. As Jesus in a certain place could do no mighty works because of the unbelief of the people, so they hold, I think, that the world-thought, which accepts the idea of death as inevitable

and of Divine provision, becomes a mighty pall of unbelief which fetters with its leaden weight all individuals to a certain degree, and that this paralyzing influence is intensified in its effect by reason of the strong antagonism and the relentless spirit of hate and persecution coming from those who oppose the new evangel. If the Founder of Christianity could do no mighty works in his time in a certain place, because of the power of unbelief, it is not to be expected that the erroneous thought of the world can be overcome in a day; but as the recognition of the supremacy of the spiritual law gains ascendancy over the age-long thought of the multitude, the power of the individual to rise superior to the thralldom of error will be greater and greater. This, as I understand it, is the teaching of Christian Science. I may be mistaken. I do not assume to voice their concepts,

but merely to give the impression I personally have gained from their writings in their periodical literature.

The utter folly and futility of an effort to perpetrate the deception which has been charged by the *World*, must appear to any sane person. I have seen no evidence or insincerity nor attempt to deceive or mislead the people in the past, on the part of either the founder of Christian Science or of those who are prominent in the organization whom I chance to know, that would warrant such assumption. Such men, for example, as William D. McCracken, A.M., Judge Septimus J. Hanna, Mr. John B. Willis, A.M., and Mr. C. B. Fillebrown, are not the kind of men to sanction for a moment any subterfuge or attempt to deceive the public. Had Christian Scientists been as industrious in their attempts to mislead and deceive the public or to misrepresent the facts in regard to Mrs. Eddy as have been her enemies during the past ten years, the case would be far different and there might be valid grounds for suspicion where to-day there are, I believe, no such grounds.

VI. SOME FACTS THAT SHOULD BE TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION.

This new religious belief already claims a large body of highly intelligent communicants. It has 682 churches and 281 societies. It has a large number of magnificent church edifices, all built since 1896. The value of their church property in the United States is estimated at between eight and ten million dollars. Many of these churches are among the noblest specimens of religious architecture that we have in the land, as will be seen by the illustrations accompanying this paper. The great temple in Boston is one of the most imposing religious structures in the New World, with a seating capacity of 5,012. This church was built at a cost of two million dollars, every dollar of which was paid in before the church was dedicated. Indeed, it is a

peculiarity of the churches of this denomination that they are not allowed to be dedicated so long as there is any debt.

The day has passed when those who would be fair and just can afford to take up the shallow cry of the sensational press in sneering at this religious belief as a combination of conscious or unconscious fraud and superstition that might attract the ignorant and credulous but could hold no charm or helpful redemptive power for thoughtful people. It is admitted by all who have studied the Christian Science congregations in various churches, that they are at least quite equal to other American religious congregations in intelligence, culture and refinement. That they are sincere and filled with that moral enthusiasm that is a potent motor power in all great religious or ethical movements in their early days is clearly apparent to all who impartially investigate this latest religious fellowship. Moreover, the church numbers among its leading exponents many names of men and women of ripe culture and fine scholarship. Thus, for example, we find the present First Reader of the First Christian Science Church of Boston to be the eminent historian and essayist, William D. McCracken, A.M., the author of *The Rise of the Swiss Republic*, a work recognized as the ablest history of Switzerland printed in the English language. Mr. McCracken, after graduating from Trinity College, Hartford, spent several years in Europe continuing his education and broadening his culture. He is the author of a number of popular and scholarly works besides his great history.

Among other well-known names we mention the following: Mr. C. B. Fillebrown, one of the leaders of the Single-Tax movement of this country; Professor J. R. Mosley, Ph.D., one of the valued contributors to *THE ARENA*; Professor Herman S. Hering, who formerly occupied an important chair in Johns Hopkins University; Mr. Hayne Davis, the well-known writer; the Rev. William P. Mc-



FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST, ST JOSEPH, MISSOURI.

Kenzie, formerly of the faculty of Rochester University; Judges and ex-Judges John D. Works of California, William G. Ewing of Illinois, Clarence A. Buskirk of Indiana, L. H. Jones of Kentucky, Clifford P. Smith of Iowa, and Septimus J. Hanna.

In England Christian Science has made a great number of converts among people prominent in educational and social circles. Among these are Lord and Vicomtesse Dunmore; Lady Alice Archer Houlton; Lady Frances Ashbourne; Mrs. Agnatha Butler, wife of the Master of Trinity College; Lady Louise King; the Marchioness of Bath; Hon. Lady Bromley; Hon. Eleonour Norton, the poetess; Hon. Mrs. Cecil Howard; Admiral Dunlap; Colonel Thomas H. Ansty; Major Standon; Major Hon. W. E. Rowley; Fleet-Surgeon Rogers; Lieutenant-Colonel W. E. Fell; Captain Douglas Byanes; Dr. Frank L. Riley; Dr. Walter Wilding; and Lady Victoria Murray,

daughter of Lord and Vicomtesse Dunmore.

The case of Lady Victoria Murray is so interesting that it calls for more than passing mention. She, according to her testimony and that of her father and the Vicomtesse, was raised up from an advanced stage of tuberculosis, after hope of her life had been given up, by Christian Science. When entirely healed she settled among the workmen of Manchester, determined to consecrate her life to the healing of the sick and the spiritual awakening of the poor in that great manufacturing city. The first case she treated was the little child of Dr. Walter Wilding, a well-known physician of Manchester. The child had been a cripple from birth and for some years had been encased in a steel armor almost like a cage. According to medical science there was no possible hope of its recovery, but under Lady Victoria's treatment the child was soon restored to

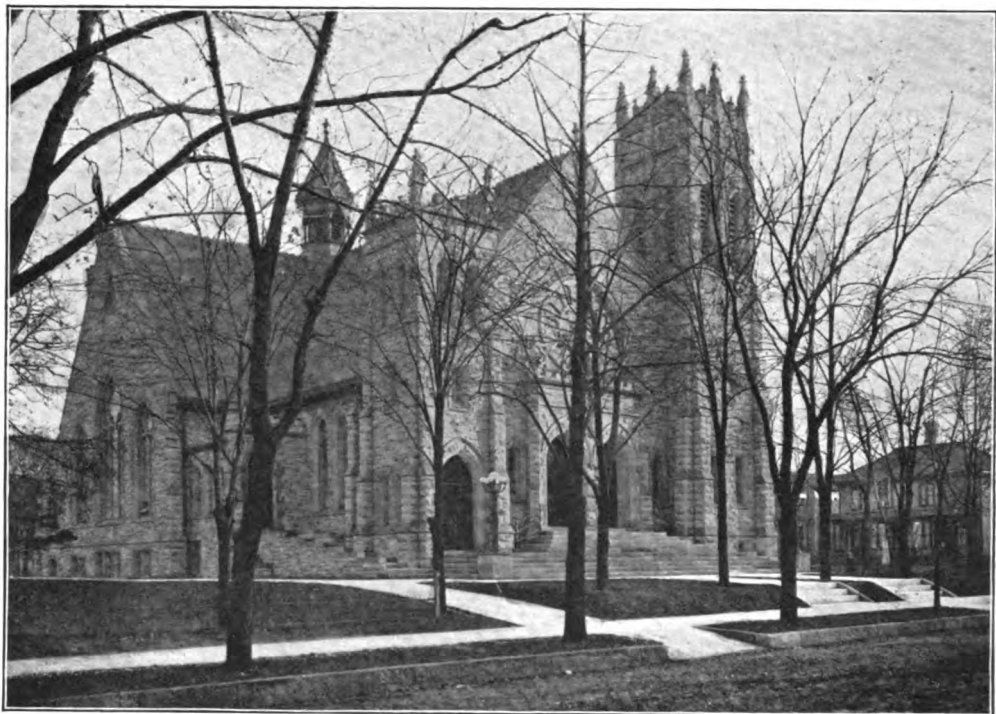
perfect health, the affliction being entirely overcome, and since that time it has remained well and healthy. So great was the impression of this cure upon the father that he embraced Christian Science. Lady Victoria has built up a church in Manchester of over six hundred members, and has also organized about a score of societies in and around this great city.

We mention these names merely to show how absurd is the claim thoughtlessly echoed by many people, that Christian Science does not appeal in a convincing way to intellectual men and women.

It has been claimed that Mrs. Eddy is not a learned woman, but this is merely the repetition of an objection that has been advanced time and again against great moral leaders and reformers. Indeed, from the standpoint of the learned Jews and Romans of Jesus' day, would He not have been regarded as ignorant—too ignorant, indeed, to merit serious consideration being given His words on the part of those who seem to imagine that scholastic learning is a necessary accompaniment to a vital moral or spiritual message? In the case of the great Nazarene His lack of scholastic training did not prevent His doing mighty works or winning the heart of the people to a nobler ideal of life and promulgating the loftiest code of ethics the world has ever known. As a matter of fact, is it not true that almost every religious leader has been denounced either as ignorant or as a charlatan, an impostor and a dangerous character? More than this. How many of these have escaped being denounced as corrupt, immoral and beneath the respect of those who claimed to be pillars of religion, society and the state? Look, for example, at Socrates, whose lofty moral precepts have been an inspiration to the high-minded for over three thousand years. He was condemned to death on the charge of corrupting the youths of Athens and of impiety. His corruption lay in his teaching them to

think for themselves and to think broadly and honestly. We have no records that voice the charges of the enemies of Jesus or the calumnies and slanders that doubtless were industriously circulated in regard to the Nazarene, save those which incidentally crop out in the writings of His followers; but from these we see how He was criticized. Thus on one occasion it will be remembered Jesus admitted that His enemies described Him as a wine-bibber and a friend of publicans and sinners, or in other words, as one addicted to strong drink and who associated with those whom the Jews held to be the vilest members of society. And we further know what all our conventional leaders in press, church and society would say to-day of the founder of a religion that ran contrary to conventional religious ideals, who would accept the hospitality of a man in the social scale of the publicans of Christ's time, or who would permit those whom the world accounted fallen women to anoint his feet and wipe them with the hairs of their heads, or who should be followed from town to town by ignorant men and women whose former lives had been admittedly questionable in character. What wild hysterical cries would to-day be raised against such a leader, especially if he threatened the established religious order or aroused the antagonism of a great profession whose members saw in the result of his work and that of his followers something that would seriously diminish their financial revenue!

Again, all historians know that Luther and Wesley were attacked and calumniated. Indeed, the persecution of religious and moral leaders in the past was inevitable, because the people were largely ignorant and swayed by the few who claimed superior intelligence and knowledge and who held places of power and authority. But that the same spirit, with equal virulence and malignity, should be present in the twentieth century—the age of democracy and general enlightenment—is a crying shame against



SECOND CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST, MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA.

which I hold that fair-minded men and women should everywhere protest.

More than this, no fact is better demonstrated by the whole history of religious and moral advance than that it is the word rather than the instrument that voices the word that concerns the oncoming ages. The world cares little for the slander, calumny or criticisms that were rife in the days when her prophets and moral leaders lived, nor yet for any physical or mental limitations that might have marked these leaders. The question the world will insist on is whether the message is vitally and helpfully true; and if so, the generations that are to come will turn in disgust from the carping of the critics against the voice that has proclaimed the helpful truth to that which is redemptive, vitalizing and helpful in the message. Every new religious conception or new interpretation of religion has met with the same bitter opposition we find opposing this latest religious interpretation.

Always has the old order attempted to suppress the new voice of protest and to discredit the message. The wise counsel of the great Jewish Rabbi Gamaliel, uttered when the Jews sought to crush out the early Christian church, is as applicable to-day as of old, but unhappily it is as little heeded as it was in the earlier day.

VII. THE MORAL IDEALISM OF CHRISTIAN SCIENCE ONE OF ITS GREATEST ELEMENTS OF SUCCESS.

Quite apart from all considerations of justice, fairness and the rights of all people to the enjoyment of such religious views as appeal to them as the fullest embodiment of divine truth, there is another reason why Christian Science should be treated with respect by right-thinking people. It is a religious interpretation instinct with moral idealism, dominated by a strong living faith—by love, hope and courage. In a word, it is imparting

deep religious fervor and moral exaltation to thousands of lives that had been religiously moribund. This I have noticed for years in association with scores of Christian Scientists, many of whom I knew when they were merely perfunctory members of various churches; and it is also shown in the fact that while other churches are sparsely attended on Sundays and very meagerly represented at the weekly prayer and experience meetings, the Christian Science churches are usually marked by large attendance. In Boston the utmost capacity of their great new temple, which seats over five thousand people, is frequently taxed. One illustration will emphasize this fact. While the *New York World* was engaged in its alleged *exposé* of Mrs. Eddy, Joaquin Miller, the famous poet of the Sierras, was visiting in Boston. Knowing that the *New York World* was a favorite daily with Mr. Miller, I placed a copy each morning in his hand. One day he said:

"While I am in Boston I wish to see the Christian Science temple and if I can I should like to attend a service there."

I replied that the next meeting would be held on the following evening, it being the regular Wednesday evening testimony meeting.

"Then let us go," he replied.

The night was peculiarly disagreeable. It had rained all day long and was raining and blowing a gale when the time arrived to go to the church. Still the poet insisted on going. I expected there would be few present, owing to the inclement night, and I tried to imagine how they would appear in the vast auditorium; but what was our amazement when we found fully four thousand people gathered in the church. Mr. Miller expressed his amazement several times. I asked him how he explained the fact that so many people were out on such a night, and he replied:

"These people are sincere. They believe and they feel their religion. I thank you for bringing me here, as I have seldom felt so restful an atmosphere."

At this time, or only a few days after Mr. Miller expressed his amazement at seeing this vast concourse of people at the regular Wednesday evening meeting of the Christian Science Church, the Rev. Dr. Peters, the distinguished New York divine, loudly complained that the orthodox churches were backward in our great metropolis. In commenting on his remarks the *Boston Herald* in an editorial on November 6th said:

"And right in the midst of all these attacks on Mother Eddy and her church comes Baptist Rev. Dr. Peters of New York complaining that all the old churches are going backward in the metropolis and that sinners catch the chills in the sacred refrigerators, while the Christian Science churches are all crowded, and that their gospel of health and happiness is winning people by the hundreds from all the other churches."

Now in an age when the materialism of the market has so largely paralyzed the moral energies of church, school, society, and business and public life, it is well that there is a church in which we find moral idealism so positively and actively expressed—a church in which faith is live and where love and sunshine are radiated in the lives of its communicants.

VIII. THE HEALING OF THE SICK.

Another thing which in common fairness to Christian Science should be referred to is the cures it has made and which have led so many people into this communion; because from time to time, when a person happens to die under Christian Science treatment, not only has the sensational press experienced an attack of hysteria, but a great and powerful profession whose members' pecuniary interests have necessarily been seriously affected by the large practices of the Christian Scientists, and whose motives in opposing all schools of thought and theories of cure outside of their own fellowship have been described by Herbert

Spencer in *Social Statics* as "nine parts self-interest, gilt over with one part of philanthropy,"* has organically and systematically opposed the new system of cure. In justice to the physicians it is fair to say that their view-point and that of Christian Science are mutually exclusive. For centuries, and up to within the last hundred years, the medical world has looked so wholly to material means as the only remedial agencies, that the idea of effecting cures through immaterial means appears to many as necessarily false, just as much so as the teachings of Servetus appeared necessarily false to Calvin; and now, as then, these intellectual successors of Calvin, instead of meeting what they conceive to be error with reason and tangible evidence in the manifest results of their theories, or what they conceive to be truth, would deny that freedom which I believe to have been the greatest handmaid of true progress in the realm of religion and science. Moreover, while we can understand the view-point of the physicians, fairness requires that we also recognize that of Christian Science. A large number, and indeed, I think, a great majority of the members of the Christian Science communion have first become interested in its teachings through being healed after they had vainly sought health from many physicians, often being under treatment for years and in many instances being cured by Christian Science after doctors had passed on them the death sentence by declaring that they had incurable diseases. That we may better realize their feeling, I will cite three cases out of scores upon scores of cures that have come under my personal observation during the past ten years, or that have been given to me by friends whom I know to be among the most intelligent and conscientious members of the community.

Case A. A lady of my acquaintance was for over thirty years almost continually under the care of leading physicians in prominent cities where she resided,

**Social Statics*, by Herbert Spencer. Page 409.

such as St. Louis, Washington, Cincinnati and Boston. These physicians had all treated her for the same trouble, without affording her any permanent relief. If she walked more than six or eight blocks she suffered greatly and was compelled to lie down for a long time. About six years ago she was treated by a Christian Science healer. In a few weeks every vestige of the trouble for which she had been treated for thirty years disappeared and has never returned.

Case B. A gentleman had for years been addicted to drink, so that his own life was worse than useless and that of his wife was rendered miserable beyond words. His health also gave way. He was subject to blinding headaches that rendered him unconscious. His hands shook almost as though he had palsy. He came under Christian Science treatment and in a short time was entirely restored. Every vestige of his appetite for liquor had disappeared. That was over five years ago, and this gentleman has remained not only entirely sober, but in excellent health. Now it may be urged that many people have been cured of the appetite for drink through hypnotic suggestion, and this is undoubtedly true; but physicians who have thus successfully treated patients will admit, I think, the danger of relapse, owing to the absence of moral sustaining influence around the patient. When he comes in contact with his old companions and the old evil atmosphere he is liable to relapse. Now just here Christian Science exerts a positive helpful influence in that it arouses the latent moral energies through its spiritual appeal; it encourages the patient to study the Bible in the light thrown upon it by Christian Science literature, whenever a feeling of temptation or weakness is felt; and it further urges the patient to attend the various meetings of the church. In this way the patient when weak and needing help is environed by a moral atmosphere that is of incalculable value.

Case C. The third and, for want of

space, final case I shall cite is that of Mr. Charles Klein, the famous American playwright. I take this case because Mr. Klein, owing to his three great plays which at the present time are the most phenomenal successes of the day—"The Lion and the Mouse," "The Daughters of Men" and "The Music Master"—is one of the best known men in the literary and dramatic centers of America. No one who witnesses these distinctly great plays will doubt either the mental or moral strength of the author. Mr. Klein has given the story of his wonderful cure, which was so important to the American stage, in detail, and from this story I quote as extensively as space permits, that my readers may have the great playwrights' own words:

"I was born a Jew, and brought up in the Jewish faith, but I was unable to reconcile its ancient formulæ, law, and symbolism with the metaphysical and scientific advancement of the age. I therefore became at the age of fifteen a confirmed skeptic, and as years went on this skepticism mellowed into agnosticism, the plane of consciousness on which Christian Science found me.

"Being in the world and of it, it required no special effort on my part to accept matter as my basis of thought, and thus God was logically excluded from my basis of reasoning. Having no faith in God, I naturally had no faith in good, in things unseen, but gradually acquired a belief in the power of evil, this belief being based on the testimony of my personal senses. I became grossly material and utterly selfish. My highest ideals, my gods, were success, fame, wealth, beauty in externalized forms (art). I nourished anger, revenge, and envy, was easily offended, and brooded over supposed injury. I drank deeply and often, I smoked continuously, gambled, and swore. According to the world's standards I was rated a good fellow, for I lived well within the pale of the civil

and social laws,—in short, I lived a conventional life. Thus I went on, life was one round of mingled pleasure, pain, work, play, enjoyment, misery, health, and sickness,—making existence a chaos, a self-evident contradiction, a burden. I often asked myself what was the object of my existence, what it meant. Theology, philosophy, and science had spoken, but their replies had only increased my perplexity, and I endeavored to solve the problem of existence myself by plunging deeper and deeper into the game of mortal life.

"I was fairly successful in my profession (that of writing for the stage), and had no financial worries, but my health began to give way, my nervous system broke down, and in a very short time I counted among my assets, liver complaint, insomnia, dyspepsia, nervous irritability, and a constant dread of some impending danger, an almost absolute hopelessness, which state made not only me but my family exceedingly unhappy. I consulted physicians, specialists, alienists, even druggists, as to the possible remedies for my multifarious diseases. I took nearly all their advice, and as much of their medicine as my stomach would stand.

"Incipient melancholia set in, and I took a saddening pleasure, a morbid interest in thinking of the joys of oblivion. Life had completely lost its interest for me. In addition to my own troubles, my wife was almost an invalid. She suffered from general debility, pulmonary troubles, throat disease, headache, and chronic colds.

"These were the general conditions governing me at the time when Christian Science found me. I do not think I have exaggerated in my description of the above conditions.

"Sometimes I plunged deeply into the gaieties of life, in the hope of finding happiness in some particular mental state, through material means; but every

hope was only destined to become part of my general experience, that nothing was real or lasting or true, and the longer I lived the more perplexed, unhappy, and ill I became.

"One day, a memorable day in my history, a friend of mine noticed my condition, and I, glad of the opportunity to air my woes, unburdened myself to him. I ticked off my ailments to him with a sort of morbid pride in the possession of so many diseases with unpronounceable names. I told him I had tried every known remedial agent, medical, hygienic, philosophic, but all in vain. He asked me if I had ever tried Christian Science, and I looked at him with a smile of bland superiority, mingled with pity. Why Christian? and why Science? Being a Jew, I objected to the word Christian, and being a materialist, I objected to the association of the terms. My friend told me that Christians were those who understood the Christ, Truth, whether they were Jews or Gentiles.

"Ashamed of my credulity, and yet hoping against hope, I ushered myself into the office of a Christian Science practitioner. There were two or three persons waiting for treatment, and there was an atmosphere of peace and calm about the office that soon extended itself to me, for, seating myself in a chair, I fell into a sound sleep.

"I must have slept fully half an hour, for when I awoke, the others had gone, and a portly, smiling, business-like gentleman stood in the doorway of the inner office and asked me what I wanted. I did not know, and I told him so. He asked me what he could do for me, and I replied that I did not know that he could do anything. He said I was quite right, inasmuch as God does all. I smiled superiorly. So far as I was concerned God was a vague hypothetical abstraction. I was very positive on this point, and the gentleman, seeing I was so well-informed and had nothing to learn, did not argue with me; on the contrary,

he let me talk myself out, and after I had pretty well exhausted my catalogue of ills and woes, my Christian Science friend calmly informed me that God, divine Love, would destroy them all if I were willing. This of course was arrant nonsense to me. I had been willing for years, and God, if He could have cured me, would have done so. As for divine Love, I saw very little evidence of its existence.

"With a marvelous exhibition of patience, the practitioner gently explained that God did not create evil, and has no consciousness of evil, for God is Love, Life, and Truth, infinite Mind, and that the recognition of this infinite Mind would destroy the false mental pictures that were manifesting themselves on my body, destroying my peace and happiness, and thus creating all my apparent woes.

"A short time after this, my Christian Science friend went away, and I met another practitioner, a lady, who treated me for my various ailments. As I have said, I was a man of the world, a member of several clubs, social and literary organizations, and numbered among my friends many of the most prominent physicians, lawyers, and artists. I was a confirmed materialist, and yet I make the following statement, fully realizing the difficulty of its being understood by those who do not understand Christian Science. Indeed I myself would not, and could not, in the light of my worldly training, have believed in such a contradiction of accepted theories and material laws before I studied Christian Science. All the same, it is true that from the time I received these treatments, from the time I opened and read that book, I gradually indeed almost immediately, recovered my health, my peace of mind, professional and financial success, and happiness far beyond my wildest dream, and I have never taken a drug nor consulted a physician since that hour.

"Under Christian Science treatment all traces of kidney disease disappeared. I suffered no more from insomnia. I

lost my desire for alcoholic stimulants, and stomach troubles which I had from boyhood, dyspepsia, nervous irritability, heart, gastric, and bowel ailments, all left me by degrees; I had no more of those awful fits of depression, and my whole life was changed. Nor was this all: my wife was healed of general debility, pulmonary and throat diseases of a most pronounced type, headaches, and neurasthenic tendency. She had seemed to be ill all the time, but she soon recovered her health through treatment and the reading of Science and Health. In addition to all these blessings, my son was healed in two treatments of hernia from which he had been a sufferer for seven years, and I cannot begin to enumerate the various other physical discomforts from which my family and myself were relieved. What I would like to dwell on now, is the wonderful spiritual healing we have experienced. There are eight of us, all partakers of the blessings of Christian Science.

“This truth has not only restored me to health, but it has enabled me to begin to comprehend the Bible, which had hitherto been utterly unintelligible to me.”

“The Lion and the Mouse,” that masterly *exposé* of the Standard Oil’s methods, and “The Daughters of Men,” a powerful drama of social conditions that is dominated by the loftiest moral idealism, were written after Mr. Klein’s healing.

I cite these typical cases taken from scores upon scores of similar cures that I could give, which, as I have observed, have either come under my own personal observation or have come to me from high-minded and conscientious friends

whose ability to judge discriminatingly is exceptional and whose veracity is beyond question.

Now this is not saying that Christian Scientists cure all their patients, nor does the fact that thousands upon thousands of persons have been cured by Christian Science necessarily prove the truth of the Christian Science explanation or theory of cure, any more than the fact that thousands upon thousands of persons are ready to testify to their cures by medicine proves that medicine is an exact science, so long as other thousands of persons are continually dying under the same treatment. But it does prove that there is a positive agency for healing that operates on the physical, mental and moral nature and changes the whole outlook of life, making it calm, serene, cheerful, hopeful and strong in faith, and that by making altruism or love the dominant note of religion it brings the patient into *rapport* with lofty moral idealism.

In preparing this paper I have been prompted solely by a desire to conserve the interests of justness and common fairness and to protest against the persistent circulation of sensational and sinister attacks that have been proved time and again to be false, and furthermore by a desire to present as briefly and as well as lay in the power of one whose knowledge of the subject is as limited as my own, some facts and ideals that I feel may enable my readers to judge the new faith more justly and intelligently than would be possible from the perusal of the sensational articles constantly appearing in our daily and weekly press.

B. O. FLOWER.

Boston, Mass.

LIL: A SNAP-SHOT OF THE SLUMS.

BY HELEN C. BERGEN-CURTIS.

IT WAS nine o'clock P. M. A man calling out the attractions within, paced up and down in front of the Chinese theater in Doyer street, that noted and notorious thoroughfare in the vicinity of Chatham Square, New York city. A few doors removed from this playhouse of the Orientals is the stuffy, little mission hall, which, at the above-named hour, begins to echo to the sound of unsteady footsteps.

On the night in question, the leader of the meeting was in his place on the small platform, while on a circumscribed elevation at the right sat several reformed persons, who assisted in leading the singing and were the first to give their experiences and tell what miracles had been wrought upon their now changed hearts. The audience was nightly composed of ex-convicts, women of the pavement, and other individuals from the lowest stratum of society. Gospel songs were sandwiched between "experiences" and prayers, and the leader of the meeting, who was wont to boast loudly upon every possible occasion that he had been rescued from a drunkard's grave, generally made a short address.

Girls and men from the surrounding opium-dens came straggling in, often shouting profane remarks at the leader as they careened up the aisle. On a bench near the platform, with several other persons, sat a buxom young woman with jet-black hair about two feet long, which hung down, unconfined, against her neck. Her complexion was creamy-white, her eyes hazel, her figure symmetrical, but her chief personal pride seemed to be in her feet, which were elegantly encased in a handsome pair of shoes of the most approved fashion. She was more quiet than her companions, and seemed to be watching for someone, since her eyes constantly roved from the mission clock to the door.

The girl, generally known as Lil, who

sat next to her—a faded, frail-looking, young thing, with a racking cough—leaned over and whispered:

"Expecting Ned home to-night?"

The young woman addressed nodded her head and kept her eyes fixed on the door. A Gospel hymn had been begun anew, when a man of medium height, and possessed of a peculiarly interesting face, entered the hall and took his seat quietly at the end of a row of men.

"There he is now, Mary," whispered the pale girl eagerly. "He certainly do grow more beautiful as the days go by."

"And nobody knows it better than him," growled Mary. "I'm goin' to get out of here. He's been away for three weeks and I want to see him." She got up and went to the door, merely glancing at him in passing. He arose obediently and followed her into the street. She shrugged her shoulders as he caught up to her.

"You've been a long time gettin' home," she said.

On other occasions he had been wont to chide her for such a reception, but to-night he only replied: "It was a heavy piece of work, all in all."

"Did you get much?"

"A little." Evasively.

"'A little!' Tough Tom has been out on a fine lay. He says any time I choose to——" Mary looked up into the face of the man at her side. "Do you mean to say you would be glad for me to go?" she demanded.

"I have not said so, Mary."

"But you thought it," she said angrily. "I seen it in your face."

"You must consult your own happiness," was the man's reply. "Besides, I am thinking of leaving New York for good."

"Oh, you are," she jeered. "It will be for Sing-Sing, then, for I know a thing or two." Her whole expression had changed. It bore a remote resemblance

to a she-wolf about to lose her prey.

"You know a thing or two," he repeated falteringly, and yet with no suggestion of fear. An avalanche of apprehension seemed to envelope him for an instant at her crude threat, yet it was distinctly related to disappointment, and that disappointment, by some psychological transfer of mental motives that was borne in upon her, in no way related vitally to her, nor yet alone to himself. Her usually resonant voice became harsh and unwieldy as she continued: "Yes, about that deal at Syracuse. If you t'row me down, I'll do it."

"I would n't have thought it of you, Mary," he said quietly.

"I likes the upper hand, Ned," replied the woman. "Have you had any-thing to eat?"

"Plenty. I am going with you to the rooms and get a few things, and then I am going to leave again to-night."

"No, no, do n't go till to-morrow night, Ned. I'll twist up my hair with hair-pins, and put a fresh ribbon about my neck, and be quite a lady if you'll wait over. I've had a lonely time, Ned, since you've been away."

"Do n't bother to keep up that strain," said the man coolly, "for I know a thing or two, also. I know who has kept you company during my numerous absences in the past year. I've let it pass, but I've known all about it." He gave her a look that caused her to change her mind in regard to denying the implied charge.

They walked on until they came to the tenement-house where they lived. They climbed the stairs in silence, and Mary produced a key. When they had entered, she stood waiting in an expectant way. Ned stared about the room with an inaudible sigh. Here, at one time, he had tried to find happiness; he had talked of marriage to the woman who shared these rooms with him, and had suggested earnestly a changed mode of life for each of them, in a new community. Mary's reply had been: "Indeed, Ned, I could n't go so far from little old Chatham Square, and anyway your pic-

ture's in the gallery. What's the use?"

She had never been tender or loving with him, even in her coarse way. His sentiment had amused her; his personal beauty filled her with contempt; she half-hated him at times. But he was kind to her, and gave her plenty of money to spend—which she did principally on two things, whiskey and fine shoes.

"You won't go away until to-morrow night, will you?" insisted the woman.

"Why should I stay?" he asked, roughly.

"Because I ask you to," she replied in a wheedling tone.

"And you want me to because you want me to shell out what money I've got." He sank rather than sat down in a nearby chair, and glared at her ferociously.

The woman lighted the gas.

"I expect this place don't look like much after all the fine homes your business takes you to," she remarked, as she threw the burnt match down on a table.

The man regarded her earnestly as she stood with her strong arms on her hips, her red, voluptuous lips parted into a smile that showed a line of pure, scintillant white between. Her intensely-black hair was pushed back carelessly from a face that held a sturdy, hard, careless beauty of its own. As she regarded him, he felt the hopelessness of her life cast in such a mould as it was. The steel of circumstance enveloped her. The habit of her mode of life held her tenaciously. What had been her history before he had picked her up, stultified with cheap whiskey, that night five years before? In jail and out! For Mary had been a pickpocket who had never risen very far, even in the avocation which she followed always in a desultory fashion. She lived literally from day to day, with absolutely no care, certainly no forethought, and decidedly no apprehension, as to the morrow. Only once had she been bitter, and that transparent bitterness was alive with laughter; this was when she spoke of the instance of her last arrest. It had been at Christmas-

time when the denizens of Chatham Square, like the rest of the world, felt privileged to make merry.

About the hour when the wise men from Jerusalem are portrayed in sacred history as going forth to seek for the infant born of Mary the Immaculate, this other Mary, who had mingled in her veins the blood of an Italian emigrant and an Irish sailor, had been sent to jail. In the course of her trial next day, it was developed that she had done nothing more serious than pull the pig-tail of a Chinaman as he passed her solemnly by. But Mary was compensated for having lost her freedom, at a time when freedom was especially desirable, for such a trivial matter, by the fact that the Judge was offended for having to bother with such a trivial matter, and made some light comment not particularly complimentary to the Celestials in general, as he dismissed her without even a reprimand.

And now as the man looked at her, something strange within him stirred, and he said: "The place has never been anything to me, Mary, because you deceived me and lied to me from the first. It represents merely one more blighted hope. But all that is past. Come and sit down by me; how much must I pay you for my freedom?"

Mary threw herself into a chair and turned her eyes up to the ceiling calculatingly. "About a t'ousand plunks," she said at a hazard.

"Very well. The money is yours. I will see that you get it in the morning."

"Then you stay here over night," she announced.

"Very well," he acquiesced, "I'll sleep on the couch."

"Sleep where you please," she retorted indifferently. Deliberately, and without glancing once again in the direction of her, the man removed his collar, tie, coat, vest and cuffs, and lay down on the couch near at hand.

Mary looked about her uneasily. "I am not used to bunkin' so early," she said.

"Well, can't you go out?" he asked

kindly enough. "Here is some money. Get what you want to eat and drink, but when you come in, come softly."

Mary took the money with a grateful but inarticulate grunt and went out, closing and quietly locking the door after her. Down on the pavement she found Lil, the pale, fragile girl with the racking cough, waiting for her. "How is he, Mary?" asked she eagerly.

"That you, Lil? He's all right. He's goin' to give me a t'ousand plunks in the mornin' and quit. I've a notion to have him pulled on that Syracuse deal."

"I saw Tom down the street near the Chinese theater, lookin' for you," said Lil, adroitly turning the subject.

"Oh, did you?" cried Mary, with strange little lights dancing in the shadows of her now black eyes. "Here's ten cents for a drink of whiskey. You run get it and by that time I'll be back."

"What if Ned finds out you have gone to meet Tom?" asked Lil. For answer Mary held up the key. "I've locked him in," she announced. Lil laughed and coughed simultaneously, and the two girls parted. Lil looked back and saw Mary go around the corner. Quick as a flash she turned and sped to the tenement where Ned and Mary were lodged. Up the two flights of stairs she hurried, past a tousled-headed boy who, with tin-bucket in hand, was coming out presumably to get beer for his progenitors, and straight she went to the door which Mary had locked but a few minutes before. She took a skeleton-key from her pocket and skilfully let herself in. Ned was awake and pacing the floor. He turned abruptly, thinking it was Mary. Then seeing it was Lil, her friend, he said: "Hello, girl, what's up?"

"Mary threatens to squeal about that Syracuse robbery," she said hurriedly. "She and Tough Tom have found out all about it between them. You are in danger if you stay here. If she says a word, you'll go to Sing-Sing. Ned, fly, fly for your life, and I'll run down and keep her 'till you get

away. Hurry, for the love of God."

She was interrupted by a violent fit of coughing. He put on his overcoat without a word, took his hat in his hand, then some money from his pocket and put it into Lil's hand. "You'll need it," he said. "You have been a good friend to me. I do n't want to get pulled just now. Lil, I have met by chance a good woman. I love her and I want to get out of all this. You can't guess, little girl, how kind you have been to me." He paused, startled by the more than usual pallor of her face. "Are you feeling worse than usual?" he asked.

Lil began to cry, softly. "Don't stop," she moaned, "go on, go on."

"Good-night, little girl," he said. "We may never meet again. God keep you forever."

With this he was gone, vaguely wondering why the woman wept—pitying her deeply, understanding her not at all, after the manner of men, good, bad and indifferent, since the world began.

Lil pulled the door to and locked it, then hastened toward the Mission Hall to find Mary. She found her and Tom quarreling on a street corner. "I've had a piece of luck for once," she said, "come with me, both of you, and we'll get a good fill up for once."

"Here's Mary wants me to help t'row Ned, after he gives her the wad, too," grumbled Tom. "Now, while I wants you," (this to Mary) "to become my lady friend instead of his'n, still I ain't much on givin' a brother man's lay away. It ain't Bible doctrine."

"Well, I can do it myself," retorted Mary, "and it's good-bye to you."

"Well, when it comes to that," said Tom, "I suppose I'll have to give in, but it's my fust offense in that line, and all for the sake of a fair female," he concluded, plaintively.

"We'll do it to-morrow, then," said Mary, "after I get my dough. I'll let him sleep late, have a good breakfast for him, and when he goes out it will be with bracelets on his arms. He always was fond of jewelry." And she laughed

boisterously, but she laughed alone.

"Gee, but it's the meanest thing I ever done," said Tough Tom. "Well, ladies, shall we wet our whistles?"

"At my expense," said Lil.

"Never," exclaimed Tom. "Me for payin' the bills of my lady friends when they drinks wid me."

It was long past midnight when the three staggered up to Mary's rooms. They had decided to wake Ned and take him out to fatten before the slaughter, as one might say. It seemed a huge joke to one of them. Lil, for appearances sake, joined in the laughter, though in so doing she brought on her cough. Mary took the key from her pocket, and called out gayly on letting them into the room:

"Neddie, come out and give us——"

The words fell on an empty room. "Ned," she shrieked. Then, realizing beyond doubt that her intended victim was gone, she turned fiercely to the man at her side. "He is gone, gone," she wailed, "and you are to blame."

"I don't see how." Tough Tom's voice was disconsolate, but he wore an expression of intense relief.

"Perhaps he is under the bed," suggested Lil, innocently, and got down ostentatiously to look. Mary joined in the search. He was not there. "I am sure he will be back," said Lil faintly, between paroxysms of coughing, super-induced by kneeling down, "He always comes back, you know, Mary. Besides there are his cuffs and collar and tie on the bureau. He has not gone far. Oh, you can count on it, he is coming back. You may look for him any minute. Then to herself, "I have met by chance a good woman—I love her——" Another fit of coughing overtook her.

"What's that you are mumbling?" demanded Mary, her voice riding stridently above the gusty coughing.

"He'll come back, he'll come back," reiterated Lil, consolingly. At which assurance Tough Tom looked very glum.

But Mary, of Doyer street, is looking still.

HELEN C. BERGEN-CURTIS.

Washington, D. C.

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

The Pending Struggle Between Democracy and Aristocracy in England.

THE WORLD is witnessing in the refusal of the Lords favorably to consider legislation proposed and passed by a large majority in the House of Commons, relative to education, labor and other vital problems in which the nation is deeply interested, the opening skirmish of another of those titanic battles that mark the slow progress of the people in their struggle for their own. Along the highway that leads to popular rule, at intervals we see an arrogant oppressor of the people, in one of various guises, seeking to prevent the multitude from coming into their own, or, failing in that, he watches his opportunity and the moment the easy-going masses, imagining the victory won for all time, lapse into lethargy, he reappears and strives to win back lost power or gain new privileges by stealth, cunning, corruption or force. Sometimes it is a king, emperor or other dignitary that blasphemously assumes divine right; sometimes it is an aristocracy, a plutocracy or a priestly class seeking to enslave the millions for personal enrichment.

But to the intelligent friend of democracy the one thing important to be remembered is that the struggle between class-interests and the people is at heart the same, whether it is waged by a Kaiser in Germany, a House of Peers in England or a plutocracy in America. No true democrat therefore can be indifferent to the present struggle in England between the people and the peers, which may easily become as momentous a passage in history as was the great Reform-Bill battle which eventuated in the triumph for the time being of the principles of democratic constitutional monarchy over the dominant kingly and aristocratic assumptions of power.

The Earlier Battle and Its Lessons.

Few passages in the history of modern England are so pregnant with vital and inspiring lessons for the friends of freedom to-day as the Reform-Bill battle and its outcome. The royal house of England had become more and more reactionary as it felt its security growing

until it evinced a spirit very similar to that of the hated Stuarts. The reactionary aristocracy, always jealous of any increase of power on the part of the people, lent itself to the interests of the throne. A community of interests existed between these privileged classes which made them, as is usually the case, ready to make common cause against the people.

But the success of our Republic had put new courage into the hearts of the people in all lands, and the terrible retribution which the French masses had meted out to their age-long oppressors had served as a wholesome warning to monarchs and lords who had hitherto been despotic and insolent in their oppressions.

In England the misery of the poor almost beggared description, as was shown by various painstaking investigations. The privileged rich, then as now, were justifying their lavish expenditure of wealth on dress and various forms of ostentation, on the ground that these things gave work for the poor. The poor were rapidly reaching the danger-line where starvation and a sense of injustice drives the masses to revolution. The middle-class joined in the struggle against the privileged interests, and it soon became apparent that unless the principles of the Reform Bill, which virtually changed the government of England to a representative government, were accepted, a general uprising would ensue. The House of Lords, with its peers and bishops, stood overwhelmingly against the people and with the throne, and when the Reform Bill first passed the House it seemed apparent that the Lords would never ratify it, even though the King urged its acceptance. At this the public spirit of democratic England flamed forth from north to south. The wealth-producing millions were awakening and girding themselves for the coming struggle. Then it was that the King had the great "Iron Duke" sound the soldiers, the bulwark of despotism, to see if the English soldiers could be cajoled, by pleas of loyalty and duty, into shooting down their own people; but to his amazement and alarm, for Wellington was an intense reactionary, the Duke found the soldiers were

so in sympathy with the people that it would be folly to risk an issue. Then, and not until then, the Lords abdicated; and Englishmen supposed that the great fundamental subject of contention—whether or not the people through the Commons were the real rulers of England—was settled and settled forever in favor of the people.

Happily at that time and for the next score or more of years the masses were keenly awake to the peril of indifference or lethargy, and they called from time to time to their ranks as splendid a group of high-minded statesmen as ever waged war for popular rule and justice in any land. Foremost among these were Cobden and Bright, and after Peel's acceptance of the popular demand for reform there came Gladstone and a number of other statesmen of superior power who were under the compulsion of moral idealism.

It was not until after the plutocracy began to gain ascendancy over the people in America that the reactionaries, under the leadership first of Disraeli and later of Salisbury, Balfour, and Chamberlain, began to battle against the spirit of democracy. The people in England, as in America, had been lulled to sleep and distracted by foreign wars which are always the opportunity of the enemies of popular rule; and reaction slowly but steadily advanced, and in England it united various selfish interests. As a result a number of laws known to be odious to the majority of the people were passed by the reactionary House elected on the war issue.

Then came the great democratic reaction with its enormous Liberal majority; and now that this House, fresh from the people, seeks to carry out the ante-election pledges, the House of Lords strives to block the way. The result of the struggle will be awaited by true democrats in this country with almost as great interest as by the Liberal masses in England, for it is all one struggle under slightly differing forms. The battle is between progress and reaction; between the freedom of a broad and just educational and religious order and the bigotry and narrowness of dogmatic clericalism that in all ages when it has had power has united with despotism against the rights of the millions and the conscience of the individual. It is a war between the privileged classes who would exploit and oppress, and the people who desire the just fruits of democracy.

Chief Objects on Which The Opposing Forces Are Contending.

There are four great measures which the Liberals pledged the people relief from in the campaign and which the people naturally expect liberal legislation upon. These deal with Education, Trades Disputes, The Land and Plural Voting. On all these measures the Lords threaten to veto the work of the people's servants or to change the bills so as to defeat the object aimed at. In the case of the Education Bill this has already been done; and it remains for the Liberal Ministry, backed by the Liberal House, to say whether England is to be ruled by the peers or the people. If the Liberal ministry has the courage and wisdom of true statesmanship and is as loyal to democracy as the servants of reaction and privilege are to their masters, one of two courses will be followed: Either through the drastic use of the power of the House to control appropriations and taxation the Lords will be compelled to come to terms, or the Ministry can appeal to the people. There is, of course, difficulty in appealing on an issue such as the Education Bill, for example, as the real issue would be largely obscured by old-time appeals to religious prejudice, united with the combined influence of the aristocratic landed class and other special interests that are all seeking the overthrow of the Liberals.

The outlook is serious but by no means necessarily alarming for the Liberals, if their leadership is wise and brave; but here we are confronted by one of those paralyzing *ifs* that so frequently lie athwart the path of progress.

If England Had The Referendum.

The present conditions in England afford a striking illustration of the importance, practicality, and we may say necessity of the Referendum in the present stage of governmental progress, if the efficiency of democracy is to be maintained and the best results of popular government are to be enjoyed with the least possible confusion, cost and disorder. If England had a law compelling a popular Referendum on all important matters when the two houses could not agree, the real desires of the nation on these vital questions could easily be ascertained and the popular will embedded in legislation by the submission of the Ministerial or the House Bill, and also the proposal of the Lords, to the people. The voters would then have the clear-cut is-



Macaulay, in *New York World*.

BLOWING UP THE ROCK.

sues before them. They could accept either or vote down both; while the House would be free to push forward other legislation dear to the heart of the people and for which in part its members were elected. Moreover, if the Lords knew that the people would have a chance for a Referendum on each measure, there would be little of the arrogant and dogmatic attitude on the part of that undemocratic body that is now evinced, and reasonable agreements or compromises might be made on practically all important measures. It is the knowledge that the people have the power finally to determine important legislation that paralyzes the despot, the oppressor, the grafter and the reactionary who would thwart the onward march of fundamental democracy.

Some Encouraging Aspects of The Late Election.

INSTEAD of being discouraged at the outcome of the November elections, friends of fundamental democracy who are philosophical enough to weigh judicially the various factors involved in this opening skirmish in the war for the restoration of a democratic republic and the overthrow of the corrupt and criminal feudalism of privileged wealth, will see that the results are rich in promise and that at many

points along the firing-line the forces of popular government won important and deeply significant victories. Even when the temporary result was registered in favor of the plutocracy, the circumstances connected with the victory are such that the far-seeing among their servants recognize that the grounds for alarm are far greater than those for congratulation. Thus we find the *New York Nation*, ultra-conservative and one of the most bitter enemies of Mr. Hearst among the metropolitan papers, thus tacitly admitting the contentions of Mr. Hearst and uttering a solemn note of warning to the reactionary and predatory interests it so valiantly serves as occasion demands:

"The warning is unmistakable. If Mr. Hughes fails to do his utmost to check abuses and redress grievances, if in this effort he is thwarted by the hirelings of the machine, Hearst or one of his kind will surely have his innings. The corporations have rights which must be respected as scrupulously as those of the individual; but our common carriers cannot be allowed to use their immensely valuable franchises from the public as instruments of discrimination; our traction and lighting companies are not licensed to loot our cities; our anti-monopoly laws must not be violated with impunity. Such men as John D. Rockefeller and Henry H. Rogers of the Standard Oil; Thomas F. Ryan and Anthony N. Brady, the manipulators of traction stocks; President Charles A. Peabody of the Mutual Life and other life insurance officials who are trying to prevent a free vote by policyholders; such buccaneers in high finance as E. H. Harriman, have heretofore shown little appreciation of popular sentiment. They have acted as if no power on earth had right or might to check the greed of their corporations. To them also the vote of Tuesday should carry its lesson. The faith of thousands in Hearst as a savior has its pathetic side. In casting their ballots for him they have blindly cried for justice. They will not be denied."

One thing the last election has proved beyond the shadow of a doubt, and that is that the old political inertia and moral stagnation that have held the American people in thrall and enabled the plutocracy steadily to gain ascendancy over the people and the government, has passed away. The people are at

last thoroughly awakened and are thinking, —nay, more, they are girding themselves for a titanic battle against the criminal rich, the princes of privilege that have debauched the government and robbed the people of their substance and the nation of its great natural resources of wealth while posing as the pillars of the church and of business and social life. The last election was merely the first real skirmish since the people have awakened from the moral and mental stupor into which party bosses and corporate wealth have lulled them. Even the apparent defeats are of such a character as to be unmistakable heralds of victory, if the same spirit that fired Franklin, Jefferson, Adams and Washington shall from now on animate those who appreciate the full significance to civilization of the pending struggle between popular government and class-rule by a privileged and conscienceless few.

But this is not all. The positive victories won against great odds should hearten every man and woman worthy of our great Republic. Some of these victories, how they were won, and their true significance we shall now briefly touch upon.

The Splendid Results for Popular Rule and Civic Righteousness Won in The Wisconsin Election.

It affords us much pleasure to be in a position to give our readers a clear, comprehensive epitome of the result in Wisconsin in the following report made to us by our friend, Professor William Kittle, Secretary of the Board of Regents of Normal Schools of Wisconsin. Nowhere in the November elections did the friends of free institutions, civic righteousness and just government win more pronouncedly than in Wisconsin.

The Wisconsin Election.

The recent election in Wisconsin is of much interest in its relation to the past five years' struggle for good government in that state. It will be seen that those who have stood for the constructive legislation already enacted, have suffered no defeat and that Senator La Follette is still the active and effective leader in Wisconsin.

On September 25th, the candidates for the state offices and of the legislature, including the hold-over state senators, met in convention at Madison and adopted a state platform. This declaration of the Republican party of

Wisconsin is a clear and strong statement of the principles which La Follette has advocated. The following are the main planks of the platform:

"We endorse and approve the past administration of Governor Robert M. La Follette, as conspicuously progressive, honest and economic, and point with pride to his advocacy of a faithful compliance with the party promises made to the people of Wisconsin in the past. And we specially point out, among the important measures secured during his administration, the laws affecting primary elections, the State Railway Commission, and equitable method of railway taxation, the law prohibiting improper legislative lobbying, and other laws of great value to the people of Wisconsin. We approve the work recently done in Congress to secure similar legislation, and we urge upon our senators and representatives in Congress to join in a united effort in support of such legislation as will insure in national affairs the same reforms as have been enacted into laws in Wisconsin, and heretofore and now recommended by the platforms of the Republican party in this state.

"We pledge ourselves to the enactment of a law providing for the regulation of rates of service of all public-service corporations, similar to that now exercised over railroads. The same reasons exist for controlling the rates of water, electric light, gas, telephone, telegraph and street-railway companies, and other public-service corporations, as for controlling transportation rates. Legislation should be enacted making it the duty of the railroad commission to ascertain the value of the property of all such corporations.

"We pledge ourselves to the enactment of a law providing for the regulation of the issue of stocks and bonds of all public-service corporations, giving to the Wisconsin Railroad Commission supervisory control over the same, and by appropriate provisions preventing the issue of any such stocks and bonds, except for actual value.

"We favor the enactment of laws for the regulation of the business of life insurance, which shall provide for the fullest protection to the funds of such companies; the protection of the interests of Wisconsin policy-holders in \$9,000,000 of surplus belonging to them; a fair and intelligible form of contract, the making of mutual companies mutual in fact as well as in name; publicity in all of their



Macauley, in New York World.

THE PROTECTOR OF THE WIDOW AND ORPHAN.

affairs, and an accounting and irrevocable apportionment of dividends.

"Railway employ  s are engaged in public service most hazardous in its nature. Legislation should be enacted providing that negligence of an injured employ   shall not bar a recovery of damages by him, if the jury shall find that the negligence of the railway company is greater than his own.

"We pledge ourselves to further the passage of the amendment to the constitution now pending, as to permit the passage of a law imposing a graduated tax upon incomes with reasonable exemptions, and the passage of such law as soon thereafter as possible in order to remedy, among others, the great evil now existing by reason of the present mortgage-taxation law.

"We favor such amendment to the primary election law as will strengthen it and make it most effective as an instrument of government in the hands of the people.

"We favor the enactment of legislation which will enable any city or village that so desires to own its own public utilities, and to apply the broad principles of eminent domain in acquiring existing plants at their true value. We also favor legislation which will give to municipalities when they purchase a public utility the right to pay for the same out of the proceeds of certificates of indebtedness which

shall be a lien on the property so purchased."

The chief management of the campaign from September 25th to November 6th was in the hands of W. D. Connor, the Chairman of the State Central Committee and a candidate for Lieutenant-Governor. Senator La Follette opposed his election as Chairman of the State Central Committee but Governor Davidson made a strong personal appeal to the convention for Connor and this secured his election. During the campaign, Mr. Connor gave his unqualified and earnest support to all the Stalwarts who had been nominated at the primaries on the ground that they had been regularly nominated by the Republican party. He strongly supported in particular Mr. Boden, for District-Attorney in Milwaukee, Mr. Babcock for Congress in the Third District, and Mr. Beach and Mr. Foley for State Senators. All four were beaten on November 6th. Mr. Connor gave explicit directions that no speaker going out under the auspices of the State Central Committee should mention La Follette favorably. He also invited Senator John C. Spooner to speak in various parts of the state under the auspices of the State Central Committee, and Senator Spooner made a number of speeches advocating the election of Mr. Connor and taking pains to say in each place that he appeared under the auspices of the State Central Committee. Mr. Connor had frequent conferences with the Stalwarts and with Senator Spooner, Mr. Babcock and Mr. Pfister in particular.

Senator La Follette did not appear under the auspices of the State Central Committee. But in this respect, he followed his usual custom. However, it is well known that Mr. Connor did not want him to appear in the campaign and that Senator La Follette would not allow his itinerary to be controlled by his enemy. Senator Spooner advocated the election of the entire Republican ticket; Senator La Follette in two senatorial districts at least, openly advocated the election of Democrats and the defeat of the two Republican candidates who in the last two sessions of the legislature had repudiated their pledges. In Milwaukee, he made a strenuous campaign for McGovern, the independent candidate for District-Attorney, against the regular nominee. He was known to be opposed to Babcock and other candidates. He gave Governor Davidson his sincere and earnest

support and contributed money to his campaign. He gave as a reason that the candidate on the Democratic ticket has been for years a Stalwart.

In Milwaukee at a public meeting, Senator La Follette was asked to give his opinion of Mr. Connor. La Follette replied that he was sorry the question was asked but that he could not dodge; that ever since Mr. Connor had opposed certain legislation at Madison, he had doubted his sincerity. Connor replied the next evening by an attack on Senator La Follette.

It will readily be seen that there is a contest on for leadership between Mr. Connor and Senator La Follette. There can be no compromise. Connor would willingly compromise, as he desires to go to the United States Senate. He is playing a most difficult game. He publicly advocates the constructive legislation secured by La Follette and quite openly makes alliances with the Stalwarts. He will be the presiding officer in the coming legislature, but as such he has only a casting vote without the power to appoint the committees in the state senate. Mr. Connor is relying on both the Stalwarts and La Follette supporters. He advocates harmony and a reunited party. He ignores La Follette as a factor. He is said to be worth from two to three million dollars and his enemies assert that he will be unscrupulous in using his wealth to further his aims. The election returns will throw light on this contest for leadership and also on the question of whether the progress in constructive legislation has ceased in Wisconsin.

The main contest for good government was in Milwaukee over the election of a District-Attorney and the prosecution of grafters in that city. The case is exactly like that of Folk in St. Louis. During the past two years Frank McGovern has been District or Prosecuting Attorney. The grand jury returned a great number of indictments and McGovern followed these up with vigorous prosecutions of city officials. Among others, he placed on trial, Charles Pfister, a multi-millionaire, friend of Senator Spooner, owner of the finest hotel in Milwaukee and proprietor of the *Sentinel*, one of the greatest daily papers of the state. Pfister was charged with stealing \$14,000, but the testimony at the trial seemed to show that the money was used to secure the garbage-contract with the city. Pfister relentlessly pursued McGovern, almost daily,

in the *Sentinel*. At the primaries on September 4th, McGovern was defeated and a candidate, Boden, acceptable to Pfister and all the boodlers, was nominated. This was accomplished by the aid of the Stalwart Democrats and all the boodlers, gamblers and worst elements of the city. The best people of Milwaukee urged McGovern to run on an independent ticket. Both he and Boden are Republicans. La Follette devoted two days in Milwaukee, going rapidly from one meeting to another and advocating the election of McGovern. Connor threw the weight of the State Central Committee for Boden. The election of McGovern on November 6th was a triumph for the best citizens of Milwaukee, for La Follette and for good government in every city.

The second most notable contest was over the reelection of Mr. Babcock, the present member of Congress from the Third District. Before the primaries, Senator La Follette spoke in that district and urged the people to nominate another Republican. But the Stalwart Democrats openly aided Babcock who was regularly nominated, on a very close vote. It was known by every voter in his district that Babcock had opposed La Follette. Senator Spooner, in the week before the election, delivered a long speech at Platteville, the leading city in the district and urged the voters to reelect Babcock and thus endorse Roosevelt. On November 6th, the voters of the Third District defeated Babcock by a plurality of 800. In 1902, the same district gave him a plurality of 8,250. The change of more than 9,000 votes in four years is directly due to what he terms La Folletteism. The Democrat elected has been an earnest supporter of La Follette and will stand for his measures in Congress.

Before the primaries, Senator La Follette spoke in the Ninth District against the renomination of the present member of Congress, Mr. Minor, who has always opposed progress in Wisconsin. La Follette asked the people to nominate Mr. Kuestermann, who has been on the side of good government and is a supporter of La Follette. Mr. Kuestermann was nominated and elected.

La Follette spoke against the election of two state senators and both were defeated and ardent La Follette supporters elected in their places.

In the Second Congressional District, that of the capital, Mr. Nelson, who has been



Warren, in New York American.

(Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)

THE CONQUERORS.

La Follette's chief lieutenant, was elected.

Every state officer elected has been a supporter of La Follette and there is no reason to think that any of them except Connor, the lieutenant-governor, will conspire against him. On the contrary, most of them are strongly for him, including Governor Davidson, who keenly felt La Follette's opposition before the primaries.

The election plainly shows that the effort at harmony between the Stalwarts and La Follette men has been a failure. It shows also that the people stand just as before on the principles advocated by La Follette. His friends everywhere in Wisconsin regard the election as an endorsement for him.

The following is a fair summary of the election:

1. The state officers without exception were elected as La Follette supporters. Connor is the only one who will oppose him.

2. The number of La Follette supporters in the legislature has been increased.

3. The platform is a strong endorsement of his measures and declares for an advance in constructive legislation.

4. Three, and perhaps four, new members of Congress have been elected who have been his active supporters.

5. In three congressional districts and in two state senatorial districts, he has gained almost personal victories.

6. In Milwaukee, he eloquently spoke for McGovern who stands for good government and who was elected.

7. Connor's plurality was reduced several

thousand because he was known to be opposed to La Follette.

8. There has been no striking or noticeable Stalwart victory in the state.

WILLIAM KITTLE.

The President's Message.

THE MESSAGE sent to Congress by President Roosevelt on December 4th is one of the most important documents in the history of American statesmanship. The President earnestly advocates progressive income and inheritance taxes, with a rate of taxation rapidly increasing with the increase in the size of the income or inheritance.

He urges the necessity of securing judicial action in the settlement of labor disputes as a means of preventing the wars of labor and capital and establishing a larger measure of industrial harmony. His idea is to institute a Federal Commission on conciliation and arbitration before which the parties to an industrial dispute might be required to come and state the reasons for their contention. He does not ask that at the start the decisions of the commission should have the force of a judgment of court, for he says that "in all legislation of this kind it is well to advance cautiously, testing each step by the actual results," but he believes that judicial action requiring appearance and statement of reasons "would tend to create an atmosphere of friendliness and conciliation between contending parties; and the giving each side an equal opportunity to present fully its case in the presence of the other would prevent many disputes from developing into serious strikes or lockouts, and, in other cases, would enable the commission to persuade the opposing parties to come to terms.

"In this age of great corporate and labor combinations, neither employers nor employes should be left completely at the mercy of the stronger party to a dispute, regardless of the righteousness of their respective claims. The proposed measure would be in the line of securing recognition of the fact that in many strikes the public has itself an interest which cannot wisely be disregarded; an interest not merely of general convenience, for the question of a just and proper public policy must also be considered. . . . The decisions of the commission would give a chance for public opinion to crystallize and thus to exert its full force for the right."

The President asks for the passage of a bill limiting the number of hours of employment of railroad employes and says: "It should be our aim steadily to reduce the number of hours of labor, with the general introduction of an eight-hour day as the goal."

He urges Congress to provide for a thorough investigation of the conditions of child-labor and of the labor of women and demands the enactment of a drastic and thorough-going child-labor law for the District of Columbia and the territories, saying that there is no need of any further investigation in reference to such a law.

He requests an amendment to the Employers' Liability Law, passed at the last session, saying:

"In spite of all precautions exercised by employers there are unavoidable accidents and even deaths involved in nearly every line of business connected with the mechanic arts. This inevitable sacrifice of life may be reduced to a minimum, but it cannot be completely eliminated. It is a great social injustice to compel the employé, or rather the family of the killed or disabled victim, to bear the entire burden of such an inevitable sacrifice.

"In other words, society shirks its duty by laying the whole cost on the victim, whereas the injury comes from what may be called the legitimate risks of trade. Compensation for accidents or death due in any line of industry to the actual conditions under which that industry is carried on, should be paid by that portion of the community for the benefit of which the industry is carried on—that is, by those who profit by the industry. . . . It is therefore clear to my mind that the law should place this entire 'risk of trade' upon the employer."

The President urges again the enactment of laws to prevent abuse of the power of injunction in labor cases.

He declares in favor of a constitutional amendment placing the whole question of marriage and divorce in the hands of the national Congress, in order that the injustice and scandals resulting from the wide differences in the laws of the different states may be abolished and in order that polygamy may be effectively dealt with.

He refers to the splendid development and wonderful history of Japan, saying that her growth "has been literally astounding. There

is not only nothing to parallel it but nothing to approach it in the history of civilized mankind." And he recommends an "act providing for the naturalization of Japanese who come here intending to become American citizens."

He also asks for legislation that will enable the Federal government to secure adequate enforcement of the rights of aliens under treaties which are now subject to violation in ways that cannot be reached by the national government and may not be reached by the government of the city or state involved.

The railroad pools and combinations the President says should not be prohibited. The law should carefully discriminate between those combinations which do good and those which do evil. "Railroads should be permitted to make agreements provided these agreements were sanctioned by the Interstate Commerce Commission and were published." The prohibition of combination aids big shippers in forcing rebates from the roads. Moreover, as the Interstate Commerce Commission has shown, it is practically impossible to conduct the railroad business of the country without concerted action afforded by traffic associations such as have been condemned by the decisions of the United States Supreme Court in the *Trans-Missouri* case and in the *Joint-Traffic Association* case. "This means that the law as construed by the Supreme Court is such that the business of the country cannot be conducted without breaking it."

The President is not in favor of public-ownership of railroads, and he is right in thinking that under present political conditions it would be dangerous. But present political conditions will not last always, and no one, unless it may be the trust railroad magnates themselves, is doing more than President Roosevelt to abolish present political conditions and prepare the way for public-ownership by securing drastic regulation which is likely, not only to convince the people that no regulative measure can do the work, but at the same time to make even the railroad magnates willing to abdicate and turn the roads over to the government.

The President says that the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission will have to be enlarged along several different lines so as to give larger and more efficient control over the railroads, and that the coal lands still in the hands of the nation should be withdrawn from sale or entry and should remain



Bartholomew, in *Minneapolis Journal*.

THE PRESIDENT IS NOW "SPEAKING GENTLY."

the property of the people, to be worked under a system of royalties and subject to government control, so that no excessive prices may be charged the consumers.

On the packing-house question the President says that in the end it will be advisable to require the putting of a date on the label and to charge the cost of inspection to the packers.

Amendment of the law in criminal cases, so that the government may more effectively enforce the criminal law against the trusts, is recommended by the President, who says that while at first every effort was made to enforce the laws by civil proceedings, it has become increasingly evident that resort to criminal procedure is fully justified.

In referring to the question of controlling corporations, the President says:

"In some method, whether by a national license law or in other fashion, we must exercise, and that at an early date, a far more complete control than at present over these great corporations—a control that will among other things prevent the evils of excessive overcapitalization, and that will compel the disclosure by each big corporation of its stockholders and of its property and business, whether owned directly or through subsidiary or affiliated corporations. This will put a stop to the securing of inordinate profits by

avored individuals at the expense whether of the general public, the stockholders or the wage workers. Our effort should be not so much to prevent consolidation as such, but so to supervise and control it as to see that it results in no harm to the people."

The President cordially approves of manual training for American boys and girls and says that farmers must have a chance for the widest possible education.

There are many other important passages in this splendid message which every American citizen should read from beginning to end and carefully ponder.

Whatever mistakes the Roosevelt administration may have made—and in the opinion of many they have not been few—no one—not even the President's most strenuous critic—can refuse the admiration due to the lofty and progressive statesmanship that is embodied in the recommendations of this epoch-making message.

If, after the "interests" and their representatives in Congress have time to cool off a little, the President will write another equally vigorous message in favor of a parcels-post, postal savings-banks, old-age pensions and, most important of all, legislation looking toward the initiative and referendum, or some reasonable substitute for it through machinery enabling the people to give their representatives in Congress definite instructions on specific measures—if he will do this in addition to what he has already done, his messages will rank with the Declaration of Independence in the history of American progress. They will in fact constitute a Declaration of Independence against a tyranny, less tangible it is true than that of the English King, but none the less real and far more vast and dangerous,—the tyranny of graft and predatory wealth.

If the Liberal Republicans in Congress will join with the Liberal Democrats to pass the measures the President demands, the United States may after a while come up even with Switzerland and New Zealand and other countries that now lead the procession in politico-economic progress.

FRANK PARSONS.

The Postal Commission.

THE HEARINGS given by the Postal Commission in reference to the proposed increase

of charges on second-class matter, from one cent to four cents per pound, have brought out a great many interesting facts and arguments showing the relation of the railways and express companies to the postal deficit, and also showing that if the government paid for the mail which its various departments now send free, there would be no deficit.

Everyone who is acquainted with the facts knows that if the post-office paid the railways for the carriage of the mails at no higher rate than the express companies pay the railways for carrying express matter, the government would save twenty-five or thirty million dollars a year, which would cover the whole deficit and leave many millions besides.

One of the strongest and fullest briefs that has been presented on the subject is the one prepared by Professor Frank Parsons at the instance of Dr. C. F. Taylor, publisher of *The Medical World* of Philadelphia, from which we quote the following passages presenting the heart of the argument on this question which is of such vital interest to all periodicals and to the public that patronizes them:

"We oppose the proposed increase of the second-class rate for the following reasons:

"1. There is really no deficit at all when the postal accounts are audited on true financial and business principles. The post-office does work for the Government—that is, for the whole people of the United States—which if paid for at regular rates would amount to about \$19,000,000. That is enough to cover the so-called deficit and leave nearly \$4,500,000 surplus.

"In common fairness the Government should pay for the use it makes of the post-office. It is not just nor sound business or public policy to put the burden of the Government post on any class, either the users of the second-class mail or the total users of the mail. The service rendered the Government as the agent of the whole people should be paid for by the whole people.

"When a municipal electric-light plant charges private consumers enough to cover the cost of the service rendered them with a small margin of profit, perhaps, it is not put down as having incurred a deficit because the amount collected from private consumers is not sufficient to pay for lighting the streets and public buildings as well as for the lights supplied to the private consumers. On the contrary, the city is expected to pay for street

lights, and if the amount paid by the private consumers for their lights plus the fair commercial charge to the city for its lights is sufficient to cover the total cost there is no deficit.

"On these fundamental principles of sound accounting there is no deficit in the post-office. The Government should pay from general taxation the \$19,000,000 fair equivalent for the services rendered the Government.

"The private users of the post already pay for their service and over \$4,000,000 profit besides.

"2. Even if we neglected the Government-post, the so-called deficit could not be placed at the door of the second-class matter. It belongs chiefly or wholly to the rural free delivery. 'For the maintenance of the rural free delivery service and its proper extension \$29,499,900 will be required in 1906-07. This is an increase of \$3,671,600 over the appropriation for the current year, which in turn is \$5,011,700 more than that of the preceding year.' (Report Postmaster-General, December 5, 1905, page 9.)

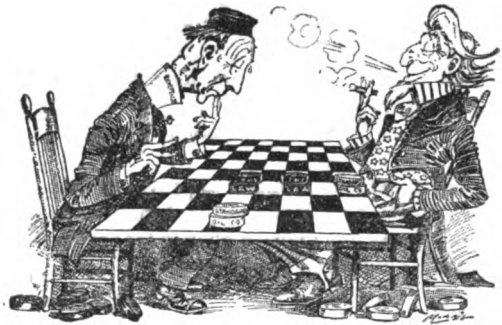
"There you have a leak more than sufficient to account for the 'deficit' complained of. The rural free delivery, costing twenty-five or thirty millions and able to claim credit for only very slight returns, constitutes an added expense that far more than equals the fourteen or fifteen millions of 'deficit.'

"Now this rural free delivery is an excellent thing. It means an approach to equal rights and privileges, a diffusion of the burdens of distance, an equalization of the advantages of city and country life, and educational and industrial gain to the less favored portions of the country.

"It is admirable, but why should the burden of payment for it be put upon the users of second-class mail? It probably should not be charged even to the total body of mail-users, but to the nation as such.

"Once more it becomes abundantly clear that the commercial post has no deficit. Either the Government-post or the outgo for rural free delivery more than covers the so-called deficit. The part of the mail service that is put on anything like a commercial basis and is expected to pay for itself does pay for itself and a number of millions besides.

"3. If excessive payments to the railroads for transporting the mails were eliminated the alleged 'deficit' would disappear and leave a surplus of many millions, even without payment by the Government for its use of the



Morris, in Spokesman-Review, Spokane, Wash.

UNCLE SAM: "It's your move, Mr. Rockefeller."

mails or for the unremunerative rural delivery.

"The amount paid the roads for carrying the mails last year was \$39,384,916, plus \$5,509,044 for rentals of postal-cars, making a total of about \$45,000,000.

"The Postmaster-General says, page 195 of Report, December 5, 1905: 'The most striking feature in postal administration at this time, aside perhaps from the considerable extension and great cost of the rural free delivery service, is the increasingly large amount paid to railroad companies for transportation of mails. Correspondence on file in the Department, as well as frequent references in the public press, indicate that there is a widespread popular belief that this pay is extravagant.'

"If the railroads received no more from the post-office for carrying the mails than they would receive if they were carrying the same matter for the express companies, the post-office would save twenty-five to thirty millions of the forty-five millions it now pays the roads.

"On the data furnished by Professor H. C. Adams, the railway expert for the United States Interstate Commerce Commission, before the special Commission on Railway Mail Pay (Part 11 of Report, 1900), the railway receipts from the express between New York and Boston would average 50 cents per hundred and 38 cents for first-class freight, against 89 cents from the mails; New York to Chicago, 75 cents freight, \$1.25 express, and \$3.56 mail; New York to Atlanta, \$1.26 freight, \$2.00 express, and \$3.50 mail; Chicago to Milwaukee, 25 cents freight, 30 cents express, 34 cents mail per hundred (this seems fairly reasonable); New York to San Francisco, \$3.00 freight, \$6.75 express, and \$13.28

mail (this seems very unreasonable); Atlanta to Savannah, 61 cents freight, 87 cents express, and \$3.17 for mail (more unreasonable still).

"These and other data too numerous for insertion here indicate that as a rule railways receive for express 50 to 100 per cent. more than for first-class freight, and for mail 100 to 300 per cent. more than for express.

"The express companies carry magazines and newspapers 500 miles and more at a cent a pound, and the railways get less than one-half cent a pound, two cents a ton-mile, or less than one-sixth of the lowest estimate of the average mail rate. That is not all. Any general express-agent will tell you that the company will shade the rate for a large shipper. For example, the *Cosmopolitan* is carried from New York to Boston, 219 miles, for eighteen cents a hundred, or less than one-fifth of a cent a pound. This is at the rate of 1.6 cents per ton-mile for the express company and three-fourths of a cent a ton-mile for the railways, a rate about one-sixteenth of the average mail-rate and one-ninth of the lowest mail-rate on the lines where the volume of mail is greatest.

"In many countries it is regarded as a simple matter of justice and fair public policy that the railways shall carry the ordinary mails and even the parcels-post without any charge at all, on the ground that such a service is only part payment for the valuable privileges they receive from the public, and which in this country represent fully half the capitalization of the roads.

"This principle has been applied to private railways for many years in Germany, Switzerland, France, Italy and other countries.

"To increase the second-class mail-rate on the other hand is as unwise and unjust as the decrease of the railway mail pay is wise and just.

"(a.) In the first place, a multitude of magazines and newspapers have developed a very large business and made long-time subscription and advertising agreements on the basis of the present second-class mail-rate.

"The unnecessary disturbance of honest vested interests is never wise, and in this case the vested interests are linked indissolubly with some of the most vital business and educational interests of the nation.

"The mass of periodicals referred to would



Spencer, in Omaha World-Herald.

"I—I'm afraid I'll have some difficulty maintaining this position through another campaign!"

be seriously injured by the proposed increase of rate, and many of them would be ruined, for the classes they serve would in large part decline to pay the additional rates required for the readjustment of income and expenditure.

"(b.) It has not been shown that the second-class mail-rate is insufficient to cover the cost, provided the railways were not paid more than they are willing to take for express. The express companies carry matter within a radius of 500 miles for one cent a pound and less, down even to a small fraction of a cent. The railways get only 40 to 50 per cent. of the express charges, and the average haul for mail is only 436 miles, so there is every reason to believe that second-class mail-rate would cover cost if the railway pay were fairly adjusted.

"(c.) Even if it could be shown that under fair railway conditions the second-class rate would not directly cover cost, there is strong reason to believe that the letter and book and package postage incident to answering advertisements and otherwise resulting from the circulation of second-class matter would more than balance the account.

"(d.) Even if it could be shown that the total direct and indirect receipts from the second-class matter would not cover the cost, it would still be unwise for the Government to raise the rate because of the general educational and economic benefits of the wide circulation second-class matter is able to attain under the present schedule. The periodical press is the people's university. The civic and

social advancement, the economic efficiency and business progress of the United States, are largely dependent on the flood of literature, general, educational, commercial, technical, agricultural, financial, trade, etc., that sweeps into the homes of the common people week by week under the encouragement of second-class regulations.

"7. It is believed by many that the principal motive on the part of some of those who have tried from time to time to get the second-class mail-rate raised, is to safeguard the interests of the great railroads and express companies. If the second-class rate were raised, the express companies would charge higher rates and make more profit. This would rebound to the profit of the railroads who get 40 or 50 per cent. of express receipts. And it would also tend to protect the roads from movements to reduce railway mail pay which are likely to become uncomfortably vigorous with the increase of the apparent deficit.

"8. The forces that are moving for increase of the second-class mail-rate are in the main the very same forces that have milked the post-office to the utmost of their ability for half a century or more, and have at every step opposed the progressive measures advocated by our best Postmaster-Generals, such as postal savings-banks, parcels-post, postal telegraph, one-cent letter post, postal notes, etc. The roads and express companies have refused to allow the people to have a parcels-post service similar to what practically every other civilized nation enjoys to the great advantage of both merchants and the people generally; and now they are trying to take away even the second-class mail privileges and ruin the only cheap service we have in the post."

The Recent Social Education Congress.

SIXTY of the leading educators of the country came together in Tremont Temple, Boston, November 30 to December 2, 1906, to discuss the needs and progress of education in the United States. The meeting was called on the initiative of the Social Education Club of Boston and with the coöperation of the American Library Association, the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, the Twentieth Century Club, the Massachusetts State Teachers' Association, the New Hampshire State Teachers' Association, the Rhode Island Institute of Instruction, the New England Asso-

ciation of School Superintendents, the American Institute of Instruction and over twenty other educational organizations.

The dominant note of this important congress was the need for a better training for business and civic life. This cropped out everywhere during the meetings and some of the most important sessions were given wholly to this topic.

President Eliot of Harvard, for over thirty years head of the greatest institution of learning on the Atlantic coast, said that the individual facility and capacity of the student marks the limit of his service to society and of his own happiness; that the mere memory training so prevalent in our common schools is the poorest kind of education. It develops neither the character nor the power of performance. It rather tends to deaden the ability and active powers through disuse and concentration on mere rote work, instead of using the mind and the hand in useful service. More and more emphasis must be placed on vocational training and civic education. Such training develops morals and character in much higher degree than mathematics or memory work or general culture studies.

President David Starr Jordan, of Leland Stanford University, head of the greatest institution of learning on the Pacific slope, said at the same meeting that the object of education is individual efficiency; not mere culture, but power of service. The college must develop men of first-class efficiency in business and civic affairs and every department of life. Training the mind to think and the hand to do, training the character and the morals, is of the utmost importance. Civic education does this, industrial education does this, and business and politics both demand such training. Every virtue has its market value and every vice is taken out of your salary. Your first duty is to live in such a way that the man you ought to be may become actual. Do not live so that that man can never exist. "That is the most important word," said President Jordan, "that I can say to young men."

Hon. George H. Martin, State Secretary of Education, said that experience in some form of productive industry is the most important element in intellectual and moral training. Ability to see the end from the beginning, industrial intelligence, ability to grasp and understand the processes and the needs of business, ability to think clearly and work well,—these are the things which educa-

tion should seek to develop in our boys.

President E. B. Andrews of Nebraska University, President W. O. Thompson of Ohio State University, Professor Samuel McCune Lindsay of Pennsylvania University, Professor Charles R. Richards of Columbia University, Professor J. W. Jenks of Cornell University, Mr. M. W. Alexander of the General Electric Company, Mr. John Golden, President of the United Textile Workers of America, Rev. Washington Gladden, Alfred Mosely, the celebrated English authority, President G. Stanley Hall of Clark University, and many other eminent authorities emphasized in varying form the necessity for better education for character and efficiency. Character training is the fundamental need, and industrial education and practical civic training or self-government in the schools are among the most important means of developing not only direct efficiency but power of thought and moral fiber.

FRANK PARSONS.

Uniform Divorce Laws.

THE GOVERNORS of over forty states sent delegates to a national congress on uniform divorce laws, held in Washington last year. The congress adopted and recommended to the various states for enactment a uniform statute on divorce. This statute does not deal with causes for divorce. They are left to the various states, with no attempt at unifying the law, because it was felt that such an attempt must fail and thereby prevent the passage of even such measures in relation to jurisdiction and procedure as might otherwise be secured.

The main objects of the bill are (1) to prevent migratory divorces, or divorces in which parties go into another state to secure a divorce on a ground which would not be recognized by the law of the state where the cause took effect; (2) to secure full faith and credit in all states enacting the statute for every decree properly granted in any state. Other provisions of the law are intended to prevent collusion, allow the parties to cool off before the final decree is entered, give the innocent a reasonable option as to separation or absolute divorce, and allow an opportunity for the corrective pressure of public opinion.

The following are the principal features of the proposed statute:

1. A careful provision as to the methods



Opfer, in New York American. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)

THE COMING ATTRACTIONS IN THE NATIONAL ZOO!

by which jurisdiction in divorce proceedings may be acquired.

2. A provision that in cases where a party, whose residence gives jurisdiction, has moved into the State since the cause for divorce arose, no jurisdiction shall be taken unless the cause alleged for the divorce was a cause in the State in which such party resided at the time the cause of action arose.

3. A provision (following the present Massachusetts statute) that if a person leaves a State in order to procure a divorce for a cause which occurred while the parties resided in that State, or for a cause which is not a ground of divorce in that State, a decree so obtained shall be of no effect in that State.

4. A provision to the effect that if jurisdiction is taken in any State in substantial conformity with the conditions prescribed in this statute, full faith and credit shall be given to the decree in this State (that is, any State enacting this statute).

5. A provision for public hearings.

6. A provision that in uncontested cases the court may assign an attorney to defend the action.

7. A provision that a final decree shall not be entered until after the expiration of one year from the entry of a decree *nisi*.

8. A provision for a legal separation, instead of an absolute divorce, at the option of the innocent party.

While uniform divorce laws must be regarded as very desirable, if the law is based

upon liberal provisions in respect to the causes for which divorce may be secured, there are many who will doubt the wisdom of separating legislation in respect to jurisdiction and procedure from the question of cause. If the result should be to prevent persons living in some states from securing a divorce in cases where the continuance of the marriage is against reason and justice, it may well be questioned whether the new law ought not to deal with the matter of cause as the most essential element in the whole proceeding, even if the attempt to deal with this point should somewhat delay the attainment of uniform legislation. There can be no question, however, of the value to the whole country of the deliberations of this congress and the discussion that has grown and will grow out of it.

Aside from the value of the work of this congress in relation to its specific subject, the effort to secure uniform legislation on the part of our various states is in itself a matter of great importance and encouragement. The chaotic conditions of our state legislation in relation to franchises, corporations, liquor laws, the rights of women and many other vital matters, is a serious handicap upon our legal, economic and social development. The chaos and complexity of our laws entail a waste of thousands of years of human life in every generation and every effort at unification should be received with gratitude and applause. Let us have other congresses to propose uniform laws in respect to corporations, franchises, property rights, etc.

FRANK PARSONS.

Women Suffragists in Prison.

SOME of the finest women in England have been put in prison as a result of their eagerness in pressing the cause of woman's suffrage. Four hundred and twenty members of the present House of Commons went in pledged to support a bill for woman's suffrage. The Prime-Minister has expressed his sympathy with the movement and the women had every reason to believe that Parliament would act. But as in so many other cases, ante-election pledges seemed to have little or no weight with candidates when once they were secure in their seats; and Parliament did nothing. So eleven of the leading "suffragettes," as they are called in England, went to the House of Commons and made a demonstration in favor

of their views; whereupon they were handed over to the police, brought before a magistrate, and on refusing to give bail for future good behavior were thrown into Holloway jail. Among these women was Mrs. Cobden-Sanderson, one of Richard Cobden's daughters, whom Bernard Shaw describes as "long known to every one worth knowing in London as among the most charming and interesting women of our day."

This treatment of the persistent suffragists has aroused a storm of protest even from those who do not believe in woman's suffrage. The general opinion in England is that being guilty merely of an innocent impression that election pledges were made to keep, and an equally innocent desire to investigate the reasons why they were not kept and to suggest in person to the pledgees the propriety of acting in accord with the promises on the basis of which they were elected, does not call for so severe a punishment as incarceration in an English jail, which in rigor and severity, according to the English press, is to be outdone only by the prisons of Russia.

As is generally the case with the martyrdom of any true-hearted advocate, this episode has done more to awaken England to an earnest and thorough discussion of the question of woman's suffrage than any previous event. Women already have municipal suffrage in England, and it does not now seem improbable that the agitation growing out of this imprisonment may create a public sentiment strong enough to compel the recreant members of Parliament to fulfil their ante-election pledges.

FRANK PARSONS.

President Roosevelt and The Negro Soldiers.

IN DISCHARGING without honor three companies of colored soldiers supposed to be connected with the recent riot in Brownsville, Texas, there is no doubt that President Roosevelt has made one of his characteristic blunders. Unless he retracts the order and restores these soldiers to their former positions, or at least gives them a fair trial, he will, in spite of his many noble impulses and of some really statesmanlike acts, prove himself to be fundamentally unfit to be the President of the United States.

According to Frederick Palmer, correspondent for *Collier's*, the President assumes the

full responsibility for this act. Mr. Palmer says:

"The President's views are clear and unchanged. The disbandment was due to him. In the first place he took the battalion away from Brownsville to avoid local reprisals and for a regular military trial, in which the negroes, to a man, refused the information necessary to the apprehension of the criminals. Thus they struck at the very heart of military justice and discipline. Had white troops done the same thing, they would have suffered the same penalty. The President entered into the whole case fully because of the vital principle involved, both military and civil. The President's policy has always been to consider every man on his merits, regardless of color. Therefore he has appointed negroes to important positions in the North, the assistant District-Attorney of Boston being an example. Of late there has been a dangerous tendency against this and toward racial antagonism. In the Atlanta riots blacks acted as blacks against whites and whites as whites against blacks. The whites made war on the black population and the blacks held together in concealing those guilty of outrages. In the same way the negro infantrymen showed race solidarity in the face of the law's demands. Be the offenders black or white the President proposes to combat race antagonism. His action in the Brownsville matter was taken in the face of much adverse influence and advice before he left. There can be no amelioration of the penalty until the men concerned show their sense of duty, as citizens and soldiers, by giving up the offenders to justice."

Now the careful investigation of the Brownsville riot by a committee of the Constitutional League shows no ground whatever for the President's action. The soldiers had no part whatever in the riot. All but three were in their barracks and these three were absent by permission and were duly accounted for. The soldiers had no information to give of their guilty comrades from the fact that they had no guilty comrades. Even a Texas grand jury could find no evidence against the soldiers, and a correspondent of the New York *Evening Post* pertinently remarks:

"When a Texas grand jury cannot find an indictment against a hated 'nigger' it looks as if the President of the United States had a



Warren, in New York American. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)

A REAL THANKSGIVING.

pretty poor case when he discharged and dishonored these men."

The riot was the result of a conspiracy against the colored troops, the evidence on which the President discharged them was *ex parte* and prejudiced, and in no case was the action wise or judicial. The discharged men not only had the rights of American soldiers, but some of them had long and honorable careers and were worthy of special consideration. One of them had been in the service twenty-six years, had served on the frontier, in Cuba and in the Philippines. Among these were men who had come to Roosevelt's relief at El Caney. Now near the point of honorable discharge with pensions, they find themselves cast out and helpless.

Mr. Frank Sanborn, one of New England's best known literary men and reformers, a man thoroughly versed in political history, an original anti-slavery man and one of the founders of the Republican party, speaks of the President's act as absolutely without warrant in military law. In writing to the *Springfield Republican*, November 24, 1906, and referring to President Lincoln's enlistment of colored troops during the Civil war and his reason therefor, he says:

"By his act, hasty and lawless like so many of his former acts, the President shows that he has forgotten the words of Lincoln as he long since forsook the counsels of that great statesman. He has practically thrown the weight of his activity against the colored soldiers—since nobody but himself and his flatterers will credit the empty saying that he

would have dealt so with a white regiment. This is the serious side of his frivolous action: it encourages the South in its insane race prejudice, which is leading straight toward a new civil war. This Secretary Taft probably sees, and was therefore trying to bring the President to look upon his act as it will everywhere be viewed. But down came the Big Stick and the square deal lies flat."

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

Standard Oil at The Bar of Justice.

AT LAST the giant trust which has so long dominated our railroads and other industries associated with oil-production, has been called to the bar under charge of violating the anti-trust law. With its usual energy the Roosevelt administration is pushing the trust to the wall, not only by suits against it for violation of the anti-rebate provisions of the Interstate Commerce Law and the Elkins Bill, but for its fundamental fraud upon our institutions involved in the building of a colossal monopoly in violation of Federal statutes and the common law.

The trust has issued a statement in which it declares that "the present organization was formed after an exhaustive consideration of the legal and business problems involved," and "the utmost care has been observed to conduct the business honestly and fairly and in accordance with not only the spirit, but the requirements of the law." It is further stated that the organization "is of essentially the same nature and character as that of other industrial interests of the country," and "it is not to be lightly assumed that there is to be a reversal of the wheels of progress or a destruction of the foundations of the great industrial business of the country."

Any one who is at all familiar with the history of Standard Oil; the millions of rebates it has taken from the railroads even down to the last two or three years, as shown by the recent report of Commissioner Garfield and President Roosevelt's message based upon it; the bribery of courts and officials it has been guilty of; the perjury and suppression of accounts and other facts to which it has resorted whenever in its judgment occasion seemed to require; the interference with elections and the political combinations which have secured to it for many years a practical control of the United States Senate and of the legislatures of several great states, in so far

as their activities have affected its interests; its tyrannical and dastardly methods of suppressing competition and ruining the competitors; and other facts set forth in Lloyd's *Wealth vs. Commonwealth* and Tarbell's *History of Standard Oil*, dug out of legislative investigations and judicial proceedings—any one familiar with this record, one of the worst if not the very worst in the history of industry, will know what weight is to be given to the claims of the Standard Oil statement.

FRANK PARSONS.

The Sugar-Trust at Bay.

IN SPITE of elaborate arguments by the ablest counsel the Sugar-Trust can buy—Joseph H. Choate, recently ambassador to England, and Alton B. Parker, ex-chief-justice of New York's highest court and Democratic candidate for president in 1904—the Sugar-Trust has been condemned and fined for receiving rebates from the New York Central Railroad. The railroad was fined \$18,000. A few weeks ago the same company was fined \$108,000, or \$18,000 on each of six counts, for a similar violation of the law.

The thanks of the country are due to President Roosevelt and Attorney-General Moody for the splendid vigor with which they are endeavoring to enforce the law. And yet one who has had glimpses behind the scenes and knows the vast amounts—hundreds of thousands and even millions of dollars—that have been paid in rebates and concessions, will wonder whether after all it is possible to put a stop to rebating by taking from the guilty parties a small part of the profits of the game. While the court is trying the case and fining the Sugar-Trust or the railroad \$18,000, the trust may be receiving a good deal more than that in rebates and the railroad may be getting traffic worth far more than that to it in profits. It is quite probable that energetic enforcement of the law may stop discrimination in favor of the little men, but that it can stop concessions in some form to the owners of giant interests controlling enormous masses of freight, there seems as yet little reason to expect.

FRANK PARSONS.

Railroad Magnates in Rebellious Mood.

E. H. HARRIMAN, President of the Union Pacific and head of the Harriman railroad system, was one of the leading speakers at the

banquet preceding the Commercial Congress held in Kansas City on the nineteenth of last November. Harriman, who is to-day the leading figure in the railroad world, referring to President Roosevelt's speech at Harrisburg, said he hoped that more power would be given to the corporations rather than to the government as the President desired. He said it was not easy to carry on a railroad business "if you always have to turn to the legal department and find whether you may or may not." Mr. Harriman is also reported as saying elsewhere that if the government is going to control the railroads, it had better take them over and own them as well as operate them. It is very likely that as the years go by our people will come to agree with Mr. Harriman. The separation of control and management is not conducive to efficiency nor in accord with economic or political wisdom. It hampers the managers and tempts them to resort to means of evading or defying the law, capturing the law-makers or subjecting to obedience the officials entrusted with the enforcement of the law. Our national government is not at present sufficiently free from partisanship and the spoils idea to make direct administration of such vast properties as our railroad systems wisely practicable, nor has it yet evolved machinery distinct from the political government that would be capable of handling the roads in the interests of the people, free from the taint of partisan spoils. But the time will come when this can be done, and then the plea of Mr. Harriman for the union of the final control and the actual management can be realized without the danger of entrusting vast and irresponsible powers to great corporations pushing for private profit and serving interests in large degree antagonistic to the interests of the public.

FRANK PARSONS.

The Taxation Fallacy.

THE PRESS has recently been full of statements to the effect that municipal-ownership of street-railways and lighting plants in Great Britain has resulted in a great increase in the rate of taxation. The exact contrary is true in most cities that have municipalized these industries, the municipal tram and gas-works paying in many cases very large sums in relief of taxes, and the general effect, taking the United Kingdom as a whole, has been to reduce the tax-rate instead of increase it.



Spencer, in Omaha World-Herald.

HIS SPOKESMAN.

Some of the opponents of public-ownership, however, have no appetite for facts, greatly preferring their own statements masquerading in the guise of facts. E. W. Burdette, attorney for the Boston lighting trust, and the implacable paid enemy of the people in every movement looking toward public-ownership, is one of those who has most persistently circulated the erroneous statement charging increase of tax-rate as a result of municipal-ownership. Some months ago, in the journal published by the Chicago University, Mr. Burdette had an article presenting the taxation fallacy and other errors that have been widely quoted, and have been believed by people unacquainted with the facts and unaware of Burdette's relations with the lighting trust and of his mission to England to make a brief against municipal-ownership, as the hired attorney of the companies.

I presented a copy of the Rockefeller Oil University journal containing Burdette's article on municipal-ownership in Great Britain, to an Englishman of large affairs and a high authority on municipal utilities. After reading Burdette's remarks, the Englishman said:

"You've seen Ingersoll's book on *The Mistakes of Moses*?"

"Yes," I replied.

"Well, it would take about as big a book to write up the mistakes of Burdette, if they are mistakes. I'm not sure but that there is one marked difference between Moses and Burdette, viz., that Moses did n't know any better.

"For example, when he says that 'the highest rates are levied in the towns and cities

having the largest outstanding debts incurred in municipal trading,' he must know that he is stating a falsehood, and a very foolish falsehood, too, because it is so easy to get the facts.

"*The Municipal Year Book* gives the tax-rates for all our municipalities, and you have only to turn to the tables to see that Burdette's statement is the reverse of the truth.

"The tax-rate in Glasgow for instance is less than half what it is in many places that have far less development of municipal-ownership, and there are many other facts of the same nature, as you will see if you examine the book.

"The whole argument about the increase of taxation due to municipal-ownership is a fallacy. Local taxes have increased in Great Britain, as they have also in the United States, and in France and other countries. But the increase has been due to the development of education, sanitation, sewerage, street improvements, etc., and not to gas, electric lights and tramways, as Burdette would have his readers believe.

"Here again it is hard to believe that the misrepresentation is not wilful. If the investigator came to Britain as he says he did, or even examined the returns, he must have known that these productive utilities have on the whole greatly lowered local taxes instead of increasing them.

"In a few cases where tramways, etc., have been established by local authorities in places where private companies either would not build or failed to make them pay, there is a deficit that has to be borne by the rates. There is not traffic enough to make the business profitable, but the local authorities run the service for the public convenience, just as they pave the streets and run the fire service, etc., without expecting a profit.

"In the great majority of cases, however, the municipal lighting and transit systems pay a good profit, and the complaint in England is not that these utilities burden the taxes but that they pay too much in relief of taxes, instead of using all their profits to pay off debt and reduce fares and charges.

"For example, the Leicester gas-plant has paid \$2,900,000 in the last twenty-eight years in relief of taxes, besides paying its own taxes just as if it were a private plant.

"The Manchester gas-works in sixty-two years have paid \$13,500,000 in aid of rates (relief of general taxation), or an average of \$215,000 a year in reduction of taxes on other

property, after paying their own regular taxes like any other plant of like value.

"Birmingham gas in thirty years has paid \$4,590,000 in aid of taxes, and the total benefit to the citizens from municipal-ownership in reduced charges, relief of rates and net profits, amounts to more than \$6,000,000.

"Yet these cities charge only 50 to 54 cents a thousand for gas. They could sell much lower if they did not contribute to relief of taxes beyond their own share in the taxes on a level with other property.

"The Leicester gas-works, for example, are giving now \$245,000 a year in relief of taxes. This means one shilling in the pound one general rates or a 5 per cent. reduction of taxes. The price of gas could be reduced twelve cents per thousand if nothing were paid to taxes beyond the taxes levied on the property in common with other property.

"The Leicester works could sell gas at 40 cents and clear a small profit, after providing for all costs, depreciation and sinking-fund."

FRANK PARSONS.

Prosperity and Discontent.

ON EVERY hand we hear the heralding of our great prosperity. There is such a call for labor as never before, wages are advancing, and all who will may have not only the necessities but even the luxuries of life.

Because of this prosperity we are told that there is no reason for discontent. Because workmen receive more in this country than in Europe socialist agitation should cease, and strict attention should be given to questions of individual improvement and advancement.

Let not reformers and agitators be deceived or lulled to rest by such sophistry. Suppose that conditions are all that are claimed, that there are no involuntary idle, that wages will procure more of the good things of life than ever before, and that the outlook is promising in the highest degree. In all this there may be reason for congratulation but no reason for relaxing effort to make conditions even better and more secure.

Because the master is kind and the slave is well treated is no reason for the continuance of slavery. It is no atonement for the crime of the embezzling cashier to be able to prove that the bank which he has robbed still has plenty of money and is paying larger dividends than ever before. It is not a question of how

much the laborer receives but how much is his due. Even though he roll in luxury, so long as he is robbed of a fraction of what is his right to receive, there will be and should be unrelenting agitation. Justice is human nature's eternal demand and must in the end be yielded.

Reformers of every shade of opinion should therefore give the piratical plutocratic powers of this nation to understand that there will be no peace for them, no rest for the holder of ill-gotten wealth, till atonement be made and justice be accomplished through all the land.

The foregoing was written on the assumption that the prosperity so broadly and loudly heralded is an undisputed fact, but we by no means feel sure that we are not being systematically deceived by the voice of a subservient press. We notice a significant fact stated in the news columns of the *Boston Transcript* of December 3, 1906. Whatever the *Transcript* may be editorially, its news columns have always been credited with conservatism and truthfulness. In this respect it has in it no tinge of the "yellow," and yet we find in this very climax of all our prosperous years a statement of fact in the columns of this most conservative paper that should cause us to stop and consider:

"The free employment office policy of Massachusetts was inaugurated this morning by the opening of the first office in Boston. The event was almost a revelation, and must have drawn heavily upon the suburban district for patronage; so large was the army of unemployed that camped in Kneeland street during the forenoon hours waiting for work to come to them for the mere asking. Barring the strikes no other event has brought together so large an army of unemployed in Boston since the hard times of 1893 and 1894.

"The office is located at 8 Kneeland street, a short distance from the corner of Washington street, a locality with which union labor has become familiar through its numerous halls and offices in Kneeland, Eliot and Washington streets. It was opened at nine o'clock this morning, and by that hour the number of men and women waiting for an opportunity to get in was so large that the line extended back to Harrison avenue in one direction and fully to Washington street in the other. Both street and sidewalks were thronged. The assistance of the police was required to gain access to the office for William G. Grundy,



Sullivan, in New York American. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)

THE LATEST IN AERIAL NAVIGATION.

who had been assigned by Chief Pidgin to superintend the opening of the new institution. Five patrolmen were sent to the scene, and one of them remained on duty at the entrance nearly all day. In all probabilities there were a thousand applicants for work when the office doors were thrown open, and at least one hundred of them were women; after the rooms inside had been filled and many applicants had returned in despair, the line outside still extended all the way to Washington street.

"Employers also have done well by this new State institution. Approximately four hundred positions have been registered in advance, and the telephone was busy all forenoon with calls for help. It required the combined efforts of the superintendent, Walter L. Sears; his assistant, George H. Dunderdale, and fourteen employes from the State Bureau of Statistics of Labor to attend to the business this morning, and they could not, in the confusion, follow the method which has been adopted for the management of this

office in the future. Nor was the office finished; for carpenters were still at work during the forenoon."

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

A Beneficent Strike.

SOME years ago the tramway men and omnibus men in Paris were working 18 hours a day at \$1 to \$1.35. They asked for 12 hours a day at the same pay. The companies refused; they regarded 18 hours as a reasonable day's work—for the men, that is—they did not work the horses any such hours because it would cost them money if they wore out the horses too fast.

The men struck. Practically all the tramway and omnibus lines were tied up for three days. The press and the people were with the men. The companies gave in and the men got the 12-hour day.

On some of the tram-lines now they have the 10-hour day, but most of the men tell me they work 12 hours, and a few of the omnibus men say they work 12½ hours.

The ordinary day on the Paris tram and omnibus lines may be regarded as 12 hours at 5 francs to 6.50 francs a day,—a vast improvement on 18 hours at the same pay.

A strike is not a nice way to settle difficulties. This one made a city full of people, or all of them who could not afford cab-hire, go afoot or not go at all for three days. It seriously interfered with business and cost the city, the companies and the men a good deal of money. But it was worth all it cost and many times its cost.

Until we become wise enough to settle labor differences by judicial decision, the strike must continue to be the workers' last resort in the struggle for just conditions.

But if the trade-unions of Europe and America would follow the example of the labor-unions of New Zealand and use their ballots, regardless of party, to elect men pledged to their interests,—that is, to justice to labor, it would not be long before governmental conditions would be secured that would justify and naturally lead to the establishment of arbitration and judicial decision of labor disputes in place of the strike and under a system that would offer a far superior guaranty of justice to both labor and capital than any that is afforded by the present system, or lack of system, in the settlement of labor difficulties.

FRANK PARSONS.

A Menace to Republican Institutions.

AT A RECENT banquet of the Boston Economic Club many interesting things were said by distinguished speakers who discussed the question, "Is Great Wealth, Individual or Corporate, a Menace to Republican Institutions?" But one vital fact at least remained untouched, namely:

That by perverting and corrupting the governments of many of our cities and states, great wealth in the hands of unscrupulous individuals and corporations has shown itself inimical to Republican institutions. It has not only proved to be a menace to Republican government but has actually destroyed Republican government.

As Folk, La Follette, Tom Johnson, and reformers in Pennsylvania, New York and elsewhere, have turned on the light, big business men and the wealthy owners of public-service corporations have everywhere been revealed in close relations with the political bosses, and all the machinery of graft and corruption that has changed the form of government in our States and cities from a government by and for the people to a government by and for the corporations and their allies.

Folk based the campaign that roused the State and made him Governor on the charge that these big interests and their puppet politicians had destroyed republican government and committed treason under the United States Constitution by giving aid and comfort to the enemies of the Republic and helping to break down the constitutional provision that guarantees to every State a republican form of government.

Great wealth brings the power and the temptation to control the government in private interest and perverts its powers to private purposes. We are told that it is as hard for a rich man to get to Heaven as for a loaded camel to go through the needle's eye. And it is equally difficult for a republic to be a republic in fact if wealth is congested in vast masses in the hands of individual owners or of the managers of great corporations.

A man with a hundred millions at his back is in about the same position, industrially, politically and socially, compared with the man of small means, as a man with a rifle or a gatling gun occupies in comparison with a man who is unarmed or possessed of no means of defense or aggression more powerful than a stick or a brick-bat.

A reasonable equalization of wealth, power and opportunity is the essential basis of republican institutions.

FRANK PARSONS.

The First Step in Reform.

THE RECENT elections point absolutely to the necessity of the Initiative and Referendum as the first step in reform. In none of the important contests were the great questions of the day argued and decided on their merits. The voters' controlling motive was the personality of the candidate. In Massachusetts the Republicans almost utterly ignored the great principles embodied in the Democratic platform while they raised a fearful hue and cry against the Democratic candidate. He was, they said, fundamentally unfit to be governor. His personal peculiarities were exaggerated, dwelt upon and forced on the attention of the people until the principles for which he stood were lost sight of. Thousands went to the polls and voted against him without the slightest idea of what it all meant. "It was a famous victory," but what it all signified only the few understood.

It was little different in New York. The struggle was simply to beat Hearst. To this end everything else was sacrificed. Now no honest man had anything to fear from Hearst, but dishonest men did have, and therefore no means to accomplish his defeat were left untried. As one who was in the fight and knew said, it was "manipulation, coercion and money" that did the work.

It is, of course, the last resort of corrupt politicians to put up a "good man" to save the party, so that while they talk one candidate down they can talk the other up and thus the more effectually obscure every principle involved. This was especially true in Pennsylvania and Colorado.

In Pennsylvania it was the personality of the Republican candidate that was the large factor in winning the election. Whether sincere or not, he passed for a "good man" and promised everything that could be asked in the way of honesty and reform.

In Colorado the Republicans as a last resort nominated for governor a Methodist preacher, an ex-missionary of his church, a man of some scholarly attainments and executive ability, but a man whose election, can, under the circumstances, by no force of the imagination, be conceived as bringing honor



Drawn by Ryan Walker.

UNCLE SAM—"Child labor may be cheap enough for you, but this cost must be paid by others."
(Senator Beveridge will introduce a bill to abolish child labor.—News Item.)

to the great ecclesiastical body of which he is a member.

What is true in these higher elections is equally true in the minor ones. Is he a good man? and has he ability? are the questions which are the natural outgrowth of the representative system of government. People do not consider that personal goodness and ability are not always the chief requisites in the men who frame and execute law. It needs men of wisdom and with the proper sympathies. Such qualities are very hard to determine and therefore the people should keep the power in their own hands. In fact, they must keep the power in their own hands; the life of democracy absolutely demands it.

The first step in reform to be taken, is, therefore, to secure the Initiative and the Referendum. To this end all reformers should unite. With this principle in force it will make less difference who our legislators are; they will of necessity become the servants of the people. If to the principle of the Initiative and Referendum is added the power of Recall, the people will become the absolute dictators of their own destiny.

In Massachusetts a movement is on foot to secure biennial elections. If the Initiative and the Referendum can first be secured it will make little difference whether elections

are biennial or quadrennial, but until then, the citizens of Massachusetts should continue their power to retire their governor and legislators to private life at the end of one year. Nor should they forget that in their own Bill of Rights it is declared that: "The people of this Commonwealth have the sole and exclusive right of governing themselves, as a free, sovereign, and independent State; that they have an incontestible, inalienable, and indefeasible right to reform, alter, or totally change their government when their protection, safety, property, and happiness require it."

So much has been said in *THE ARENA* about the beneficial workings of the Initiative and Referendum where they have had an honest trial that we will not dwell upon that point at length, but will simply give a brief quotation from Mr. Bryan's "A Study of Government" in *The Commoner* of November 23, 1906. The italics are ours:

"In Switzerland the republican form of government has stood the test of experiment. In the absence of pomp and ceremony and official extravagance the government of Switzerland is not surpassed, if equaled, by the government of any similar population in the world. Three languages are spoken within her borders and used in parliamentary proceedings. The people are part Protestant, part Catholic and part Jew, and yet, *with the initiative and the referendum in both the federal government and the cantons*, the government rests so securely upon the popular will that the people live together in entire harmony and could resist a much larger population attacking from without."

The Initiative and Referendum are opposed by those who have an instinctive dread of democracy because it will be sure in the end to destroy special privilege.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

Progress of Direct-Legislation as Registered by The Congressional Vote.

THE NUMBER of congressmen pledged to the principles of Direct-Legislation in the next Congress will be larger than at any previous time. 104 members are pledged to the advisory referendum on eight important questions, namely, "interstate commerce, civil service, immigration, trial by jury or any

modification of the law of injunction, eight-hour day in government contract work, and the submission of constitutional amendments for the initiative and referendum, election of United States Senators by the people, and election of fourth-class postmasters by the patrons of each office."

Both parties in Massachusetts, as we have previously stated, are pledged to Direct-Legislation. Delaware, as we noted in our last issue, voted overwhelmingly for the advisory initiative and advisory referendum. Several other states will take up the question this winter, and we have strong hopes that the constitutional convention of Oklahoma will incorporate Direct-Legislation in the constitution of the new state.

The splendid success of Direct-Legislation in Oregon, repeating its victories in Switzerland and elsewhere, and the fact that it affords a simple and thoroughly practical method for preserving the free government or the democratic republic which our fathers sought to establish, secure for it the active support of almost every person not interested in boss-rule or beholden to the corrupt commercial feudalism that by aid of the boss and the machine has almost destroyed free government in the Republic.

The Trial of Dr. Crapsey.

TO THOSE who have watched the progress of heresy and the zeal of heresy-hunters, there is nothing surprising in the conviction of Dr. Crapsey for heresy by the Episcopal church authorities and the confirmation of the sentence by the supreme tribunal of the church. Dr. Crapsey's mistake, if he made one, was in cherishing an expectation that there might be a different issue to the "hunt." Dr. Crapsey's book, *Religion and Politics*, upon certain statements in which these proceedings were largely based was reviewed in *THE ARENA* for July, 1906. Concerning his conviction, Dr. Crapsey has said:

"When I say of Jesus that he ascended into heaven I do not mean and cannot mean that with his physical body of flesh, blood, and bones he floated into space and has for 2,000 years been existing, somewhere in the sky in that very physical body of flesh, blood and bones. Such an existence would seem to me not glorious but horrible, and such a conception is to me not only unbelievable, it is un-

thinkable. What I mean by this phrase is that Jesus, having accomplished his work in the flesh, ascended into the higher life of the spirit.

"Also when I say of Jesus that he was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, I do not mean that the great and living God, in order to get into this world, had to violate his wonderful law of human generation, break into sanctities of marriage and cause a son of man to be born without a human father. Such a notion is most repugnant to my ideal of a wise and holy God.

"When I reached the conclusion, as I did some years ago, that the infancy stories were not historical, I did not cease to believe in Jesus. I believed in him all the more, and I gave to the words, 'conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary,' an interpretation that harmonized with my knowledge of the facts. He was a child of the holy seed, sanctified from his mother's womb. A Son of God all the more, in my estimation, because he was the Son of man.

"But I am told by judicial decision that this conception is not permissible in the mind of a minister of the Protestant Episcopal Church. I bow to that decision. I cannot change my mind—I therefore leave the church. I do not blame my judges; they acted according to their light.

"But while I thus feel that their decision is final for me I am equally certain that it is not final for the church. I have reason to know that there are hundreds of clergymen and thousands of laymen in the Protestant Episcopal Church who have reached the same conclusion that I have, and I beg to say to them that their position is just as tenable as it ever was. This judgment affects no person except myself. Let no one be dismayed. Let every man stand in his place—speak his mind boldly and the truth will soon have such a multitude of witnesses that all in the Church must hear.

"I am to carry our case to the high court of the free intelligence and the enlightened conscience of the world, and if I win it there, I will win for every Church and every soul in Christendom. It is to this work of showing that God is in man and man is in God that I consecrate the rest of my life.

"My conviction that we need no miracle to account for Jesus of Nazareth is confirmed by my daily contact with the lives of the people. To leave this daily ministry to such a



Opper, in *New York American*. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)

MONOPOLY LODGE YULETIDE ENTERTAINMENTS!

The Next Number on the Programme is a Realistic Moving-Picture Entitled "Our National Trial Marriage."

people, is to break my heart. But better a broken heart that a life made false and loathsome by cowardly retraction.

"Let no one think for a moment that I do not love the Lord Jesus Christ and would not have served him to the last in this Church, which is to be the historic Church of the great English-speaking race, if only its men in authority had let me. All I asked of them was tolerance. But they have refused to extend tolerance to such as I, and I must, with a grief which only my own heart knows accept my dismissal from the service of the Church."

In answer to that great question "how to reform the church," men have always divided into two camps; those who would reform the church by staying inside and those who have broken with the institution and gone outside in open protest. Dr. Crapsey belongs, evidently, in the first camp, while the church itself now as ever takes the side of the second. The church does not propose to be reformed, to have its doctrines or interpretations changed nor to grow in any other sense than of numbers and gross power. The press of the world at large has usually taken the first position until the heretic is actually hunted down and then has turned on the heretic with all sorts of de-

nunciation for not having been "honorable" enough to leave the church voluntarily. This is what Dr. Crapsey is getting.

So much has been said for the liberality of the Episcopal Church during the past fifteen years of higher criticism and new theology that an impression has gone abroad that it might really be the cosmopolitan church with room enough and intellectual latitude enough for mankind at large. The Crapsey case will go far in performing the important service of disillusioning the people on this point. And this again illustrates the value of heresy trials. The man who goes out from the church quietly because he finds himself at war with her doctrines or in need of giving them private interpretation may have laid himself open to the specious charge of dishonorableness, but he also misses the golden opportunity of making his protest effective and broadly disseminating the truth of his heresy which the heresy trial affords. Dr. Crapsey has done valiant service for progress and liberality within the church; he has done a far greater service in being put out of the church; it now remains to be seen whether excommunication has effectively silenced him. We hope not. We hope that he has been cast out into a larger ministry. He has the ear of the people and the nation to-day is literally hungry for his great constructive message of a truly religious civic order.

RALPH ALBERTSON.

A Great Discovery That Will Some Day Bring The World to Our Doors.

A STAFF correspondent, writing from Paris a few weeks since sent us the following interesting and informing account of the marvelous achievements of Professor Gabriel Lipmann, of the faculty of the Sorbonne, in the field of color photography.

"I have just had the pleasure and honor," writes our correspondent, "of dining with Professor Gabriel Lipmann and his charming wife at their beautiful home, 10 rue de l'Eperon, Paris.

"The Professor, a member of the Sorbonne, in the department of physical science, is the discoverer of the most perfect method of color photography. The picture is not in three parts as in the system in use with us, but is complete with all the colors on one plate. You hold the picture in your hand and see the

face, figure, flower or landscape in the exact colors of nature, without the intervention of any tube or instrument or the adjustment and blending of red and blue and yellow plates.

"By the use of a transparent film and a mercury backing the Professor persuades each ray that impinges on the plate to register its own wave length in the film, making a space for itself that is a wave length, or some multiple of the wave length, from wall to wall. Developing the film fixes these chambers and partitions and the result is a mosaic of thin plates each of which under white light gives back the light of the same wave length, that is, light of the same color as the light which produced the chamber. The rest of the light, rays of other colors (having wave lengths that do not correspond to the distance between the walls of the chambers in the film), are not reflected back but go through the transparent film and are absorbed by the black pigment with which the Professor covers the back of the glass that holds the film upon its face. This film face in its turn is covered by a sheet of glass in the form of a delicate prism, one edge being somewhat thicker than the other in order to avoid the mingling of the sheen of the glass with the colors of the picture.

"The brilliancy and perfection of the Lipmann pictures exceed anything that art or invention has previously accomplished. Neither oil painting, nor mosaic, nor the three-plate color photographs can come within speaking distance of the Lipmann pictures.

"They are cheap, too, and the processes are not secret. The Professor published his first experiments in 1891 and has given his methods and receipts to the world as fast as he has developed them. Yet the pictures are not yet on the market. The reasons are, first, that Professor Lipmann is not after money; second, that the time of exposure, though reduced since the first experiments, is still too long for portrait work under ordinary conditions; and third, that the process of duplicating the pictures from the back has not been perfected.

"I suggested a method of overcoming the second difficulty which the Professor thinks may prove effective. In the early experiments the time of exposure was 15 to 30 minutes in the sunlight. Now it takes one minute in Paris and as low as 15 seconds in high altitudes in Switzerland and elsewhere. In ordinary light, out of the sunlight, it takes five or six minutes to register the color lengths in

the film. Flowers and landscapes can stand the strain of such exposure, but men and women cannot sit still so long, to say nothing of children and dogs. The Professor reduced the time from 30 minutes to one minute by improving the plate, but for the last five years the time has remained practically stationary. I suggested that the conditions existing in Switzerland and other places where exquisitely beautiful portraits have been taken, might be reproduced in Paris by concentrating the light. Even electric light will answer with the use of screens where necessary to bring the color of the light to the sunlight basis. In some of our galleries now combinations of electric lights are used to produce an illumination several times as great as that of sunlight, so there would seem to be no reason why Lipmann portraits of men and women should not be taken in any city without waiting for more sensitive plates and without hypnotizing the patients.

"As to duplication of the pictures, it is easy of course from the front, and cheap and rapid duplication from the back is theoretically possible. Duplicates have been made in this way, and the Professor is working to perfect the process.

"When this is done and the time of exposure is further reduced, our schools and homes will be full of colored photographs as absolutely accurate in tint as in form.

"Moving pictures, too, may be taken in colors and combined with the phonograph, so that we may have in our theaters complete representations of Niagara, form, color, motion, roar, and all; the same with Melba and Patti, changing roar to song; and coming generations may see and hear Roosevelt and Bryan in full oration, feature, gesture, voice, etc., all complete. I have seen here in Paris a combination of biograph and phonograph, which gives the voice and presence, gesture and expression, of famous singers with wonderful precision. If these methods were expanded, children could get almost as vivid a knowledge of foreign lands in school and theater at home as they can now by months of travel."

The School City.

THE SCHOOL CITY, mention of which has been made in these pages before, is making a decided advance, particularly in the eastern states. Mr. Wilson L. Gill, president of the

National School City League, is working chiefly in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, while Mr. Ralph Albertson, secretary of the League, is working in Massachusetts in connection with the School City Committee of the Massachusetts State Federation of Women's Clubs. New schools are being organized.

The Connecticut State Federation of Women's Clubs has followed the example of the Massachusetts and Pennsylvania Federations by appointing a committee to coöperate with these gentlemen in the extension of this system.

The School City is both a system of school government and a method of moral and civic training. It is as a method of training for citizenship that it is considered of most importance, and when it is once introduced generally into the grammar schools of the country we shall have a new civic condition.

To-day our schools are doing practically nothing in a direct way for the education of the children in citizenship. To be sure there is a mild course in civics in the high school, and there are some college courses that aim in this direction. But the problem of the nation is not a problem of the college nor of the high school. It is the problem of the grammar school, beyond which only a small proportion of our children ever get. What education the great masses of our young citizens get is given in the grammar school. That this is not a preparation for citizenship everybody knows who has given the subject a moment's thought, for our schools are turning out every year their quota of young citizens to be bossed, bamboozled, grafted, and corrupted by designing politicians. We may continue to teach these children Greek and Latin and mathematics—we may crowd twice as much of this stuff into them as we now do—and these disgraceful political conditions will continue until the last drop of vitality is sapped out of our institutions. It is well enough to train thinkers, and it is better yet to train workers who think, but classical education and industrial education fall far short of the importance of moral education which is in its best interpretation, education for citizenship. That there is no systematic and orderly attempt to give the youth of our land such education is the crowning shame of a commercialized civilization. And it is therefore with great pleasure that the believers in a real democracy must hail the advent of such an effort as this.

In some high schools, as well as in the lower grades, the School City is working admirably. Here the initiative and referendum are used and the children learn also the processes of preferential voting and proportional representation. Even in some of the grammar schools this is done in a moderated form. The Hancock school of Boston, comprising seven hundred girls in the grammar grades, has the following provisions in its charter:

The Initiative: Any citizen may draft a proposed law or ordinance in the exact words in which he wishes it adopted. If five per cent. of the citizens sign a petition asking that this bill be submitted to a vote of the citizens, the city clerk shall post a copy of the bill and shall give notice of an election to be held six school-days later. At this election voters who favor the bill shall vote *yes*; voters who oppose it shall vote *no*. The election officers shall count the votes and declare the result, as in other elections. If a majority is found in favor of the bill it shall be declared a law and shall go into effect at once. If a majority is found opposed it shall be declared rejected, and no similar bill may be presented for one month.

The Referendum: Every bill adopted by the city council shall go into effect as law six school-days after receiving the mayor's signature. As soon as it is signed by the mayor it shall be posted in a public place. If within three school-days a petition signed by five per cent. of the voters shall be presented to the city clerk asking that such law be submitted to a vote of the citizens, he shall issue a notice of a special election to be held two school-days later. At this election voters who favor the law shall vote *yes*; voters who oppose it shall vote *no*. The election officers shall count the votes according to the law in other elections and shall announce the result. If a majority votes *yes*, the law shall go into effect; if not, the bill does not become law.

The Recall: If at any time five per cent. of the voters shall sign a statement asking for the Recall of any elected or appointed officer a special election shall be called by the city clerk, and if a majority of the votes shall be in favor of the Recall the office shall be declared vacant and shall be filled as herein-after provided.

It is hoped by those who have taken an interest in the School City method that it will produce better citizens—that it will form in the young people habits of attending to civic

duties, looking after the public welfare, taking a public spirited interest in public affairs, that it will so train them in the performance of the duties of citizenship that, after commencement, they will not depart therefrom. This surely is a reasonable hope. Its best strength, however, is based first upon the practical knowledge of civics which the School City gives to the children and the teachers, and second, upon the civic morality which it inculcates. The School City is a method of teaching by doing. It is this method applied to civics and to morals. Lessons learned in this way are remembered.

RALPH ALBERTSON.

A Bomb From The Czar.

IN RUSSIA the bombs are not all thrown by the anarchists. The Czar and his soldiers know how to use dynamite both of the military and the civic variety. When the Czar issued his ukase to break up the common ownership of the land, he threw a bomb into the camp of the revolutionary Socialists that contained far more explosive power than was ever locked up in the iron skin of a dynamite missile.

The middle-class in Russia have not yet become numerous or powerful. There is at the bottom the vast body of the peasants, largely owning their land in common, and at the top the bureaucracy and the Czar. Socialists have hoped that it might not be necessary in Russia to pass through the capitalistic stage of development and middle-class industry, but that by overthrowing the bureaucracy and extending the communal and co-operative industries so largely in use among the peasantry, the present order might be changed directly into a Socialistic organization.

But this new decree of the Czar entices peasants to abandon their share of the communal land of the village and become individual land-owners, by promising them relief from the taxes which are now levied on the commune as a whole. The decree appears to be a part of a deep-laid plan to break up the peasant bodies and introduce an element of individual interest linked with the preservation of existing institutions.

Along with this method of attack the government is doing its utmost to weed out those who are suspected of antagonism to the government and to control the elections for the

forthcoming duma. Hundreds of men are sent to Siberia every week without trial, for political offenses or on account of suspicion that they would like to commit political offenses if time and opportunity were afforded. The free speech and free press promised by the Czar are not permitted to be used for electioneering purposes in Liberal parts of Russia. The line is drawn on liberty when it threatens to conflict with the permanence or the purposes of the existing despotism. Officials who will not support the government's candidates for the duma are formally removed from office. The Czar and the bureaucrats are clumsier in their methods than our giant trusts, but they are aiming to accomplish the same general purpose of dominating the government in their own interest instead of leaving it to be managed in the interests of the people.

FRANK PARSONS.

The Fall of Absolutism in Persia.

ONE BY ONE the nations of the earth are falling away from the despotic institutions of the past and are coming toward the light of civilized democracy. The latest convert to the new religion of democracy is Persia. A few months ago the Shah signed the decree that established constitutional government, and a little later a national assembly was elected. The leaders of the reform movement are said to have the full confidence of all classes. They removed and exiled the former prime-minister, cruel and powerful though he was and son-in-law of the Shah, and they persuaded the Shah, who is an amiable and reasonable man, to appoint as the new prime-minister, Mochir-ed-Dowleh, a man who is honest and fair-minded and in many ways entirely satisfactory to those who are leading the movement for constitutional government.

One of the interesting and amusing episodes in this important movement was the invasion of the grounds of the English legation by about five thousand merchants, doctors, artisans, priests, etc., who camped down on the beautiful lawn and positively refused to leave until their difficulties were settled and a parliament was granted. The sanitary condition of the grounds soon became such that the legation had no choice but to take up the cause of the besiegers and its influence added not a little to the forces which compelled the government to grant the new régime.

FRANK PARSONS.

Significant Events of The Past Year.

NO ONE can tell what the really great events of the year are for perhaps a generation or two after they have passed. Events which, when new occupy much space in the newspapers and much talk on the street, may in a few months pass into insignificance while those all unheralded may develop into a revolution in human society. It may be the lowly birth of a child, the creation of a work of art, the writing of a soul-stirring, world-moving poem, a scientific discovery, or a simple invention, that may be among the significant events of the year, while even a war may in time prove to have little influence on the trend of human affairs. No one at the time could have supposed that the birth of a child in a humble cabin on the frontier would have been the great event in the year 1809, but so it proved for it gave to the nation and the world the peerless Lincoln. In him and his career we are reminded of another birth a little more than nineteen hundred years ago, the significance of which was known only to those of the highest spiritual development, but which has eventuated in giving to the earth its greatest uplift. Numerous instances could be given to show how often in human history the significant has become the insignificant, and *vice versa*, but still we go on calling the small great and the great small because it is the best we know.

So in the events of 1906 no one knows what the great ones really are, but we must each have our say and let time vindicate or refute us as it will.

There will be enough others to make record of earthquakes, fires, railroad wrecks, murders, defalcations, divorces, political downfalls, and the like, so we pass these all by and touch upon what seem to us more vital themes.

And in doing so we will speak of general movements rather than of single occurrences. We note, then, a general attempt to reinterpret religion, and to find the true mission and teaching of Jesus of Nazareth. This movement has been going on for some time, but the past year has been especially prolific in writings on the Christ.

We note, also, the most earnest attempts to solve the problem of immortality. Every line of investigation has been followed with great persistency, scientific, mediumistic, interpretative, rational. Discoveries may possibly already have been made which will change the course of human thinking.

Very significant, also, have been the revelation of those facts in the lives of the so-called upper classes which have shown the hollowness, the mockery, the barrenness, the unspeakable shame of that kind of selfishness so much practiced among the wealthy.

It took thousands of years for the world to learn that universal military conquest was not for the good of either the conqueror or the conquered. The attempt for world-wide empire found its final defeat in the downfall of Napoleon. At what awful cost was the lesson learned! To-day the world is again going to school to see if it can learn whether or not universal financial empire is best for it. The struggle is on. While we write the United States Government is locking horns with Standard Oil. Who will win the first battle none can tell. Eventually the people will come to their own but through what storm and stress only the God of Heaven knows.

But meanwhile we are learning our lesson. We are finding out that wealth in itself does

not create character nor give peace and rest, that there is something in man greater than riches—something more able to give satisfaction than financial power. Hence the year 1906 marks the beginning of a mighty reaction against the sensual, and a corresponding return to the life of the spirit. In the years to come the world will wonder that men could have ever known so little as to suppose for a moment that happiness could be secured without building up the better spiritual self.

It is this reaction that has in some measure given opportunity and force to the old evangelism. Men feel the need of something and they turn to that which is first offered. The church stands ready and the cry goes out, "Come unto me and I will give you rest." To look for something external to give him rest is always the first impulse of man. By and by he will learn that the power to find rest is within himself and then the real and abiding evangelism will take the place of the old.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

HENRY GEORGE, JR., AND HIS IMPORTANT ROMANCE OF LOVE, BUSINESS AND POLITICS.*

A BOOK-STUDY.

I. FATHER AND SON.

ONE MORNING early in the nineties we called by appointment on Henry George. We had gone to New York to meet a number of prominent contributors to *THE ARENA*, in order to discuss some forthcoming papers they were preparing. Our first appointment was with Dion Boucicault, one of the most perfect gentlemen and delightful conversationists it has been our fortune to know. But though the then popular actor and playwright was thoroughly charming when discussing the purely intellectual aspect of a question, and was a capital story-teller, there was in his conversation a moral cynicism and an apparent lack of any recognition of the ethical and spiritual obligations that devolve on every child of eternity, that chilled moral enthusiasm and deadened faith and

hope in the heart. On the superficial plane of being and in the discussion of literary, artistic and dramatic subjects in general, he was one of the most delightful companions we have known, sunny, engaging and informing; but the moment he passed to the deeper or graver problems of individual or social life, the sky became overcast.

Leaving Mr. Boucicault, we went to Mr. George's home, and we shall never forget the impression made on us at that first meeting. Here was a man whose high moral idealism dominated all his thought and gave new dignity to life and its great problems. The impressions made by Mr. Boucicault were that we were little more than mere manikins who, while we should observe the niceties of life and be genteel and agreeable, were at best but manikins. Not so the idea conveyed by Henry George. To him life was real and earnest. Man was a great responsible agent on whom devolved grave and high obligations.

*"The Romance of John Bainbridge." By Henry George, Jr. Cloth. Pp. 468. Price, \$1.50. New York: The Macmillan Company.

We were here to find out the great laws that underlay the moral order and to fearlessly and faithfully work for their recognition and operation, to the end that justice should reign,—justice, that great and beautiful word that imperaled the hope of civilization; that included love and brotherhood, and that when recognized and applied, liberty, prosperity, development and the largest possible happiness would be enjoyed as natural corollaries.

At that time we spent over an hour with Mr. George and left enthused and mentally and morally stimulated; and though on subsequent occasions when we met Mr. George these same feelings were always emphasized, that first meeting with the great social philosopher stands out as one of the most enjoyable and helpful experiences of our life. The moral contagion that emanates from the life of the great and noble soul was felt, we think, by all who came to know the man; but nowhere is its influence more marked than in the lives of his two high-minded sons who on the highways of literature and art are moving forward in a manner worthy of their father.

Henry George, Jr., in particular is carrying forward the work of social justice by the use of his strong and vigorous pen, in a way that would give his father the keenest joy were he still with us. As a journalist and author he is achieving fame, but what is far more important, he is carrying forward the propaganda of social justice and fundamental democracy in a forcible and convincing manner. His life of his father was a worthy tribute by a gifted son; and the past year has witnessed the publication of two works that cannot fail to accomplish much good in awakening the easy-going millions to a recognition of the extreme peril of present conditions and in showing precisely how our liberties, rights and possessions are being taken from us, while our government is being debauched and our business life corrupted in such a way that the nation is being steadily transformed from a democratic republic, such as the fathers sought permanently to establish, into a reactionary class-ruled land in which the princes of privilege or the new commercial feudalism is the all-masterful influence in state and in social and business affairs, and in which the priceless natural resources and the inalienable rights of the millions are being filched from them, that the privileged ones may exploit them at will.

The Menace of Privilege, published about

a year ago, was unquestionably one of the most important popular works on social conditions that has appeared,—a work that we hold it is the duty of every patriotic citizen in America to thoughtfully peruse. And now this has been followed by a powerful and fascinating love-romance in which the actual workings of the public-service magnates in all our municipalities, in corrupting the people's servants and obtaining through bribery and other forms of indirection the enormously rich public franchises, are uncovered in so vivid and convincing a manner that he who reads this work will no longer be able to plead ignorance on one of the most vital questions of the hour. The pictures here given are faithful to conditions, as scores upon scores of recent exposures testify. This work thus presents a great, living, ominous fact with as much skill as Mr. Klein in "The Lion and the Mouse" has displayed in portraying the work of the same baleful corporation influences in national affairs.

II. THE ROMANCE OF JOHN BAINBRIDGE.

Considering the book merely as a work of fiction, it is entitled to a very high place among recent American romances. The author is a modern journalist and his experience in this field of labor has schooled him to present salient facts in a strong, clear, concise and telling manner, with a keen appreciation for the dramatic situations in scenes he describes. The action nowhere drags. The characters are flesh and blood men and women, such as are seen in our great metropolis at the present time. The play of interests, the battle of great forces struggling for mastery, are here given with clearness and concision; not as a descriptive essayist or a moralist would present them, but after the manner of the dramatist or novelist. He has so cleverly interwoven the facts into the woof of the romance that while the reader is made to see and take note of them, they in no wise distract the attention or detract from the interest of the story. The novel is first of all a powerful and pleasing love romance, dominated by that same moral idealism that was instinct in the works of Mr. George's great father. But it is far more than this. It presents a grave situation that confronts every municipality and, in even perhaps greater degree, every state and national government; and this is done with the consummate skill of the artist, so that

the appalling and menacing facts are made a part—a thrillingly interesting part—of the story, and by affecting in a vital way the three chief characters of the novel become, as it were, a part of the surging life-blood of the tale.

III. THE NOVEL AS A STORY.

John Bainbridge, the hero of the romance, is the son of a large art-glass manufacturer of New York City. When the young man at eighteen finished his schooling his father insisted on his entering the art works, but the boy declined to do this. An altercation occurred and the youth left for the West with little more than the clothes on his back. For some years he experienced great hardships. He accepted any kind of work and as opportunity offered read law at night. Later, in a growing young city in the State of Washington which was a railway terminal, he entered the law-office of a powerful attorney named Swayne. Here he read law and was admitted to the bar. Swayne had made a great reputation by fighting the rapacious exactions and boundless greed of the railroad companies, and Bainbridge entered heart and soul into the work. He loved the people, he loved the cause of Justice, and he idolized Swayne. But one day his idol was shattered when Swayne informed him that he had accepted a large annual retainer from the railway and henceforth would fight in their interests instead of opposing them. Bainbridge withdrew from the office and took up the people's battle. He soon became one of the most brilliant, influential and universally loved lawyers of the region, enjoying the absolute confidence of the people. At all great meetings connected with public interests he was one of the leading speakers. The railways and privileged interests denounced him as a demagogue with interested motives, as it is their wont to do, but the people trusted him. One day at a meeting his eyes rested on the face of a beautiful girl, whose eyes were riveted on his own. It was only a passing glimpse, but the image of that face lived in his memory and became as is so often the case with idealistic natures, a constant inspiration to noble striving. About this time the railway company came to him, as it had previously come to Swayne, and offered him a princely yearly retainer and large prospective fees if he would enter its service. This offer he promptly and indignantly declined and continued to prose-

cute his work with the same faithfulness and high idealism that marked his early practice. He also took numbers of cases of poor people who had nothing to pay him for his services. Among this number was a lad named Timothy Cavanaugh, who was accused of murder. The circumstantial evidence was strong against the boy. He was friendless and without money. Bainbridge took the case without pay and cleared the lad. But while at the height of his fame he felt a strong yearning to return to his father who was advancing in years, and to be near him during his declining days. He therefore returned to New York, but his father was far from being the feeble old man he had imagined him to be, and he had in no way softened toward the son, who went into the practice of law. He, however, got few paying cases, but was soon overwhelmed with charity work, and the competence he had laid by during his prosperous years in the West rapidly dwindled.

At the time the story opens the hero is visiting his father's works, where he has come to pay a visit to the parent, but he finds the old gentleman absent. While there a beautiful young artist comes with drawings she has made for the magnificent stained-glass window of the great new cathedral which Frederick Penn, the most powerful public-service magnate of the city, is building. She gives her name as Jessica Long, and on seeing her the young man experiences a sudden start, as it seems to him he has somewhere seen her before. His mind flies back to the great meeting where for a moment he had come under the spell of just such eyes as this young lady possesses, and the memory of the past and his leadership of the people in the other days comes over him with strong and compelling power. He leaves the works and is immediately confronted by a lost child who can speak only Italian. He takes the little one by the hand and the two trudge along in quest of the home of the waif. Soon they meet some Italian women and they take the little wanderer to its home. But to Bainbridge the spectacle of the lost child comes as a type of the condition of the people in this vast metropolis,—the great struggling poor that he meets on every hand. He thinks of New York and her pressing need and a great resolve begins to take shape in his mind:

"Here was the richest city on the hemisphere. It produced abundantly of the things

needed to satisfy human desire; and every new process, every labor-saving invention, tended to increase that abundance. Yet had most of the men, women, and children in that city a sufficiency? Far from it. They were in truth half famished. Little children died like flies in the tenement regions for want of nourishment. He himself had seen much of the sorrow and suffering. Had he not been busy with accident cases, with debt cases, with eviction cases—with the conflicts of the poor and generous and improvident against the rich and powerful and hard?

"That raised the question: Did work make riches? If so, why was not the 'working class' the rich class? Why, in fact, was the 'working class' the poor class? Why were those who did so little work—who had so much idle time—the rich class?

"Was it because the drones robbed the workers?

"*That* was it. It was robbery—huge, gigantic, widespread robbery of the many by the few that was producing the wild, wolfish humanity. The workers were robbed into poverty; into intense competition among themselves for the brute needs; into suffering, vice, and crime."

He determines to make the case of the people his cause. He would be a David.

"A David! Could he, John Bainbridge, be a new David? Would he stand forth before the Army of Want and take up the gauge thrown down by the Army of Have? Would he contend with the Goliath of Privilege?

"Yes, he would; he resolved he would; he deliberately vowed he would."

Just then a leader in one of the Tammany wards, Cavanaugh, the father of the boy Bainbridge in the West had defended, calls upon him and insists upon his accepting a large sum of money for defending the friendless lad who had run away from home and had so aroused his father's displeasure that they were not on speaking terms. Bainbridge refuses to take a cent. He had given his services; the case was settled. Then Cavanaugh asks him if he will not run for alderman in his ward. Bainbridge refuses unless he is left perfectly free to stand for whatever he believes to be right and to fight whatever he believes to be wrong. Cavanaugh agrees and Bainbridge becomes an aldermanic candidate for the purpose of fighting Fenn, who proposes to

secure an immensely valuable franchise.

Fenn is not only the most powerful public-service magnate of the city, but is the most baleful influence in the municipal life of the metropolis. He has systematically bribed the people's servants for years and years, and in this way has obtained public rights or franchises which are netting him untold millions of dollars and which of course of right belong to the people.

At one meeting of the opposition Bainbridge is present, and when the speaker challenges any Tiger candidate to reply and offers twenty minutes of his own time for him to do so in, Bainbridge unhesitatingly accepts the gauge. At this meeting Jessica Long Fenn is present. She is the young artist who goes under the name of Jessica Long in her studio, and she is the daughter of the great magnate.

In various ways Jessica and Bainbridge are thrown together from time to time, but the young lawyer does not dream she is related to the great franchise-grabber, and he explains to her how his chief aim in getting into the board of aldermen is to fight Fenn, who is a notorious corruptionist. But though the daughter starts and also defends Fenn from the charges, she urges Bainbridge to do what he believes to be his duty. She becomes the most powerful inspiring influence to the young alderman in his battle to ruin her father.

After the election the fight becomes very savage. Fenn is pronounced by his physician, who is in quest of large fees, to be in a very critical condition of health and threatened with apoplexy; and his daughter, in consternation lest her father should become unduly excited or depressed, clings to him. To Jessica her father is the incarnation of an honorable man and she is sure the young alderman has misjudged him. It is one of the most marked features of the lives of many of our criminal rich of the new commercial feudalism, that in their families they are all that could be asked, and indeed it must be admitted that few of them seem to imagine the kind of criminal lives they are leading. They are auto-hypnotized and seem to little imagine their real character or the extent of their baleful influence on civilization. In their homes they are exemplary husbands and fathers. They attend church regularly. They contribute lavishly and frequently endow colleges and libraries. But when it comes to bribing the people's servants to perjure themselves and break their oaths of office, and in so doing

to pass measures which rob a whole city, state or nation of its own and which also place the millions at the mercy of the rapacity of the few, to be ruthlessly robbed, they go forward as if they were not engaging in treason against their country and crime against society. They do not hesitate to buy officials. They evade and defy the laws. With bribery and various other corrupt means they rob the present and the future generations of the great reservoirs of natural wealth, satisfying their consciences with the pitiful, cowardly, insufficient plea that if they did not do so, others would, and never stopping to think that murderers and housebreakers could justify their courses by the same kind of sophistry. In no respect have the church, the school and the home been so criminally remiss as in their failure to impress the supremely important fact that no amount of juggling with facts, no amount of sophistry like the above, can justify criminal, dishonest, unjust or unfair actions or make the crime or wrong any less heinous. It is through this failure that we to-day are confronted with the appalling spectacle of the nation, state and city being systematically debauched and corrupted at the fount of government by bribery and indirection, on the one hand, and the systematic defiance and evasion of law by the princes of privilege who hold seats of honor in the various great churches whose silence they have bought with tainted gold, on the other.

Now Jessica, seeing nothing but what is honorable and fine in her father and fearing depression and excitement will cause his death, submits unwillingly to assist her father in such a way as to betray her high-minded lover.

From this point on the interest in the work becomes very great. Important events follow in rapid succession and the hour approaches for the great battle of giants. Powerful and corrupt Fenn, with his many hirelings and tools is pitted against Bainbridge. The chapter telling how the franchise was won by one vote and only rendered possible by the betrayal of her lover by Jessica, and in which the daughter discovers that Bainbridge's charges are just and true and that her father has been the giver of bribes, constitutes one of the most thrilling and dramatic passages of the book. Nor does the interest flag after this incident. The great banker, Arlington, the cold-blooded associate of Fenn, sues for Jessica's hand. The daughter on finding her father to be a criminal, a briber, leaves her

home, and her denunciation awakens the soul of Frederick Fenn, who sets to work to make restitution. The scene of the story from now on is laid in New York and in the early home of Fenn in Vermont. Events follow rapidly, until we reach the natural climax of the romance.

While the three chief personalities are Bainbridge, Jessica and Fenn, there are many excellently drawn characters. This is notably true in the case of Cavanaugh the elder; Alderman Van Ness who represents the kid-glove section of the city,—a rich young man who under the moral stimulus of Bainbridge's influence becomes a sturdy reformer; Alderman Fitzgerald; Judge Brascom, and Victor Arlington.

IV. ITS VALUE AS A GRAPHIC PICTURE OF THE BATTLE BETWEEN GOOD GOVERNMENT AND THE PUBLIC-SERVICE CORPORATIONS.

Considered merely as a strong and wholesomely realistic romance of love and life in the great metropolis, the work is one of the best novels of the year; but it has another and to the social reformer and the friends of democratic institutions an even greater value. Here we have one of the most faithful concrete examples of how the public-service companies debauch government by bribery, direct and indirect; by intimidation; by "fixing" the bosses and gaining a number of faithful lackeys among the representatives of both parties. Here we see how year by year the great and inexhaustible gold-mines, in the shape of franchises of natural monopolies or public utilities, the benefits of which should go to all the people, are being turned over to the rapacious few, who out of their stolen plunder are acquiring untold millions of wealth at the expense of the people. The revelations that from time to time have come to light in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, St. Louis, Denver and various other cities show that Mr. George has in no wise overdrawn the picture. He has merely with fidelity to the facts drawn a typical picture that might be historically accurate, and in spirit is as true as history.

V. DISTINGUISHING CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NOVEL.

Aside from the excellencies we have dwelt upon, we cannot close this review without noticing what to us is a dominant character-

istic of the story, and that is the moral idealism which pervades it. The lives of Bainbridge and of Jessica are instinct with the loftiest idealism, and the author shows very clearly, without any attempt to impress the fact in words, that the hope of the Republic and of our civilization lies here and only here. Without a return to lofty moral ideals on the part of our young men and women—ideals that should be a veritable pillar of light before them at all times—America cannot escape the doom of all civilizations that have turned from the star to embrace the clod.

More than this, the book impresses the fact that the victories—the great immortal victories in the cause of progress and civic righteousness, are won by the one, two or three men who are willing to consecrate all to the cause. This whole-souled, steadfast consecration to the cause of justice is the supreme demand which our great nation makes upon her sons and daughters to-day. No man

liveth unto himself, and even the most obscure person can by consecration and unyielding fidelity, under the spell of moral idealism, do much to awaken the conscience of the nation and lead the people back to the highway of just government. And the necessity for this unswerving loyalty to the vision of justice, to the demands of democracy, was never clearer than to-day, when the city, state and nation are being seduced by corrupt wealth from the old ideals of justice, freedom and fraternity. We are in the midst of as titanic a battle as was ever waged by a great people. On the one hand is reactionary, sordid, materialistic commercialism; on the other, moral idealism, calling on every man and woman to range on the side of fundamental democracy, of justice, honesty and progress.

Dealing as this novel does with the questions which are pressing for immediate solution, makes it one of the really important romances for all reformers and patriots to read.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.*

The Family. An ethnographical and historical outline with descriptive notes, planned as a text-book for the use of colleges lecturers and of directors of home-reading clubs. By Elsie Clews Parsons, Ph.D. Cloth. Price, \$8.00 net. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

IN ORDER that the reader may appreciate the unconscious humor of the moral snobs who are making such an hysterical uproar over *The Family* by Elsie Clews Parsons, it seems desirable to reproduce some of the criticisms of those who are inducing the uproar:

"From a religious point-of-view, it is blasphemous; from a legal standpoint it is destructive revolution, and from a human standpoint it implies disaster and disgrace."—The Right Reverend William Croswell Doane, Episcopal Bishop of Albany.

"Such a book as Mrs. Parsons has written, coming from an authoritative source, is likely to become an instrument of evil."—Rev. Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst.

"It is perfectly beastly."—Rev. Julian K. Smith, Swedenborgian.

* Books intended for review in *THE ARENA* should be addressed to B. O. Flower, Editorial Department, *THE ARENA*, Boston, Mass.

"The doctrines preached appear to be idiotic."—Rev. Dr. Oliver Hall, Universalist.

"What is this idea save an advocacy of the most unbridled license? It is not only immoral, but almost indecent, to say nothing of being wildly impracticable."—Mrs. Dorée Lyon, President New York City Federation of Woman's Clubs.

"To the highest degree indelicate."—Mrs. Lillie Devereaux Blake.

After reading a few columns of such righteous vituperation in the daily press, I began to suspect that a good book had been written and my impressions have been confirmed. It has been so submerged by the question-begging epithets from the blind guides of our moral gropings, that I feel I must organize a rescuing party, which will recover the real book and restore it to those who otherwise might never know their loss of a friend. Accordingly I proceed to relate how this much-talked-of book appears to me,

The author is Mrs. Elsie Clews Parsons, Ph.D., a daughter of Henry Clews the far-famed New York banker, and the wife of Congressman Herbert Parsons, Republican leader of New York city. What is more im-

portant, is the fact that Mrs. Parsons was Lecturer in Sociology at Barnard College from 1899 to 1905, and is a woman who thinks.

The Family is not a controversial book. The authoress has not chosen to defend any theory. She has simply prepared an ethnographical, and historical, outline for the use of college lecturers and others interested in the scientific study of *The Family*, and her chief aim seems to be to point out and promote the scientific method. Mothers of high-class intelligence, who wish to aid their daughters in securing some real education as to their future earthly life, may find in this book a useful guide. Those who search only for culturine, will not be pleased, though possibly enlightened, by the book.

By the help of a very wide reading and a mind highly analytical, Mrs. Parsons outlines the work of a scientific study of the family and reviews the most valuable data useful in such a study. At the end of each chapter is an extensive bibliography and a brief synopsis of what may be expected from perusing the book.

Mrs. Parsons has written a most valuable contribution to sociological study. She has pursued the scientific and not the theologic method, and therein lies her sole offense. I cannot better recommend the book to the serious student of sociology, than to quote a few of the offending passages which will exhibit her rigid adherence to the scientific method and viewpoint and at the same time exhibit the utter absence of these in her clerical critics.

First of all Mrs. Parsons deplors the sex-taboo and its resultant evils, for which the clergy are chiefly responsible. "Inquiry—precluding taboo and, for that matter, contempt-breeding knowledge, are dangerous *débris* choking up possible outlets for a stream of progressive and inspiring moral theory. The dogma that marriage is an unquestionable sacrament and the dictum that it is merely a survival of a past form of property-holding are both dams of this kind. . . . Through ignorance of one another's natures, and of sex hygiene in general, husbands and wives create conditions very unfavorable both to enduring monogamy and to reproduction."

Of polygamy, she says that "It is undoubtedly more advantageous to offspring than restricted, *i. e.*, very unstable monogamy, yet it probably secures less parental care for offspring than the developed or enduring mo-

nogamy." Such a statement is in bold contrast to the hysterical denunciation of Mormon polygamy, which are now so often heard.

In discussing sexual selection among humans, she cautions the student not to be "bewildered by this term into bondage to any free-will obsession. Sexual, like other kinds of choice, is always the outcome of given causes." Juvenile criminality, she says, "is as a rule, nothing more than the result of a child's futile efforts to adjust himself to an over-complex environment."

As to the economic status of married woman she argues "that for the sake of individual and race character, she is to be a producer as well as a consumer of social values."

"If marriage have a proprietary character, neither the owner nor the owned is entirely fit to develop free personalities in his or her children."

In our secular state, which properly can enforce only a relative morality, based upon social utility, it is strange that no legislature has considered children as the determining conditions of divorce regulation. Here again Mrs. Parsons gives our reason an awakener. "From our standpoint, however, the effect of divorce upon the children of the separating parents is the foremost consideration. Might it not be worth while, in our present divorce law experimentation, to discriminate between childless divorce-seekers and divorce-seekers with children, making the law much stricter for the latter than for the former?"

With these hints as to the authoress' attitude of mind, I proceed to quote some of the sentences which have furnished most of the head-lines to the sensational press.

"Our toleration of prostitution is a survival of clan morality, and taboo upon discussion of the subject is largely responsible for our failure to realize its clash with modern points-of-view. If we desire monogamy we must necessarily condemn male as well as female prostitutes. If on the other hand, we do not condemn promiscuity in men it must be on the ground that their nature is radically unadapted to monogamy and that monogamy is undesirable. In this case we should not discriminate against the women necessary to the gratification of men's polygamous instincts. . . .

"We have given late marriages and the passing of prostitution, two alternatives, the requiring of absolute chastity of both sexes un-

til marriage, or the toleration of freedom of sexual intercourse on the part of the unmarried of both sexes before marriage, i. e., before the birth of offspring. In this event condemnation of sex license would have a different emphasis from that at present. Sexual intercourse would not be of itself disparaged or condemned, it would be disapproved of only if indulged in at the expense of health or of emotional or intellectual activities in one's self or in others. As a matter of fact, truly monogamous relations seem to be those most conducive to emotional and intellectual development and to health, so that quite apart from the question of prostitution, promiscuity is not desirable or even tolerable. It would therefore seem well from this point-of-view to encourage early trial marriages, the relation to be entered into with a view to permanency, but with the privilege of breaking it if proved unsuccessful and *in the absence of offspring* without suffering any great degree of public condemnation."

It must be apparent to all thinkers, that this instead of being an argument for "unbridled license" or an "instrument of evil" or "beastly" or "indelicate" or "idiotic," it is a very sane, healthy-minded, frank and scientific advocacy of a monogamy far more constant and wholesome than we now have. Everywhere the moral sentimentalizers seek by stupid dogmatism and denunciation to prevent candid and searching inquiry into problems of sexual morality. They seem to think that if we but make a hypocritical pretense of unconsciousness of the ills that are everywhere apparent, then we are promoting morals; but sanely and calmly to search for a solution of social evils is to promote vice. It is precisely this moral perversity on the part of our "moral guardians" that is preventing the dawn of a better day.

In the past conflicts between theology and science the former has been driven from almost every field of antagonism. The last stand is now being taken in the arena, where in the near future, the contest between dogmatic and scientific ethics will be waged to the finish.

Mrs. Parsons has made no specific attack upon the theology of sex, but she has with patient, exhaustive labor and with exceptionally clear vision, pointed the way to a scientific study of the family. Those who choose to become obstacles in the way of this socio-

logic advance, may serve a useful purpose in preventing hasty conclusions, but in the end will have to succumb to the inevitable, just as have all the other opponents of the scientific method. For many years to come no serious student of the family can afford to ignore Mrs. Parson's valuable guide-book to his work.

Perhaps the most important of the many progressive ideas suggested in this book is the encouragement of the study of eugenics. When the unreasoned sex-taboo has been removed this will conduce more to race-salvation than anything to which Mrs. Parsons will have given encouragement.

This world will be a better one to live in because of this thought-stimulating and exhaustive guide to the scientific study of the family.

THEODORE SCHROEDER.

The Historical Bases of Religions: Primitive. Babylonian and Jewish. By Hiram Chelliss Brown. Cloth. Pp. 319. Boston: Herbert B. Turner & Company.

THE AUTHOR of this work warns us in his preface that his work will be destructive and he keeps his promise to the letter. No more iconoclastic book has appeared in recent years. It deserves a careful study rather than a passing review.

In justifying himself for his destructive criticism Mr. Brown says:

"Destructive as the views herewith presented may appear to be, I believe them to be warranted by the clearer vision, the broader outlook gained by the higher, firmer ground that modern research has placed beneath our feet. There is no truth that is not useful, and no error that should not be exposed, and there can be no greater error than to suppose that the well-being of humanity hangs upon the perpetuation of any system, either of philosophy or religion, only so far as that system can square itself with living realities and perform a work that shall improve human conditions. Beliefs concerning God and a future life based upon impossible history and uncertain tradition are not the essentials to this work, and in so far as theology and dogma have absorbed the vital forces of humanity, they have been a drag upon the wheels of progress,—hindrances that have interposed to check the advance of every kind of achievement looking toward the moral and material development of the race."

The subject is treated in three parts, under the following heads: "Primitive Religion," "Babylonian Religion," and "Jewish Religion." Part I. deals with the "Origin and Development of the Religious Sense"; Part II. with "The Assyrio-Babylonian Civilization and Religion"; while Part III. is devoted to the following subjects: "The Land of Canaan," "The Descendants of Shem," "Tradition *versus* History," "God and Prophet," "Mosaism," "The Prophets," "Deuteronomy," and "Judaism."

As space will not allow us to give the author's argument even in outline, we quote a paragraph from his conclusion that our readers may gain some idea of his trend of thought:

"Those who wrote history in ancient times were, almost without exception, impelled to do so, not from a desire to record an unbiased statement of happenings as they really occurred, but to present such a view of the things they were cognizant of, and especially what tradition had handed down, as to give weight and currency to institutions and dogmas with which they were in the fullest sympathy. This was especially the case with the Jews, whose literature was wholly in the hands of a class identified with the priestly; and whose productions, therefore, both for the present and the past of their race and religion, reflected priestly ideals only. The findings of the buried literature of Babylonia, Egypt and Syria, together with their monumental remains, and also a mine of information found in Jewish literature itself by means of the critical methods of the present day, have not only disclosed the absolutely unreliable character of the traditional history of Israel, but also in the most unqualified manner shown us the utter want of probity and the instincts of honesty in these sectaries,—its authors.

"There are two views of the rise, development, mission, and importance to mankind of the Israelitish nation. First, the traditional view—which is also the prevailing one—that this people rose from a single progenitor, who had been divinely called to become the ancestor of a divinely appointed race; that this race developed along lines divinely laid down, so that in the fulness of time they might accomplish their divine mission, which was the introduction to the world of the only divine religion, and that in consequence of these premises the Israelitish nation is by far the most important that has ever appeared upon

earth. The other more recent view is, that Israel rose in precisely the same way, subject to exactly the same laws of natural growth and development that marked the rise and progress of the other nations by which Israel was surrounded, and to whom it was ethically allied; that the children of Israel had not been the especial favorites of heaven, nor in any sense divinely led; that they had no divine mission to perform; and that the importance with which they have been accredited is due to a false and unwarranted assumption that can be easily shown to have no foundation in fact. All the premises in the first case are based upon the Hebrew Scriptures; outside of these Scriptures, not a scrap survives to substantiate a single claim."

We have no opportunity to verify at this time the author's statement of historic facts concerning the teachings of the monuments, but assuming them to be correct we feel that the conclusions drawn therefrom are not entirely warranted. In our opinion the author lacks power of historic perspective.

Yet we have in this work the manifestation of a free and fearless spirit, and this is what the discussion of every subject, including religion, sorely needs. We welcome this work therefore as a valuable contribution to a controversy that will never be settled until it is settled right.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

The "Bishop" of Cottontown. By John Trotwood Moore. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 644. Price \$1.50. Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Company.

THIS story has so much that is excellent in it, and the author's spirit is so fine and fair and his humanity so broad, that it is a source of sincere regret that the book is so diffuse. If handled by a master of composition who could have eliminated the non-essential elements and woven the vital incidents and thoughts into a strong, compelling romance, we should have had a story of power and value. If the 640 odd pages had been judiciously condensed into 350, or at most 400 pages, the book would have gained immensely thereby. One of its most serious defects is the long chapter given to reminiscent experiences of war-time, which should have been condensed into a few crisp, telling descriptive sentences. Then again, there are too many characters and too much irrelevant matter which if eliminated or briefly epitomized in a few pages

would have permitted the master-thought—the crime against childhood, the demoralizing and destructive influence of child-labor—to have been kept well to the front. If the amours of Richard Travis had occupied only as many paragraphs as they constitute pages, the volume would have gained greatly. As it is, the attention of the reader is constantly diverted by long meanderings into new fields, until there is a medley of characters not clearly enough depicted to stand out boldly and sharply.

The story has much that is very excellent. There are passages of dramatic power and of real strength. There are pen-pictures of the horrors of factory-life and the tribute of beauty, clad in homespun and compelled to labor at the loom, to the lust of the rich and powerful, that reveal one of the most appalling results of our modern commercial feudalism. And there are pen-pictures of noble manhood and womanhood, set over against sordid sensualism, squalor and depravity. The "Bishop" of Cottontown is an especially well-drawn character and a fine type of true manhood under the compulsion of spiritual ideals.

But in spite of its excellencies, in spite of the many stirring events, the dramatic situations and the well-told incidents, and in spite of the fine moral lesson that the author seeks to drive home, the manifest weaknesses of the work will prevent it from doing anything like the good it might have accomplished if it had been condensed and handled in a more artistic and effective manner.

Disenchanted. By Pierre Loti. Translated by Clara Bell. Cloth. Pp. 381. Price, \$1.50. New York: The Macmillan Company.

IN THIS novel Pierre Loti has given a vivid and, to Western minds at least, a startling, picture of life in the Turkish harems. The young Turkish woman of to-day is educated much as are her sisters in the Occident. She reads Byron and Shakespeare and Browning, Goethe and Kant and Schopenhauer, in the originals. Her musical training has taught her to read and appreciate the works of the great composers of France, Germany and Italy. In short, her mind has been emancipated; but in so far as her domestic relations are concerned, she is as closely guarded and as much a slave as she was two centuries ago. She is not consulted in regard to the choice

of a husband, and after her marriage she is expected to make of herself simply a beautiful doll, decked out with Parisian gowns and loaded with jewels,—an exquisite toy to please the eye and gratify the senses of her master. He for his part neither asks nor desires that she shall have brains. He takes no interest in her mental development and discourages all attempts at conversation save on the most frivolous subjects.

This freeing of the mind while the body has remained in thralldom has brought about a condition of affairs that to many Turkish women of the better class has become well-nigh intolerable.

The present story deals with the life of a young Turkish girl of high position who has read and greatly admired the works of André Lhéry. She writes him a note expressing her appreciation. This note is the means of starting a correspondence between the two, followed by numerous clandestine meetings between the author and the young girl and two of her friends. The young women find in Lhéry the mental companionship and thought stimulation which is impossible among their own people; while he in his turn finds the *naïve* and original ideas of his little friends delightfully refreshing to his somewhat world-weary brain.

The work is written in Loti's beautiful style, but is less superficial in character than many of his stories, and the translation is excellent.

AMY C. RICH.

Famous American Songs. By Gustave Kobbé. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 170. Price, \$1.50 net. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Company.

THIS volume is a fine specimen of the printer's art. It is beautifully gotten up. Typography, illustrations and binding are such as to please and satisfy the artistic taste, and to lovers of the great heart-songs of our land the contents are richly worth the setting. For here in simple but charming style are given the stories or histories of the great songs we all love, such as "Home, Sweet Home," "The Old Folks at Home," "Dixie," "The Star-Spangled Banner," "Ben Bolt," "Yankee Doodle," "Hail, Columbia!" "America," and some of the great war-songs. The illustrations are finely executed and the work is admirably adapted for a presentation volume, appropriate for all tastes, for who does not love the heart-songs of mankind?

The Hope of Immortality. By Charles F. Dole. Cloth. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Company.

By THE terms of a bequest to Harvard University a lecture is given during each academic session on immortality. A speaker of wide reputation is secured and the lecture is preserved in book-form. It is due to this notable lectureship that we have the present volume. In it Mr. Dole is at his best. He has evidently made a careful study of his subject and in his argument he has risen to a superior height. With him faith in immortality is not based on any so-called scientific test. He says:

"So far as any apparent evidence goes for the continued existence of myriads of 'souls' or 'spirits,' who have passed through the gate of death, this evidence is of the most meager character. No one can show that such a mode of continued life is impossible. But most of us, not being trained as detectives, are obliged to wait for the discovery of modes of communication that will bridge the gulf that now surely seems to divide 'the quick' from 'the dead.' Meanwhile the general style of the alleged messages from the spirit-world is not such as to make continued existence there seem precious or desirable by comparison with the best actual values of life in this world. It is pathetic to suppose the wisest and best among 'the mighty dead' are so helplessly balked in their desires to reach their earthly friends as at the most only to convey to them dreary platitudes and trivialities,—the mere echoes of what we have already heard."

And again in similar vein:

"The hope of immortality is no doubt an outgrowth or consequence of the thought of God. Men can never prove it by itself as isolated dogma. It is a part of the integrity of religion itself. It is here that we distrust any alleged material proof of immortality. If our existence is not involved in the warp and woof of the spiritual structure of the world; if our nature is not of the immortal order, then while you might prove that the spirits of the dead continue to exist in some strange whispering gallery beyond our usual reach, this would not be immortal life."

But the author reaches the height of his argument in the following:

"See now what it means when we venture

in any real sense to say that 'we believe in God,' in other words, that purposive goodness is in the heart and essence of the universe. We are bound to believe at a leap that the best possible will come to pass. The intelligence and the power of the universe are pledged to work out a destiny worthy of the scale of the infinite thought. This is involved in the integrity of the universe, and in its rationality. The preposterous will not be suffered to happen. We could not respect a God, much less worship or love any being, who brought ranks of creatures into existence, shared the mightiest thoughts with them, lifted the noblest of them into rapturous communion with Himself, continually unfolded their minds and hearts and disclosed the unexhausted capacities of their being, only to drop them into nothingness, as children blow their soap-bubbles and drop them out of the window to burst and vanish. Is this all that God can do? We do not find this credible. The fact is, the thought of immortality grows right out of the heart of our faith in theism. You cannot separate them from each other."

This is as far as any thinker of any age has ever reached, the final word for the present.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

Four American Leaders. By Charles W. Eliot. Cloth. Pp. 126. Price, 80 cents net. Boston: American Unitarian Association.

Father Taylor. By Robert Collyer. Cloth. Illustrated. Pp. 58. Price, 80 cents net. Boston: American Unitarian Association.

Cap'n Chadwick. By John White Chadwick. True American Types Series. Cloth. Pp. 88. Price, 60 cents net. Boston: American Unitarian Association.

THESE are three delightful books which one will read from beginning to end with growing interest and enthusiasm.

President Eliot's *Four American Leaders* are Franklin, Washington, Channing and Emerson. These are brought out in a clear light and made to live before us. While the book contains suggestions apt to stir up antagonism in certain minds, and while we are made to feel that the author's sympathies are at times misplaced and that he lacks something of the spirit of the true prophet, we must confess to the beauty of his style, his true sense of proportion and his fine analytical powers within certain limitations.

In his *Father Taylor* Robert Collyer is at his best. This is a book to awaken the risibles, stir the soul and set the emotions on fire. It makes one wish to throw away creeds, break down denominational barriers, overstep national boundaries and just live the great, free, loving life of universal brotherhood. This Father Taylor was "an untutored son of nature, rugged of build, endowed with keen power of wit and repartee, scathing in his rebuke of everything low or mean, a father to his homeless sailor 'boys,' frank, generous, outspoken, fearless, owning no man his master in thought or action, lovable always, with an emotional nature generous in all its impulses, set aflame in the cause of those to whom he devoted his life, who made of his Seamen's Bethel in the port of Boston a humble temple in which his audiences, of both the rough and cultured, were alike moved to tears at will." He was the most soul-satisfying orator of his time. He had been "a waif in Virginia, a youth roughing it on the ocean, meeting the temptations of a young sailor's life when he came ashore, unable to read when he was eighteen, privateersman, prisoner, and whatever he must be beside in the years of his preparation, working ahead always and never fall-

ing back, and winning his way to a noble eminence, not by his genius alone, for that might have cursed him, but by his conduct and character and the help which is in us all if we will use it to look higher than our mortal eyes and listen to diviner words than ever fell on our mortal ears,—make *centerstances* by the help of the Most High stronger than *circumstances*,—make our life noble as he did, and win the good 'well done.'"

Cap'n Chadwick was a simple seaman, shoemaker and tradesman of Marblehead, Massachusetts. Wholly unknown to fame, he is for that very reason all the more typical of robust New England life. He was never posing for history, never anticipated the publication of his biography, and was therefore always natural, and his career is all the more inspiring to the millions who like him must toil on in obscurity. The work is lovingly done by his son, the well-known author and preacher, John White Chadwick, and in spite of some looseness of style the book is spell-binding from start to finish. The world needs more well-written lives of common people who have uncommon sense, integrity and manhood.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE RAILWAYS FOR THE PEOPLE: It affords us great pleasure to present this month a paper prepared expressly for *THE ARENA* by one of the greatest living thinkers of the Anglo-Saxon world. Dr. WALLACE is the only living member of that band of philosophical and scientific giants whose discoveries and deductions changed the thought of the civilized world in regard to the progressive advance of life. He was a co-discoverer with CHARLES DARWIN of the key to the evolutionary theory of the unfoldment of life; the greatest working-naturalist of his age and a man who stood shoulder to shoulder with CHARLES DARWIN, HERBERT SPENCER and THOMAS HUXLEY in the great battle that marked a new epoch in scientific advance and has made the nineteenth century forever memorable in the annals of the world. Dr. WALLACE, unlike Mr. DARWIN, was and is a many-sided thinker. From his earliest youth he was deeply interested in the social condition of the people, and in later years, after the great evolutionary struggle had been won, he turned his thought largely to the ques-

tion of fundamental social reform. He was president of the first Land Nationalization Society of England and strove very hard to interest HERBERT SPENCER in Mr. GEORGE's *Progress and Poverty*, but unlike Dr. WALLACE, HERBERT SPENCER's liberalism was strongest in his earlier days; with age came the yielding to conventional and conservative ideals that is so frequent and so melancholy a spectacle in the history of great thinkers. Not so with Dr. WALLACE. He has steadily followed the star of social justice and has insisted on going to the fundamental principles of right and wrong and on treating all questions in a fundamental way. In the paper which the great savant has prepared for American thinkers this fact is apparent. His contention is based on HERBERT SPENCER's Law of Social Justice; it is fundamental, clear-cut and unequivocal, a paper that is bound to attract general attention. Dr. WALLACE was one of the early contributors to *THE ARENA* after we founded this review, and his papers always attracted general attention among the more thoughtful of the American

people. It is a great pleasure to have him again in the circle of our contributors.

The Truth at the Heart of Capitalism and of Socialism: In this issue we publish the opening contribution in a series of three papers prepared expressly for THE ARENA by Professor FRANK PARSONS and which will alternate with his series of papers on *The Railways of Europe*. These papers will deal with vital aspects of the great struggle between the worker and the capitalist. *The Truth at the Heart of Capitalism and of Socialism* will be followed in the March ARENA by the second paper of the series. It will be entitled *Humanizing Capitalism*. In the February ARENA Professor PARSONS will discuss the government-owned and operated railways of Italy.

Our Insult to Japan: In this issue we present a very timely and important paper which has been prepared for THE ARENA by Mr. C. VEY HOLMAN, Lecturer on Mining Law in the University of Maine. The warning sounded by Mr. HOLMAN should be heeded by our statesmen and promptly heeded. Wisdom and common-sense, no less than the higher considerations of civilization, justice and right, demand that our nation—or the conscience and thoughtful element—sternly, promptly and unequivocally take a stand for justice for the Japanese within our borders.

Municipal Art in American Cities: In this issue of THE ARENA we publish the first of our series of magnificently illustrated papers on *Municipal Art in American Cities*, prepared for THE ARENA by the eminent author, GEORGE WHARTON JAMES. The opening paper deals with Springfield, Massachusetts. The second paper in the series will probably deal with Pasadena, California. These papers, written in Mr. JAMES' happiest vein, will not only prove highly interesting and instructive but will do much to stimulate the growing public spirit in favor of municipal improvements and the artistic development of our cities which is one of the most promising signs of awakening civic spirit in our people.

Our Vampire Millionaires: The rapid increase of millionaires as a result of privilege in some of its various forms, of stock-gambling, and the power to acquire wealth by the usurer's methods as well as by the power of monopoly, is one of the chief causes of the rapid absorption of the nation's wealth into the hands of an ever-narrowing class or group of people; while the widening of the slums in our cities and the steady decrease in the number of citizens who own unencumbered homes are aspects of the phenomenon of present-day social and economic injustice that cannot fail to challenge the serious consideration of patriotic Americans. A few months since Mr. FRANK discussed one aspect of this abnormal social condition in his paper, *The*

Thaw-White Tragedy. This month another phase is noticed in a highly suggestive manner under the title of *Our Vampire Millionaires*.

Our Paper on Christian Science: As we have clearly stated in our paper protesting against the deliberate misrepresentations of Christian Science by irresponsible and venal journals that strive to coin gold out of falsehood and calumny, we hold no brief for Christian Science, nor do we personally find their philosophical expositions or the explanation of cures convincing. Yet when daily, weekly and monthly journals are everywhere opening their columns to vicious attacks, we felt that in common fairness and justice and in the interests of that larger freedom that is the true handmaid of progress, it was right to present as fairly and accurately as an outsider could, a survey of the Christian Science movement and the aims and ideals of its believers. Since writing our paper a further confirmation of the absolutely false character of the attacks was seen in the writing for the New York *Independent* of an article by Mrs. EDDY, entitled "Harvest," which was published in the issue of November 22d. Not only the letter accompanying the article, but the article itself was written in Mrs. EDDY's own hand, and the Editor of the *Independent* declares that "the handwriting shows none of that tremulous unevenness which often appears in the chirography of a person of her age." The *Independent* reproduces Mrs. EDDY's letter in facsimile.

Our Story: This month we publish another of HELEN C. BERGEN-CURTIS' graphic stories of real life in America to-day. It is more a study of life as it is actually found in one strata of our present-day life than it is the creation of the imagination. It possesses much of the graphic power that marks the best work of the modern school of veritists or realists.

A Word of Appreciation: The Editor of THE ARENA desires to acknowledge his deep obligation to Professor FRANK PARSONS, Rev. ROBERT E. BISBEE and Mr. RALPH ALBERTSON, all of our Board of Associates, for the very material assistance they have rendered in the preparation of our "Mirror of the Present." Just as the hour arrived when it was necessary to prepare the department of the "Mirror of the Present," which in the nature of the case is the last portion of THE ARENA to go to press, the Editor was stricken with illness which for a time threatened to prove a serious attack of pneumonia, but from which he is now happily recovered. The physician absolutely forbade any attempt at writing, but in this emergency the three gentlemen above named generously came to our assistance with matter that makes this issue of the magazine especially attractive. Our readers we are sure have therefore gained by our illness and will join with us in our appreciation of the generous labor freely given.

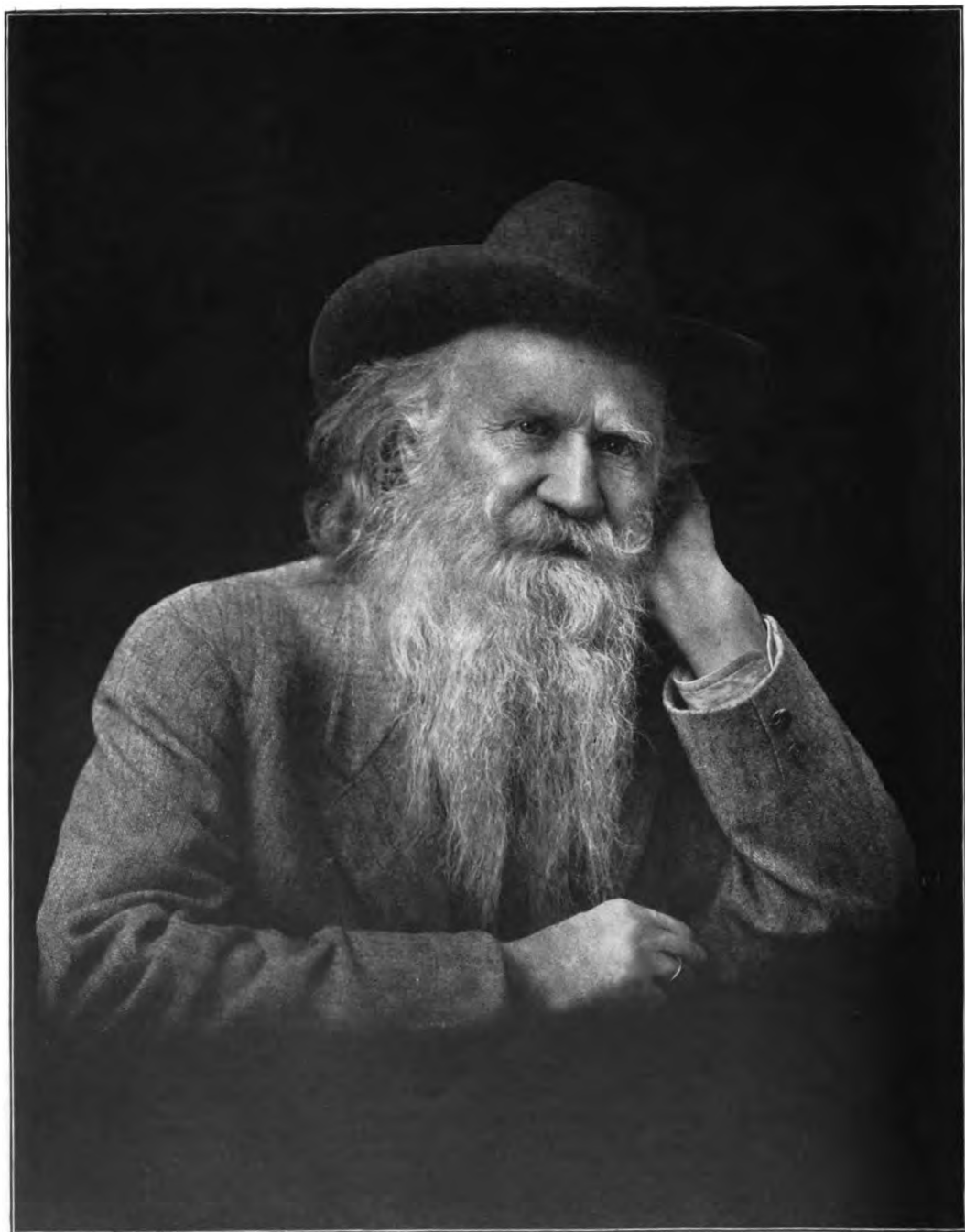


Photo. by Purdy, Boston, Mass.

JOAQUIN MILLER

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."—HEINE.*

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THE RAILWAY EXPERIENCE OF GERMANY.

BY PROF. FRANK PARSONS, Ph.D.

PART I.

FOR HALF a century Germany tried private-ownership and operation of railways, most of the time operating public roads also, and after a long experience with the private system by itself, and later with the two systems working side by side for over thirty years, the German people, including the business classes, became thoroughly convinced that public-ownership and operation was the true policy. So, twenty-five years ago Germany decided to nationalize her railroad system. The reasons and results constitute one of the most important chapters in railroad history, and even an outline sketch of them is of vital interest to everyone who has an appetite for facts and principles relating to the great questions of the day.

In Prussia, which contains two-thirds of the area and nearly two-thirds of the population of the German Empire, the first railway was successfully projected in 1832. Till 1848 the railroads were left to private enterprise, subject to thorough government regulation. In 1848 the State began to build and in 1879 a definite decision was reached in favor of public roads.

The Prussian railway laws of 1838 and subsequent years, carefully regulated the granting of charters, the capitalization, taxation and operation of the road, to protect so far as possible the public interests. But with all its power, the German government found it impossible to prevent the companies from making unjust discriminations and the division of the railways into many different managements seriously interfered with the efficiency of the transportation system.

In 1872 the German Handelstag, representing the United Chambers of Commerce, petitioned for Government management of all the railways to secure greater unity and efficiency and to stop the abuses of the private railways. They said in part: "The character of the railways as trade undertakings based on monopoly is contrary to the idea of their institution for the public good, and has the actual effect of making the railway administration the absolute masters of the public. . . . Competition does not protect the public against monopolist oppression; the railway companies easily resolve themselves into a coalition of those interested in the monopoly. . . . A comprehensive reform can only be hoped for when all the railways of Germany are

managed as one system and subject to the condition that this administration, like the Post, should offer that guarantee of regard for the public interest which no written law would ever succeed in infusing into private railways. It is only the State which could afford such a guarantee, and for this reason the transfer of the whole railway system to the State is necessary."

In 1873 Germany was afflicted with a grievous panic, which, like the American crisis of the same year, was mainly caused by the speculative over-construction of railways in previous years. It was substantially a railroad panic. The same year Lasker, a member of the Prussian Parliament, made serious charges against the private roads. A legislative investigation followed in which the moral rottenness of the private railways was fully exposed—the political pressure they used to get their franchises; the conscienceless discriminations they practiced between persons and places; the arbitrary use of industrial power to build up one and tear down another; the absence of any effort to make rates either absolutely or relatively reasonable, except so far as public control may have intervened; the abuse of power for private purposes; the utter disregard of the public interest wherever it conflicted with the private interest of the railways—all these tendencies or laws of action were revealed and masses of facts in relation

to them brought to light. The commission reported in favor of an exclusive system of State railways, saying that it could not be realized at once, but "on economic considerations" and other grounds "such a system is the final goal to be striven for."

In 1874, Albert von Maybach, "the man with the snowplow jaw," became the head of the Railway Department. He and Bismarck, backed by the chambers of commerce and other business interests, worked together for the unification and socialization of the railways. Political and commercial forces joined in the movement, believing that the nationalization of railroads was both politically and industrially wise. The railway question in the seventies was the principal question in Germany, as it was until 1905 in Italy, and in Switzerland, for a number of years preceding the referendum of 1898, and has been in recent years in France and America. The Germans dealt with the problem with a thoroughness far exceeding anything that has yet been seen in this country or England or France in relation to this matter. And Prussia had the advantage of many years' experience with a well-developed system of State railways nearly as extensive as the private railways, affording a basis for domestic comparison which we do not possess.

State-ownership was advocated mainly on economic and political grounds.*

*It has been affirmed by some who, without investigating the facts, assumed that Prussian policy was simply military policy, that the railways were nationalized in order to give the government more strength in time of war. This argument did have weight; but the main emphasis was laid, even by Bismarck himself, on the economic arguments: the necessity of abolishing discriminations, eliminating the waste of competitive roads and administering the railways in the interest of all instead of for the profit of a few. This is, indeed, admitted even by writers least likely to give the Prussian policy any undue credit for breadth and balance. Hadley says, speaking of the evils of discrimination: "It is characteristic that Bismarck, who always chose his fighting-ground with skill, made this a main base of operations in his contest against private railroad policy in Prussia," (*Railroad Transportation*, p. 120.) And Hugo Meyer says: "One

of the principal reasons that led the Prussian Diet, in 1879, to accept the Government's proposal to enter upon the policy of acquiring by purchase or by lease the private railways situated in Prussian territory was public dissatisfaction with the discriminations in rates which the railways made in favor of competitive points." (*Regulation of Railway Rates*, p. 3.)

It is an error to suppose that the Prussian policy after 1871 was a military policy. Bismarck had brought on three wars, one with Denmark, one with Austria and one with France, in order to secure German unity. When that was accomplished, in 1871, Bismarck's policy was no longer war, but peace and industrial development; and it was mainly on these grounds and for justice and economy that he advocated the nationalization of railroads.

It was urged that the railways should be managed solely in the public interest, and as a unit; that railways are frequently needed where they will not pay and where private enterprise will not build them; that, on the other hand, private enterprise wastes capital and labor, building unnecessary roads and running unnecessary trains; that the irregularity of private railway construction causes serious injury to industry, helping to bring on industrial and financial disturbance and ceasing just when its continuance is most needed for industrial relief; that the Government alone can draw up a consistent plan of railway building to extend through many years and to be executed gradually with due regard to the public well-being, making due extensions in times of prosperity, and finding it even more profitable to push construction in times of depression, thereby building the lines at low cost and yet helping to relieve the depression at the same time. Competition of private companies, it was shown, leads to monopoly. In France 6 big companies had absorbed 48 companies; in England 11 of the chief railways had absorbed 362 companies; and the same processes were at work in Germany. The private railways interfered with the effectiveness of the protective tariff. Public railways are of great military value to the State, and military men agree in assigning much weight to the acquisition of the railways by the State. The profits upon transportation may be much more justly obtained and much more beneficially used in the public interest under a State system. The discriminations and other abuses of the private companies must be stopped, and there was no way in which this could be thoroughly accomplished except by public-ownership and operation, for many of the abuses are secret and Government regulation had proved insufficient.

The opposition was powerful. Objections were vigorously urged—substantially the same objections that are made

in America to-day—that so great an extension of Government employment would be dangerous; that political abuses would result; that sectional strife would paralyze the railroad system; that in the absence of competition the State roads would become non-progressive and inefficient; that private initiative and individual liberty were essential (meaning private initiative for private profit as distinguished from private initiative in public service), etc., etc.

In his great speeches in the Prussian Parliament, Bismarck bore down all objections by appealing to experience with State railways in Prussia and other German States (some of which owned practically all their railways), and emphasizing the fact that State railways “served the public interest,” and, “as a secondary consideration, aid the public treasury,” while “it is the misfortune of private railways” that public highways and public functions “should be exploited in behalf of private interests and private pockets.”

The argument submitted by the Cabinet to the Prussian Parliament in 1879, along with bills for the nationalization of the railways, is probably the most important document in railway history. It represents the best thought of Bismarck and his cabinet and all they had gathered from the chambers of commerce and hundreds of books, pamphlets and addresses that had been issued on the subject during years of earnest discussion. A few quotations will give the reader some idea of the weight and thoroughness of this famous document.

The Cabinet said:

“The inconveniences caused by the private management of railroads in consequence of the existence of a number of different enterprises of doubtful solidity and restricted working capacity; the abuse of their privileged position by their managers; the oft-recurring resistance to reforms of public utility; the complication and the for the most part arbitrary

differences among the various administrative and working arrangements; the intricacy of the tariffs; the quarreling and extravagant expenditure accompanying the bitter competition existing among such a number of corporations, have altogether caused the widespread injury to the public welfare that is inseparable from an extended private management of railroads.

"The attempts to bring about reform by laws have shown the futility of hoping for a satisfactory improvement through legal measures, without trenching materially on established rights and interests."

"State ownership is necessary," argued the Cabinet, "to attain unity and economy under conditions in harmony with the public welfare and to secure direct attention to public interests which do not permanently find sufficient furtherance and protection where the railroads are in the hands of private corporations whose object is gain. . . . The inadequacy of private management and State supervision becomes daily more obvious."

The Cabinet dwelt at length upon the advantages of unity, the waste of having fifty separate railway managements, etc. Large savings in official salaries would result from unity of management. The army of employés in the tariff and accounting offices could also be reduced one-half. "The reasonable utilization of cars" was interfered with "by the multiplicity of owners, and the working capacity of the rolling-stock greatly reduced in consequence," one-third of the travel being made with empty cars. The waste in haulage by circuitous transportation was also shown. "Freight is carried over roads exceeding in length by 100 per cent. the shortest routes."

"But," said the Cabinet, "the union of the railroads in the hands of one private enterprise would be absolutely inadmissible. Although the disadvantages and dangers of an unsystematic division and wasteful competition would

thus be avoided, to place the complete monopoly of all means of transport in the hands of one enormous profit-seeking corporation would be antagonistic to every public interest concerned, as will be apparent to all. Already in those countries where private railroad management is the rule, and where the technically and economically justified process of absorption by the powerful corporations of the smaller and less important railroads prevails, their course hitherto, the dangerous influence which these corporations have acquired over the whole public existence, the reckless pursuit of the profits of their monopoly and their chartered rights within the districts they serve, and the impotency of Government supervision compared with their far-reaching, well-organized power, controlling all interests, together cause the gravest apprehensions for the welfare of the country, and even for its political independence."

"Only the union of complete ownership and unrestricted management in the hands of the State can fully secure the fulfillment of the task devolving on the Government with regard to the direction of railroad matters. Only by the adoption of this system can the economical advantages of united management be obtained without the monopoly of transportation compromising the advancement and protection of the interests of the community. The great advantages of complete unity in the management and operation of the railroads are so necessary to the economical interests of the country that the only question left is whether a monopoly by the State or by private corporations is to be regarded as the most advantageous forms of unity. If a private monopoly, as just described, is wholly incompatible with the proper protection of public interests, but would render all business requiring transportation dependent on the interests and views of a private enterprise, then a Government monopoly, one single transportation establishment conducted by the State

for all the railroads of the country, appears to be the only possible form in which complete unity of operation can be accompanied by the protection of the interests of the community."

"The railroads are public highways and can only be left to unrestricted private control so far as public interest permits. The very nature of a public highway requires that its use must be secured to everybody on equal terms."

"It is the duty of the Government to see that the people have fair rates and equal treatment; to protect the public against arbitrary, fluctuating, complex and unjust tariffs; to demand safe transportation for the public and ample facilities to guard the customs duties against neutralization by railway concessions to foreign goods. For all these reasons the Government must control the railroads, but the conflict of interest between the private railways and the public makes such control very difficult. The companies seek profit and often try to deflect the law instead of giving cordial support and full effectiveness to Government regulation in the public interest. On the other hand it is a very delicate question how far the Government has a right to exert control for the public good against the financial interests of the railroads."

"More than all," said the Cabinet, "the principle of equality, the impartial treatment of all shippers, is endangered by the operation of railroads by private corporations. The principles of the publicity of the rates and the equal treatment of all shippers, which are embodied in the railroad legislation of all countries, are liable, as experience has shown, to be circumvented on account of the competing interests of railroads, and also by individual interests which have influence with the managements. The granting of these secret advantages in transportation in the most diversified ways to individual shippers, and in particular the so-called rebate system, is the injurious misuse of the powers granted to railroad

corporations. It renders Government control of the rates impossible, makes the competition between the different lines, as well as that of shippers dependent on them, dishonorable and unfair, carries corruption among the railroad employes and leads more and more to the subordination of the railroad management to the special interests of certain powerful cliques. It is the duty of the Government to oppose this evil, to uphold the principle of the equal treatment of all shippers, and to enforce the legislative regulations on this subject. The importance of this problem is equaled only by the difficulty of its solution. It suits the interests of the railroad proprietors to favor large shippers in preference to the smaller ones, and, by means of secret favors of all kinds, to divert the most important shipments from the competing lines. The opportunities of securing secret favors to particular shippers are so manifold that their effectual lasting hindrance by means of the State supervising power is impossible. Rebates on freights may be made through a second or third party by means of the secret interposition of agents who are appointed for the purpose of regulating and securing the business of a certain competing route through the mediation of the foreign railroads concerned, as well as by a prearranged connivance in admitting or allowing fictitious or unfounded claims, etc., and so may be covered and withdrawn from public as well as official control."

"The organization of a joint-stock company does not prevent the possibility of the operation of a railroad being brought into a condition of complete dependence on some other industrial undertaking, nor does it insure that the directors of a private railroad company shall not be interested in a series of other enterprises whose successful operation is dependent upon their business relations with the railroad, so that the management of the road may be directed and governed, not so much by its own interest as in

the interest of some other business, often enough opposed to that of the road. Against such an organization, which, by reason of its abundant means, and by effective channels, often leads astray and corrupts public opinion, even the influence of the Government is powerless, the principle of equable treatment of all railroad shipping interests becomes an empty form and legislative regulation nothing but a meaningless phrase."

By a vote of 226 to 155, Parliament authorized the purchase of the principal private railways and the extension of the State lines. The Government had the right to take the roads at twenty-five times the average net earnings for the preceding five years, but it preferred to come to an agreement with the owners rather than to take the railways by compulsory process. The railways, however, were given to understand that it was for their own interest to make reasonable terms, as in case their demands were exorbitant the Government would use the roads already in the hands of the State to apply to the private railways some of that competition they so much admired. The terms agreed upon were fair to both sides. The companies as a rule got a little more than actual value. For example, the dividends of the Berlin, Potsdam and Magdeburg Railway had averaged only a trifle over $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. during the preceding five years, and the State gave 4 per cent. The Berlin and Stettin Railway paid 3.65 per cent. dividends in 1878, while the State gave the shareholders 4.75 per cent.

The companies got a little more than value, and the State made an excellent bargain; for the economies effected under State management "enabled the

Government to make a net profit of one per cent. on the purchase" above the interest paid on the consols exchanged for the stock* and on the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. bonds of the companies which were transferred to the Government.

The nationalization of the railroads by purchase and construction was carried rapidly forward and in half a decade the private roads were reduced to an insignificant fraction (less than one-twelfth of the mileage and in scattered, unimportant fragments), and ceased to be an influential factor in railway administration. In the other German states the railway systems were already public property and to-day in every one of the 26 states of the German nation, the railways are either wholly or almost wholly in the hands of the Government—30,520 miles out of a total of 33,070 miles being public roads, and only 2,456 miles operated by private companies.

What have been the results of nationalizing the railroads? What are the facts? What do the German people think about them and what does the world think about them?

The principal results of nationalizing the railroads have been the following: The public highways of iron and steel are managed for the public good instead of being operated for private gain. The abuses so much complained of under the private system have ceased to exist. The employes are well treated; safety is carefully provided for; large economies have been effected; the tariffs are simple, clear, well thought out and reasonably elastic. They do not possess the abnormal elasticity that comes from arbitrary rate-making under the pressure of individual interests and corporation dividends; but they do possess the normal

*This point was brought out strongly in the report of Sir Bernhard Samuelson to the English Association of Chambers of Commerce in 1886. At that time the State had absorbed about all the important lines.

"On the Prussian railways," says Samuelson, 'the net returns were 5.55 per cent. on the cost of construction, and 5.09 per cent. on the cost after

including premiums on purchase. The purchased lines were paid for by consols, bearing 4 per cent. interest, and the money employed in the construction of the lines by the Government itself was borrowed at about the same rate, hence there appears to be a clear profit to the Government of one per cent. on the capital invested in its railways, after setting aside an amount as a sinking-fund."

and beneficial elasticity resulting from the fact that rates are carefully adjusted to the real needs of legitimate industry through the coöperation of the railway management with popular councils representing the business interests of the community.* The rates are low and are being constantly reduced; valuable concessions are made in the interest of education and labor; the management is the most enlightened, efficient and progressive in Europe and the most democratic in the world, through the influence of the representative bodies that have so large a share in the discussions and decisions of railway questions.

The profits are very large. The roads have paid for themselves long ago. The capital is being paid off, the policy of the Government being to cancel the capital entirely in time and reduce the rates to a small margin above the cost of operation. Already the railway debt has been reduced to about half the total cost of the roads, instead of saddling them with a capitalization of double their value, as is the average practice in this country.

Unjust discrimination was destroyed by the nationalization of the railways. There is absolutely no favoritism on the German roads. Shippers are treated with perfect impartiality. The problem of discrimination was not solved until

the railways were nationalized and then it was solved as a Turkish bath solves the problem of cleanliness. Discrimination disappeared completely.† I was not able to find a shipper in Germany, nor anywhere in Europe, who knew or had heard, or had even a suspicion, of the granting of any rebate or concession of any kind by the German roads. Many of them did not stop with negative statements, but asserted positively that concessions could not be obtained.

There are no free passes except for employes on railway business. Even the Minister pays his fare, and the Emperor, too. There are no secret rebates or open concessions, no commissions, elevator allowances or mileage graft in private cars; no midnight tariffs, terminal railroad abuses or expense-bill tricks, no underbilling frauds or classification favors, no fostering of trusts and monopolies, no long and short haul injustices, no basing-point system, no watered securities or gambling in railway stocks, no railway wars, no wasteful construction of competitive railways, no refusal to construct needed lines in rural districts, no disregard of safety nor postponement of public interest to private profit in any way, no excessive transportation charges on the postal service, no railroad rulers levying their private taxes

*An excellent example of the flexibility of German rates and their ready adaptability to the real needs of the hour occurred in the summer of 1904, when the drought so far dried up the upper Elbe as to interfere with navigation. Many boats were loaded with goods and delay would cause distress and loss to merchants and consignors; so the Government railways put their rates down to the water level and carried the goods at the same rates they would have paid by water. The whole tariff, through possessing reasonable stability so that merchants and manufacturers know what to count upon, is nevertheless elastic enough to meet the actual changes of condition and the real needs of commerce, as is evidenced by the fact that over 60 per cent. of the Prussian traffic is carried on "exception rates" or special tariffs. But the special rates are not secret concessions, but are made in the daylight, subject to full discussion by representative councils and are open to all alike.

†This is admitted even by our own railroad writers. Hadley says, speaking of the Prussian railways: "It must be confessed that important

results have been achieved. They have done away with the most dangerous forms of special contract and secret discrimination. The worse abuses under which we suffer in America have been avoided." (*Railroad Transportation*, 248.) Professor Hugo Meyer, of Chicago University, who believes that "discrimination" is the secret of efficiency of American railways, says there are no secret rates of personal or local discriminations on the German railways, and finds what seems to be his chief criticism of the German roads on the charge that they will not discriminate, but treat all persons and places alike. "Equal treatment," he says, "must be accorded to all, and the Government cannot make those due and necessary discriminations that are demanded for the welfare of the whole people." (*Regulation of Railroad Rates*, p. 23.) No wonder the Standard Oil and the Beef-Trust heartily approve of Mr. Meyer's book, and the railroads have, it is said, distributed a million copies of it. On page 66, Professor Meyer says: "The making of railway rates is now directly and positively under the control of the Prussian Government, and there-

on the commerce of the country, no railway nullification, evasion, or defiance of law, no railroad lobbyist, either inside or outside of legislative bodies at the national capital or the State capitals, seeking to corrupt or pervert legislation, no railway battles in the courts, no railroad senators. Blessed Germany! Her railway system is not perfect—nothing hu-

man is; but it has escaped so many evils and acquired so many excellencies that for many years it has commanded, not only the unqualified endorsement, but the warm respect and admiration of all impartial students.

(To be continued.)

FRANK PARSONS.

Boston, Mass.

SECRETARY ROOT AND HIS PLEA FOR CENTRALIZATION.

BY DAVID GRAHAM PHILLIPS.

THE PLACE was New York City, capital of the plutocracy. The occasion was the banquet of the Pennsylvania Society on last December 12th, with the table of honor graced by several of the most eminent plutocratic plunderers through railways, coal and steel. The orator was the Secretary of State, Elihu Root, ablest of the legal pilots who have become multi-millionaires through steering the looting enterprises of the great pirates amid the reefs and shoals of the law. A notable place, a notable occasion, a notable orator. And the speech

fore personal discrimination has been done away with." Notice the "therefore." The professor apparently aims at a limitation with the clause "except in these forms where it is compelled by technical or other special conditions" (such as the lower rates on carload lots, discussed in the preceding pages). "Even more completely has local discrimination been done away with so far as the railways are concerned." He thinks there is discrimination on the water. "With the growth of the traffic which is not managed by the Prussian Government, there goes a great increase of personal discrimination." The explanation which follows, however, indicates that he is speaking mainly of the lower boat-rates large shipments can secure. He says further on this question of local discrimination (p. 45), that while the German people think it right to cut rates against a foreign city, they would not approve of rate-cutting "for the purpose of strengthening one German city as against another."

The difference between car-load and less-than-car-load rates is not a personal discrimination nor a discrimination of any kind in the sense in which the word is used in America. Such rates are not

was worthy of them. Mr. Root, with his splendid mind, with his years of training as an intellectual contortionist, juggler and thimblerrigger, with his cynical disdain of morality and justice as cant and idealism, is always a fascinating personality. Only a man of Mr. Roosevelt's impetuous and reckless confidence would think of trusting him; but to withhold a certain kind of admiration from him is as impossible as to withhold it from Milton's Satan—except when, like Satan in the Garden, he deigns to disguise himself as a toad and to squat at

made with any purpose of favoritism, and the difference in the rates on small lots is partly overcome in Germany by means of forwarding agencies, which gather up the parcels and ship them in five or ten ton lots. Down to 1897 they collected about 20 per cent. of the parcel shipments; since then the percentage has fallen to 10 or 12, the parcel rates having been lowered.

That Professor Meyer recognizes the fact that his limitation respecting technical conditions, etc., does not really constitute an exception, is proved by his statement on page 61, that "in the American sense of the term, there is no personal discrimination."

On this point, Professor B. H. Meyer of Wisconsin, our leading authority on foreign railways, agrees with Professor Hugo Meyer of Chicago; in his testimony before the United States Industrial Commission (Volume IX., p. 974), the Wisconsin professor says: "Prussia has made a success of her railways. Discriminations are unknown. The 'special rates' which are published, together with the reasons for which they are established, like regular rates, are open to everybody."

Roosevelt's ear, whispering sly confusions to make his chief's well-meant efforts toward justice fizzle out in mere talk or futile action. Root was never more interesting than on that evening of December 12th.

Apparently he was speaking for the Roosevelt administration. In reality, then as always, he was speaking for the plutocracy. For, though Mr. Root, accepting public office, formally severs formal connection with his clients, the custodians of the enterprises in which his several millions are invested, he can not change the mental and moral habits of a lifetime. It would be no more possible for him to cease to look at everything from the viewpoint of the darkly and devious rich and to take the viewpoint of justice and patriotism than it would be possible for a black man to become white by powdering himself and putting on a blonde wig. "I am, because I think" runs the Cartesian formula. True also is it that "I am what I think." Whether in Ryan's counsels or in Roosevelt's, Mr. Root is always what has won him his reputation and his wealth.

Here are the three essential paragraphs from Mr. Root's speech. Let us not interpret the man except through his own exact words:

"The Federal anti-trust law, the anti-rebate law, the railroad rate law, the meat-inspection law, the oleomargarine law, the pure-food law are examples of the purpose of the people of the United States to do through the agency of the National Government the thing which the separate State governments formerly did adequately, but no longer do adequately.

"New projects of national control are mooted; control of insurance, uniform divorce laws, child-labor laws, and many others affecting matters formerly entirely within the cognizance of the State are proposed.

"The governmental control which they

[the people] deem just and necessary they will have. It may be that such control could better be exercised in particular instances by the governments of the states, but the people will have the control they need either from the States or from the National Government, and if the States fail to furnish it in due measure, sooner or later constructions of the Constitution will be found to vest the power where it will be exercised by the National Government."

There is in New York City a newspaper that belongs, heart and pocket-book, with the plutocracy, but that relies for its circulation entirely upon the masses of the people. This newspaper is, therefore, always casting about for some false issue on which to lead a hue and cry away from the real issue—the depredations of ill-got and unscrupulous wealth. According to this newspaper, Mr. Root's speech was received with angry cries of "No! No!" from the eminent group among whom sat those doughty and self-sacrificing patriots, Morgan and Baer—Morgan who in water stocks and bonds has piled literally billions in taxes upon the stooping shoulders of the toilers of this and succeeding generations; Baer who is seeing to it that coal which ought to be freely within the reach of all at about two dollars a ton shall cost upwards of six dollars a ton, though thousands shiver and the babies of the tenements die. It is a fixed principle with some people to find out how certain persons stand and straightway to take the opposite stand. This rule is not without plausibility, but it is not safe or wise. It has enabled many a job of public undoing to slip through. So, let us not straightway decide that since Mr. Root aroused the anger of his sinister friends, he must have been speaking words of wisdom and patriotism. Those cries of "No! No!" may have been insincere; or, again, they may have been hasty. Mr. Root is subtle; those coarse intelligences may not have seen his point in time to applaud.

When a man is trying to serve the enemy of the people, and at the same time to make the people believe he is serving them, he has to be subtle, adroit, dextrous in hiding an ugly reality within sugared phrases. We are all human, and we therefore expect no man to go against what he regards as his vital interest. Is not Mr. Root's vital interest—that which has all his life engaged all the powers of his splendid mind, that in which his large fortune is invested—is it not the plutocracy?

At first reading, Mr. Root's words sounded as if he were throwing down the gauntlet to the plutocracy, were advocating all the great measures of reform which the people have most closely at heart, were saying boldly, "I serve notice on you plutocrats that we the people are going to have our way, and you may as well stop intriguing and corrupting." But even as we begin to examine the fair-appearing gift from the Greeks, the armed men within are heard rattling their spears. Mr. Root was at his best, was the worthy pupil of the old sophists who could make the worse appear the better reason.

We notice now that Mr. Root describes all the attempts at measures of popular justice as instances of violation of the Constitution, as proofs that the spirit of centralization is abroad in the land, in defiance of law, is contemptuous of our American basic principle, local self-government. The States neglected their duties—the national government, therefore, usurped power and performed those duties—thus runs Mr. Root's smooth plausibility. But what is the truth? Why, just the reverse of what Mr. Root asserts. The sources of our *great* corruption were national, not state or local. The chief cause of political and social debauchery has been corruption through a desire to control commerce; more than three-fourths of all our domestic commerce is interstate, and therefore, by the clear and explicit statement of our Constitution, is within the control of the national government. It was the owner-

ship of the national government—of the national political machinery of both parties; of the dispensers of the "patronage" of cabinet offices, judgeships, prosecuting offices, etc., etc.; of the rulers of Senate and House, and of many, often most, of the rank and file—this it was that enabled predatory wealth to debauch state and locality. It was the failure of the national government to discharge the duties laid upon it by the Constitution that enabled the great thieves to spread and flourish and breed in states and cities. In far-away Washington were done the deeds that built up the plutocracy and made it so strong that the people cannot cope with it locally. The great tariff frauds, the great land frauds, the great railway frauds, the great crimes of legislation of privilege enacted, the greater crimes of omission to enact legislation against privilege—these were not state affairs, were not local affairs. The people have been remiss locally, it is true. But that remissness might, would, long ago have been repaired, had they not in their simplicity and over-confidence been sending to Washington, to sit in Senate and House, to arrange for the appointment of cabinet officers and prosecutors and judges, smug, respectable scoundrels of good education, of plausible speech, of patriotic professions, but of traitorous performances. Millions of people, who abhor the local boss, believe the Spooners and Baileys and Lodges are patriots. Root himself stands well, because his record has never been thoroughly exposed to the nation. Few know about the Tweed scandal and the State Trust scandal and how it happens that the traction syndicate is so well bulwarked in law, though it is a professional pick-pocket with a particular fondness for pockets in overalls and in the ragged skirts of working-girls. No, the American people have been exceedingly slow in learning that "respectability" and professions of piety and patriotism and solicitude for the welfare of the people are the favorite disguises of a criminal

class less hardy than that of the slums but vastly more dangerous, vastly more active and effective.

The favorite cry of the "respectable" plutocrats who are reformers in local politics and of the real reformers who do not bother to think, is "Purify the primaries! Reform must begin at the bottom!" And it would be a good idea to purify the primaries, and to clean up thoroughly. But let us not be misled by the plutocracy and its agents, conscious and unconscious. Let us not be daunted because whenever we approach "respectable" rottenness, almost all the reformers, real and reputed, fall away and begin to denounce us as "intemperate," as "shaking public confidence in the bulwarks of society," and so on, *ad nauseum*. The corruption that is vital is not in ward politics, or state politics, but in national politics. It is at Washington; it is among our public servants who stand high in the public esteem, and who would be elected by the people just as readily if there were no bosses. It is among the men whose respectability, whose skill at public speaking and at juggling public questions deceives the people into believing them honest and capable and eager to do their patriotic duty. The sooner we learn the fact that should be self-evident—learn that the reason we are preyed upon is because those we have sent to Washington to protect us have gone over to the enemy—the sooner we learn and act upon this fact, the sooner will we reclaim the magnificent inheritance we have so stupidly permitted a few to filch from us.

In far away Washington. That is to say, Washington, the national capital, the national legislature, the national administration, has been too far from a people so optimistic, so heedless politically and so busy as we. We have paid little attention to our local affairs; to our national affairs we have given no serious attention at all. We have simply voted for the one or the other "grand old party" and its fluent and oleaginous leaders. If we were informed as to national politics,

as to the real meaning of what has been and is being done and left undone in Senate and House and Treasury Department and Department of Justice, would an Elihu Root dare to stand up in public and allege that the most ordinary and even timid exercises of power specifically conferred upon the national government were usurpations, were infringements of the rights of local self-government? His speech was in that respect anything but a compliment to American political intelligence. To imply that regulation of national internal affairs by national authority is unconstitutional is like describing as unconstitutional national measures for defense against a foreign foe. The Constitution is a common-sense document, the work of men eminent for sober common-sense. It assigns to the national government all matters with which only the nation as a whole can deal. And the present public demand for the control and the extinction of national evils is simply a demand that the executive, legislative and judicial departments of the national government shall cease to obey the plutocracy by refraining from taking measures for the national defense against national foes, and shall exert its powers so that big thieves may not shuffle themselves out of the hands of justice by shifting from state to state. For many years now, under orders from the plutocracy, the Constitution has been in its most important provisions practically suspended; the demand of the people is that it be put in operation again. As Senator Beveridge pointed out many years ago, the Constitution has grown as the country has grown, in some such manner of natural expansion and development as has characterized the moral code of the Nazarene, given to a simple community, yet adequate to the most advanced and the most complex. The Constitution in all its essentials is a statement, an enactment, of fundamental principles; and fundamental principles sustain any superstructure, small or great.

We see now that Mr. Root's argument

rests upon a subtle falsehood, one which painfully suggests deliberation, when his attainments as a lawyer are considered. No one ought to know the Constitution better than he. What was his object in describing as usurpation acts that are soundly constitutional? Why did he thus strive to create the impression that the Washington administration had been getting the people some measure of justice at the price of deliberate violation and evasion of our national law? As no good purpose could lurk behind a trick so unnecessary to a good purpose, we have choice of two explanations, both plausible, both characteristic of the man.

It may be that he saw an opportunity in Mr. Roosevelt's method of doing conservative, even reactionary, things as if they were the wildest radicalism, and proceeded to take advantage of it for his own party, the plutocracy, by trying to confuse in the public mind the vital distinction between what is constitutional and what is usurpation. What better way of establishing precedents for usurpation, for stealthy encroachments upon the people's control of their government and their public servants than by characterizing as illegal and unconstitutional acts that are popular and necessary? Mr. Root was saying in effect, "Despite the Constitution, the national administration has been getting you your rights, O people! That's the only way, since the law forbids you your rights. So you must give us at Washington a free hand. You must let us go where we please, do what we please. There must be no law for us at Washington but what seems to us expedient at any given moment. To hell with the Constitution! Trust us!"

If the American people were certain that only all-wise and altogether good men would be in power at both ends of Pennsylvania avenue, such a grant would still be an act of national suicide. For the most benevolent of despots is still a despot, and his subjects, whether happy or unhappy, are slaves; further, to make

any wise and good man over into a prejudiced and capricious tyrant, it is only necessary to give him free-handed power. Not even with a Washington or a Lincoln in the White House would such a grant be safe. What would it mean with a Mr. Roosevelt in the White House, having a Root as his chief counsellor, when he takes counsel at all? What would it not mean if there were a Mr. Ryan's Root or a Mr. Harriman's Fairbanks in the White House, a man subscribing in his own person to the plutocratic creed as enunciated by Baer—that the American people are the wards of "the Christian men [Ryans, Rockefellers, Rogerses, McCurdys, Hydes, Perkinses, Depews] whom God in his infinite wisdom has given control of the property interests of the country!"

It is absurd, Bourbonish, to assert that the Constitution, or any other law, or all laws together, are sacred, taboo. Our rights and liberties are sacred; but our constitutions, our laws, and the officers selected to enforce or to interpret—these are not sacred, but mere human, fallible instruments to the preservation of our rights and liberties in living vigor. At the same time, only through respect for the law on the part of the judges and the executive officers can the people hope to preserve liberty. It has been through the disdain of law by our plutocrats and their agents in office that the present menacing conditions have been brought about. Does Mr. Root fancy that the time is propitious for the people, believing in Roosevelt, to grant to the office which Roosevelt must sooner or later yield to another, license to trample law and substitute for it the will of the officeholder? The only way in which a public servant can know the people's will is by reading the Constitution and the laws. However imperfectly the laws, so often the product of plutocratic intrigue, may express the popular will, they are nevertheless the only definite expression of it. It is the duty of the people to criticize the laws with a view to bettering them;

it is the duty of the public servant to obey and enforce the laws. And any momentary gain to the people through a judge or an executive disregarding the law in what might seem to be, and might be, the public interest, would soon be lost, would soon be changed into a public catastrophe by the use of that precedent of violence to promote the purposes of the plutocracy. In a contest of lawlessness the compact, definitely organized few of the privileged class can always overcome the scattered, easily misled, now crazy and now terrified many.

Mr. Root's phrase—"sooner or later constructions of the Constitution will be found"—is essentially a plutocratic phrase, the familiar phrase of the legal agent of the plutocracy, of the old campaigner for the plutocracy. It is part of the trick-talk of the plutocracy's "Constitutional lawyers" in Congress and on the bench, whereby the plutocracy's demands are made to seem sound law and the rights and needs of the people "unconstitutional." There has, indeed, been much stretching of the Constitution to promote the plutocracy. But, "to establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity," no "constructions" need be "found." And all such "found" constructions are in the end licenses to the people's servants to betray the people. What we need in interpreting laws is, not craft, for we have had too much of that, but common democratic honesty and common-sense; not searching after strained readings of fundamental law, but straightaway obedience to the law as it plainly reads. Mr. Roosevelt has been unfortunate in many of his intimate friendships, never so unfortunate as in his friendship for this sly and sinister intellect, cold, cynical, plausible, plutocratic. When Mr. Root began as a lawyer, he was severely rebuked from the

bench for transgression of the law in his eagerness to earn the fee of Boss Tweed. That same love of playing tricks with the law has clung to him, has grown in strength—and in dexterity—with the years. William C. Whitney, the genius of the traction ring, used to say, "There are lots of lawyers who can tell you what you can't do; but Root can always tell you how you *can* do what you want to do." That is, Root revels in "constructions." He is just the man to invent a "construction" that would concentrate at far-away Washington and in the hands of eminently respectable demagogues, bent upon binding the people over to the plutocracy, all the power of government that is now divided and that must remain divided, if free institutions are to abide.

The other explanation of Mr. Root's Pennsylvania Society deliverance was suggested by the promptness with which Mr. Root's old employers, the ring that rules the national machine of the Democratic party, came out on the other side of the "new issue"—centralization. The plutocracy is always looking for a "new issue"—anything to distract attention from the real issue, the plutocracy itself. Could any programme be more attractive to the plutocracy, in control of the machinery of both political parties, than a fake battle between centralizationists and States-righters, with a Root or a Cannon or a Fairbanks as the candidate of centralization and some equally "respectable" Ryan creature as the standard-bearer of local self-government?

Perhaps Mr. Root had both purposes in mind. But, whatever his purpose, it was not of or for the people. For no good could possibly come of describing lawful action as lawless and telling the people that by the lawless ways of "constructions" alone can they get the rights which the Constitution was established to guarantee to them.

DAVID GRAHAM PHILLIPS.

New York City.

THE BILLIONAIRE.*

BY MAXIM GORKI.

THE KINGS of steel, of petroleum, and all the other kings of the United States have always in a high degree excited my power of imagination. It seemed to me certain that these people who possess so much money could not be like other mortals.

Each of them (so I said to myself) must call his own, at least, three stomachs and a hundred and fifty teeth. I did not doubt that the millionaire ate without intermission, from six o'clock in the morning till midnight. It goes without saying, the most exquisite and sumptuous viands! Toward evening, then, he must be tired of the hard chewing, to such a degree that (so I pictured to myself) he gave orders to his darkies to *digest* the meals that he had swallowed with satisfaction during the day. Completely limp, covered with sweat and almost suffocated, he had to be put to bed by his servants, in order that on the next morning at six o'clock he might be able to begin again his work of eating.

Nevertheless, it must be impossible for such a man—whatever pains he might take—to consume merely the half of the interest of his wealth.

To be sure, such a life is awful, but what is one to do? For what is one a millionaire—what am I saying?—a *billionaire*, if one cannot eat more than every other common mortal! I pictured to myself that this privileged being wore cloth-of-gold underclothing, shoes with gold nails, and instead of a hat a diadem of diamonds on his head. His clothes, made of the most expensive velvet, must be at least fifty feet long and fastened with three hundred gold buttons; and on holidays he must be compelled by dire necessity to put on over each other six pairs of costly trousers. Such a costume

is certainly very uncomfortable. But, if one is rich like that, one can't after all dress like all the world.

The pocket of a billionaire, I pictured to myself so big that therein easily a church or the whole senate could find room. The paunch of such a gentleman I conceived to myself like the hull of an ocean steamer, the length and breadth of which I was not able to think out. Of the bulk, too, of a billionaire I could never give myself a clear idea; but I supposed that the coverlet under which he sleeps measures a dozen hundred square yards. If he chews tobacco, it was unquestionably only the best kind, of which he always sticks two pounds at a time into his mouth. And on taking snuff (I thought to myself) he must use up a pound at a pinch. Indeed, money will be spent!

His fingers must possess the magic power of lengthening at will. In spirit, I saw a New York billionaire as he stretched out his hand across Bering Strait and brought back a dollar that had rolled somewhere toward Siberia, without especially exerting himself thereby.

Curiously, I could form to myself no clear conception of the *head* of this monster. In this organism consisting of gigantic muscles and bones that is made for squeezing money out of all things, a head seemed to me really quite superfluous.

Who, now, can conceive my astonishment when, standing facing one of these fabulous beings, I arrived at the conviction that a billionaire is a human being like all the rest!

I saw there comfortably reclining in an armchair a long, wizened old man, who held his brown, sinewy hands folded across a body of quite ordinary dimensions. The flabby skin of his face was carefully shaved. The underlip, which

*Translated from the German for THE ARENA, by NEWELL DUNBAR.

hung loosely down, covered solidly built jaws, in which gilded teeth were stuck. The upper lip, smooth, narrow and pallid, scarcely moved when the old man spoke. Colorless eyes without brows, a perfectly bald skull. It might be thought that a little skin was wanting to this reddish face, to this countenance that was expressionless and puckered like that of one new-born. Was this being just beginning its life, or was it already nearing its end?

Nothing in his dress distinguished him from the ordinary mortal. A ring, a watch, and his teeth were all the gold he carried with him. Scarcely half a pound, all told! Taken altogether, the appearance of the man recalled that of an old servant of an aristocratic family in Europe.

The furnishing of the room in which he received me had nothing unusually luxurious about it. The furniture was solid; that is all that can be said. Oftentimes elephants probably come into this house, I involuntarily thought at the sight of the heavy, substantial pieces of furniture.

"Are you the billionaire?" I asked, since I could not trust my eyes.

"Yes, indeed," he answered, nodding convincingly with his head.

"How much meat can you consume for breakfast?"

"I eat no meat in the morning," he avowed. "A quarter of an orange, an egg, a small cup of tea, that's all . . ."

His innocent child's-eyes blinked with a feeble luster, like two drops of muddy water.

"Good," I began again, half disconcerted. "But be honest with me; tell me the truth. How often in the day do you eat?"

"Twice," he answered, peacefully. "Breakfast and dinner suffice me. At noon I take soup, a little white meat, vegetables, fruit, a cup of coffee, a cigar . . ."

My surprise grew apace. I drew breath, and went on:

"But, if that's true, what do you do with your money?"

"Make more money!"

"What for?"

"To make more money, out of that!"

"What for?" I repeated.

He leaned toward me, his hands supported by the arms of his chair, and with some curiosity in his expression he said:

"You are probably cracked?"

"And you?" I said . . .

The old man inclined his head, and, whistling softly through the gold of his teeth, he said:

"Droll wag! . . . You are the first human being of your species that I ever became acquainted with."

Then he bent his head back and looked at me some time, silently and scrutinizingly.

"What do you do?" I began again.

"Make money," he answered, shortly.

"Oh, you're a counterfeiter!" I exclaimed, joyfully, for I thought I had finally got to the bottom of the mystery. But the billionaire flew into a passion. His whole body shook, his eyes rolled actively.

"That is unheard of!" he said, when he had calmed down. Then he inflated his cheeks, I do not know why.

I considered, and put further the following question to him:

"How do you make money?"

"Oh, that's very simple. I possess railroads; the farmers produce useful commodities, which I transport to the markets. I calculate exactly to myself how much money I must leave the farmer, in order that he may not starve and be able to produce further. The rest I keep myself as transportation charges. That's surely very simple!"

"And are the farmers satisfied with it?"

"Not all, I believe," he answered, with a naïve childishness. "But they say that the people are never satisfied. There are always odd characters who want still more . . ."

MAXIM GORKI.

PHOTOGRAPHY: ITS TRUE FUNCTION AND ITS LIMITATIONS.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

THE PAST seventy years have been marked by a steady, rapid, and at times an almost magical improvement in the art of photography. A comparison of the faint, elusive and highly unsatisfactory early daguerreotypes with the latest finished work of our leading legitimate photographers will give us the measure of an artistic advance truly typical of the golden age of discovery and inventive progress—the age of science the miracle-worker, who in nature's laboratory has so utilized sunshine, electricity, steam and other subtle natural agencies and forces as to transform the world, changing the face of civilization, almost annihilating time and space, while greatly broadening the mental horizon of the race and marvelously enriching the life of man.

The legitimate field of photography is broad and its services are of priceless value to the race, giving to the poor and rich alike the permanent images of those most dear; bringing to the humble dwellers in remote hamlets the likenesses of the great, the good and the noble whose thoughts, deeds and lives are lifting the world; acquainting the children of every quarter with the scenery and objects of interest in all lands; assisting the surgeon in his labors of saving life and the savant in his researches; while in technical and mechanical fields this art is proving a positive labor-saver in hundreds of ways.

But while these noble triumphs have been legitimately achieved and the young art has in a way become a companion to the splendid art of the painter, a servant of science and a handmaid of industry, there are those in our modern feverish and somewhat superficial age who would force photography out of its legitimate sphere, throwing to the winds the well-

defined rules of the art, scorning its noble achievements and sneering at its true functions in a mad desire to achieve certain startling or dazzling results. Some assume that its function is similar to that of the artist of the brush; others seem to imagine that the greatest photographer is the man who in accidental ways or by empirical methods succeeds in securing some unique and perhaps startling results. This temper of the charlatan, this striving to wrest photography from its legitimate function and produce occasionally some wonderful examples of freak photography, that may or may not be strong in points of real value and which are the result of chance rather than of the conscientious and faithful following of the great basic laws of the photographer's art that give reasonably uniform results, is not confined to the photographers. In painting and sculpture, especially in Paris, is the same spirit rife among a certain number of more or less superficial artisans of the brush and chisel who study to find a short way to fame by employing the daring methods of the charlatan who would pose as a genius.

Some months ago, when in conversation with one of America's greatest sculptors, a man of undoubted genius who had long studied in Paris and whose creations have won for him international fame, my friend spoke very strongly of this empirical work that was so in evidence.

"In Paris especially," he said, "there are numbers of sculptors and painters who seem to care little for the great underlying and universally accepted laws of art and beauty or the immutable demands of truth. All they appear to strive for is something so grotesque, surprising



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JOHN S SARGENT

or out of the ordinary that it will make the superficial start and exclaim, 'Ah! how strange, how striking, unique and original!' These works," he continued, "are often gruesome and absurd, frequently [doing violence to the universally accepted canons of art. They are untrue to life, sometimes vicious in character or in their suggestions, and valueless as rational or consistent examples of the symbolic in artistic representation. Of course this kind of work is empirical. It will soon be forgotten because it has no solid foundation, no great principle or truth behind it. But for the hour these productions often catch the crowd and give to the creator of the freak work

a temporary popularity, to the injury of true art. And what is most surprising is that critics, who of all men should weigh values and look at the fundamentals, are at times caught up in the popular eddy and are found praising things which ten years later they will admit are worthless."

To us it seems that this very nearly characterizes the situation in the domain of the photographic art. Of late the freak photographer has been very much in evidence. The illustrated magazines and sometimes the art journals have been largely given over to the most laudatory articles extolling the work of men who are striving to make photography take

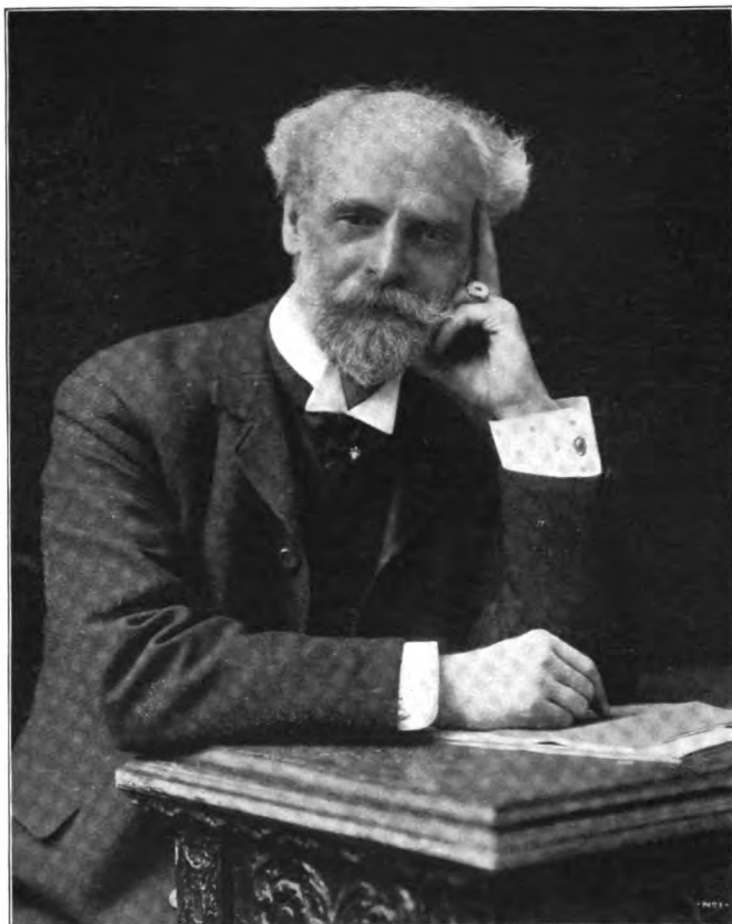


Photo. by Purdy, Boston, Mass.

PROFESSOR FREDERICK C. de SUMICHRAST.

the place of painting or to obtain by empirical methods novel and unexpected results. The reading of some of these articles reminds one of Hamlet's characterization of the shallow-pated buffoons among the actors who outraged all the canons of true art in order to gain the applause of the pit. No greater mistake can be made than to imagine, as certain champions of the innovators seem to hold, that photography can take the place of the painter's canvas. Both the arts photography and painting have their clearly-defined and legitimate spheres. One in a large way complements the other, but neither materially encroaches on the sphere of the other.

Professor Hugo Münsterberg in his *American Traits* emphasizes this fact in thus referring to the fundamental difference between the profession of "the photographer and that of the artist." "A good photographer," he asserts, "is certainly a more useful being than a bad artist, but no photographer understands the meaning of art who thinks that he and Sargent are in principle doing the same thing."

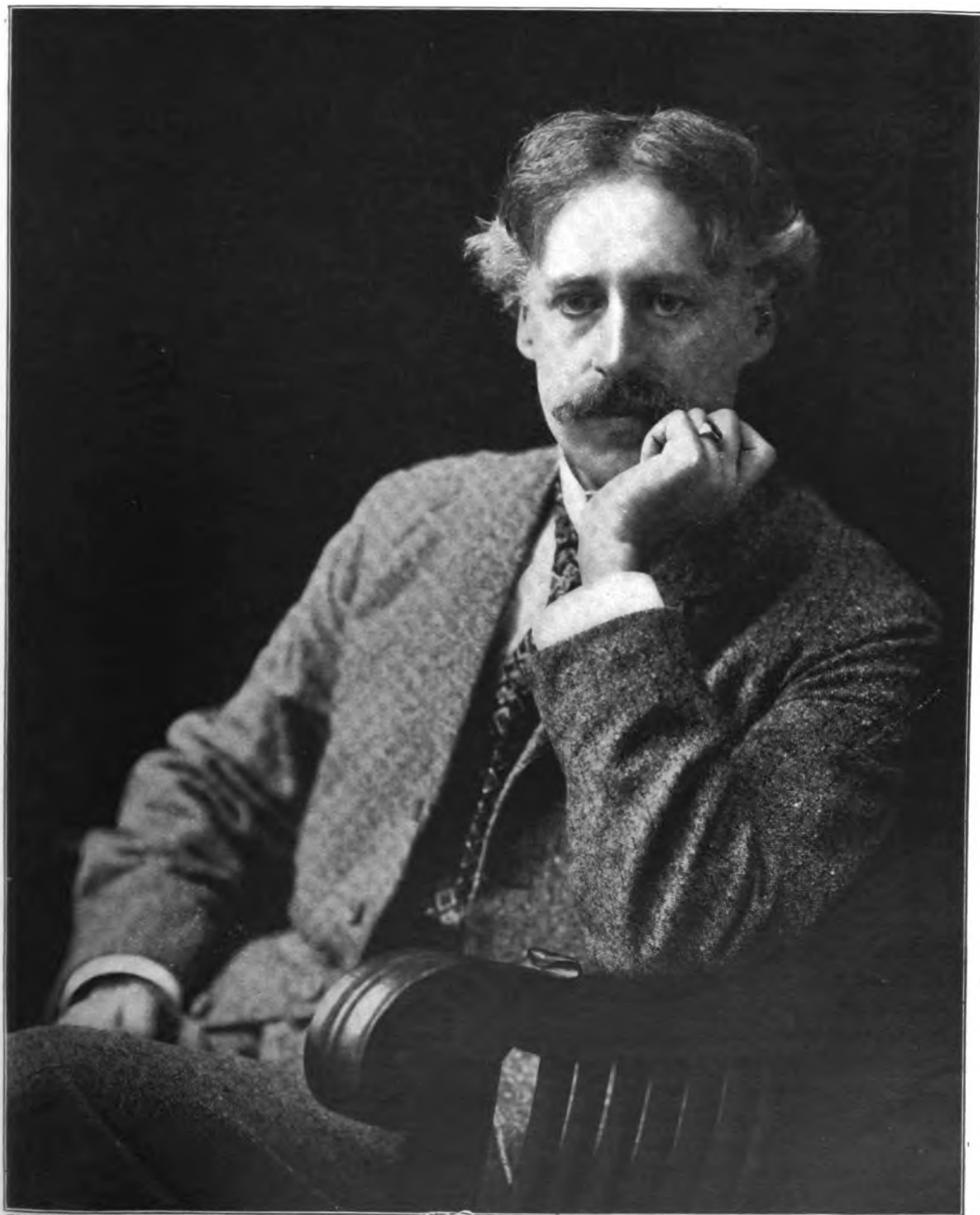
G. Bernard Shaw is one of the most clever and, along certain lines, one of the most penetrating critics of modern times. He is a charming writer, notwithstanding his cynicism, if one has the wit to see the face behind the mask or the lesson he is driving home in a manner so offensive to smug respectability and slothful conventionalism. But Mr. Shaw is by no means a safe guide at all times, and never is he more untrustworthy than when he appears in the rôle of the champion of freak photography or photography which is based on chance and which mistakes the true function of the art. Some months ago this brilliant and versatile writer published a most laudatory article in an American magazine on the work of Mr. Alvin Langdon Coburn, and in this essay our modern Daniel made a surprising statement which must have created no small degree of merriment among the really great legitimate masters of the camera. He informs the photographic artists of the world and the stranger without the gates that "technically good negatives are more often the result of the survival of the fittest than of special creation; the photographer is like the cod which produces a million eggs that one may reach maturity."

After this oracular utterance Mr. Shaw indulges in a highly eulogistic dissertation on the photography of his young friend, who, he proudly observes, gets what he wants "one way or another," but who "if he were examined by the City and Guilds' Institute, and based his answers on his own practice, would probably be removed from the class-room to a lunatic asylum."

From Mr. Shaw's description we are led to understand that the excellence of Alvin Langdon Coburn's work lies largely in his getting results different from those that mark the best work of the great legitimate photographic artists—results that are decidedly unique, if unsatisfactory, and which at times are chiefly noteworthy for their impressionistic value and at other times, judging from the examples given, because of their resemblance to paintings.

Mr. Shaw is not alone in his contempt for the photographer's art as it is understood and practiced by the world's greatest legitimate camera artists. The Photo-Secessionists of this country and kindred organizations of the Old World are striving to wrest photography from its true place. That they represent a fad that will pass is doubtless true; that they may exert in some degree a helpful modifying influence on certain kinds of photography may be possible; but that the space accorded to them and their work in contemporaneous popular and art journals tends to obscure the high and true function of photography is equally clear.

The artist of the pigment and the brush must ever hold undisputed his high place. His canvas is rich in values that no photograph can give or even faintly reproduce. If he is painting a portrait, he studies the dominant characteristics of his subject. The play of emotions, the lights that flash from the eye, the grave and serious expressions that emphasize the countenance at moments when the emotional depths are stirred,—these fire the artist's imagination. He instinctively sees the proper background for the character he is painting and he presents the likeness that is ever more or less idealistic and impressionistic. It is far less descriptive than the photograph, yet it is none the less true in a large and vital way, for into it the artist has put something of his own genius and imagination, which becomes as an atmosphere, subtle, impalpable, yet very real and true in all respects to the peculiar character portrayed.



Photo, by Purdy, Boston, Mass.

WILLIAM ORDWAY PARTRIDGE

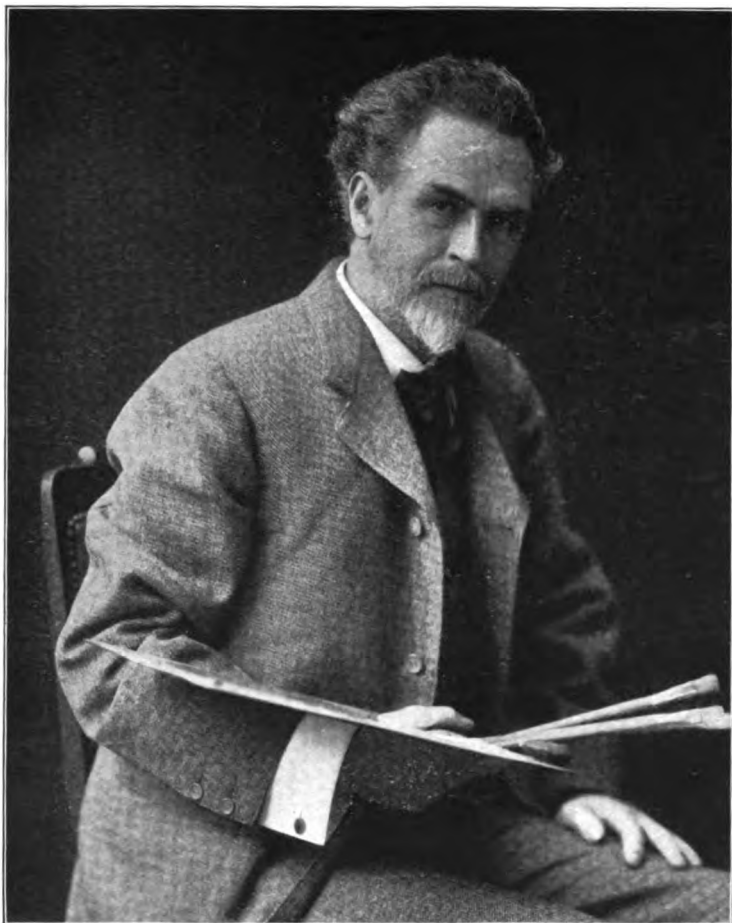


Photo. by Purdy, Boston, Mass.

JOHN A. S. MONKS.

The artist of the camera, on the other hand, is a literalist. He is nothing if not true to the external delineations. He is sternly realistic and while striving to catch his subject at his best, striving to register the countenance while the soul looks forth from the eyes and lights up the features with an indefinable radiance or when the mighty emotions that stir the being in his greatest moments are shadowed forth on the face, he does not aim or strive to put anything on the plate that is not found in the subject or which cannot be caught by the sensitive film. What he does strive to do is to reproduce with literal exactness the subject before the camera,—reproduce him at his best

and catch him if possible when the mask which we all wear at times is lowered. But what he gives must be true to the testimony of the material vision. The photograph is first of all and above all descriptive—a faithful record of all that the sensitive plate can catch and hold.

Desiring to obtain for our readers the views of one of the leading legitimate photographers of this country, we requested the opinion of Mr. J. E. Purdy, the famous Boston photographic artist, who has undoubtedly taken more portraits of really distinguished statesmen, authors, educators, artists, clergymen, diplomats, journalists and persons eminent in various professions than any photog-

rapher in New England. Indeed, his gallery of notables will compare favorably with those of the few leading photographers who have made a specialty of photographs of celebrities. More than this, Mr. Purdy's work has given great satisfaction to many distinguished men who have sat in the great galleries of the Old World and the New, as we have reason to know from their expressions of delight. We mention these facts merely to show that the views of a man in Mr. Purdy's position are essentially those of an expert in legitimate photography and as such are worthy of special consideration.

In reply to our question: "What in

your opinion is the legitimate sphere of the photographic artist?" Mr. Purdy said:

"I consider the real or true function of photography to be to record and publish the truth. Now the mission of the new school seems to be in a great measure to conceal the truth; to hide, cover up or eliminate facts rather than to present them in a striking and realistic manner. My idea is that we cannot have too much of the truth, provided it is presented in its proper and legitimate way."

"You do not hold with the new school that photography should encroach or attempt to encroach upon or to supplant the work of the artist of the brush?"

"No, the painter and the photographic artist has each his distinct and legitimate field. It is as absurd as it is idle to talk of photography supplanting painting. The color, tone, feeling, atmosphere and imagination that appeal to us from the canvas of the master-painter belong to his great profession. Even photographs of paintings are at best unsatisfactory. Mr. Philip L. Hale in one of his charm-



Photo. by Purdy, Boston, Mass.

PROFESSOR OSTWALD.

ingly bright letters in a recent issue of one of our Boston dailies expressed my views on this point. I think I have his words here on my desk. Yes, here they are. He is speaking, you know, of photographs of masterpieces, which are so much in vogue in Boston homes of culture and which seemed to pain our English critic, Mr. Wells, on his visit to this city:

"A photograph! Well, except for the fact that it does n't get the color, that it gets the values all wrong, and that it distorts the drawing, there's no great harm in a photograph. Only it's not very complete; in fact, one may say it's rather negative. . . . To an artist a photograph of Velasquez's Pope something or other, or a detail from the Lances is interesting because he's interested in the drawing, and perhaps still more in the facture. It's a technical matter with him, but he knows he gets nothing of the color or tone value and very little of the charm. He sees very little of the thing Velasquez thought most about when he was painting. But our cultured commission merchant looks complacently at



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WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST.

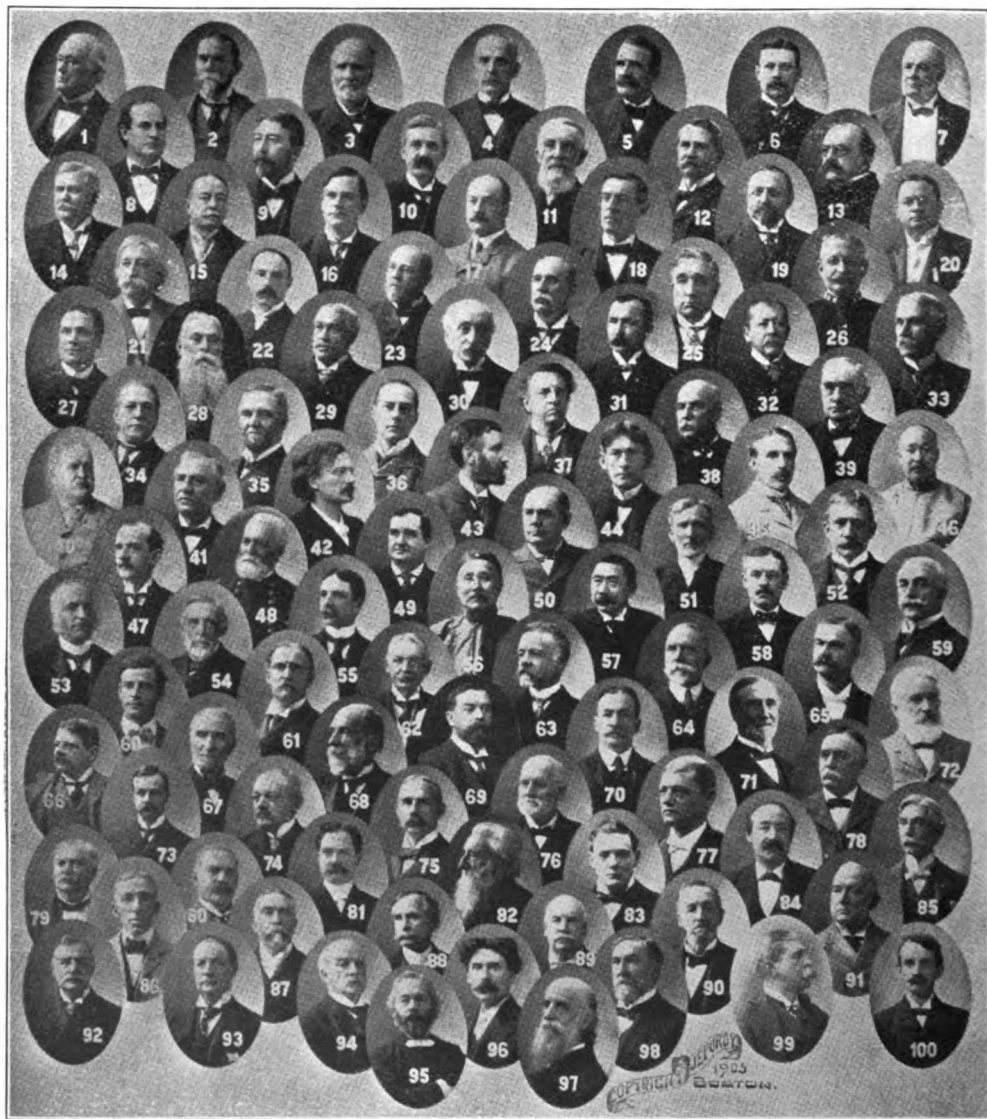


Photo. by Purdy, Boston, Mass.

ONE HUNDRED DISTINGUISHED MEN OF TO-DAY.

1. Senator George F. Hoar. 2. John Hay, Secretary of State. 3. James Wilson, Secretary of Agriculture. 4. Leslie M. Shaw, Secretary of the Treasury. 5. Henry C. Payne, Postmaster-General. 6. William H. Moody, Secretary of the Navy. 7. Cornelius N. Bliss, Ex-Secretary of the Interior. 8. William J. Bryan. 9. Gov. Franklin Murphy of New Jersey. 10. Gov. A. B. Cummins of Iowa. 11. Andrew D. White, Ex-Ambassador to Germany. 12. Henry White, Secretary American Embassy, London. 13. Maj.-Gen. Daniel E. Sickles, U. S. A. 14. Andrew S. Draper, University of Illinois. 15. Rear-Admiral John J. Read. 16. George E. Foss, Illinois Congressman. 17. Nicholas Murray Butler, Columbia University. 18. Woodrow Wilson, Princeton University. 19. E. Mayor des Planches, Italian Ambassador. 20. William R. Harper, Chicago University. 21. Chief-Justice Melville W. Fuller. 22. Sidney Lee, English Author. 23. St. Clair McKelway, Editor Brooklyn Eagle. 24. W. F. Draper, Ex-Ambassador to Italy. 25. W. Bourke Cockran, Orator. 26. Admiral Joseph B. Coghlan. 27. Jacob G. Schurman, Cornell University. 28. Gov. Sanford B. Dole of Hawaii. 29. Maj.-Gen. S. B. M. Young, Chief of General Staff, U. S. A. 30. Professor Chas. Eliot Norton, Harvard University. 31. Clifford Sifton, Minister of Interior, Canada. 32. Thos. Bailey Aldrich, Author. 33. Franklin MacVeagh, Chicago Financier. 34. Samuel Gompers, American Federation of Labor. 35. Edwin H. Conger, U. S. Minister to China. 36. Hugh Chisolm, Associate Editor London Times. 37. Senator John C. Spooner. 38. Senator Jacob H. Gallinger. 39. Henry B. Brown, Associate Justice U. S. Supreme Court. 40. John D. Long, Ex-Sec'y of the Navy. 41. Pres. William P. Frye, U. S. Senate. 42. Ignace J. Paderewski, Pianist. 43. Sir Horace Plunkett, English Economist. 44. Ex-Gov. Frank S. Black of New York. 45. Maj. Gen. Leonard Wood. 46. Sir Chentung Liang, Chinese Minister to U. S. 47. Ex-Gov. W. Murray Crane o

his Sistine Madonna or his Angelus: "Look at the expression in the child's eyes!" "Hear the bells ring!" Of course it's another affair with students, with most artists; they can't have paintings, except, God knows, their own, so they must put up with the best they can get, suggestions of better things."

"Then you have little sympathy with this striving to obtain certain startling and peculiar effects, or to imitate painting, which Mr. G. Bernard Shaw and other more or less brilliant writers have lauded so extravagantly?"

"No, I do not think this work will contribute to the elevation of the photographic art. In fact, I think it will rather tend to discredit photography, just as the spectacular performance of a sensational pulpit orator tends to detract from the dignity and influence of the pulpit. Referring specifically to Mr. Shaw's recent article on Alvin Langdon Coburn's photographic work, which appeared in the *Metropolitan Magazine*, I would say that the English playwright's views are very different from those of the ordinary professional photographer. He says: 'Good negatives are more the result of the survival of the fittest than of special creation; the photographer is like the cod which produces a million eggs that one may reach maturity.' Now that, it seems to me, is reducing photography to a game of chance,—making an indefinite number of negatives in hopes that purely by chance one will get

something that is available for use. There certainly is not a particle of science in aiming at anything with one's eyes shut. I could not hope to do business here without the assistance of people who practically make every movement count. Every negative, conditions being favorable, is available for printing purposes. Again, Mr. Shaw looks upon printing as the only test of the genuine expert photographer. I think the professional photographer looks upon printing as merely an incident. It is simply the publishing of the truth which is already recorded upon the plate."

"What do you think should be the constant aim of the photographer? Should he seek to reproduce the likeness of the sitter, giving prominence to the harder and harsher lines in a brutally realistic way, or should he seek by artistic treatment of the plate to preserve all the essentials of the portrait in such a way that the soul shall dominate rather than the rough exterior? I have myself seen many pictures of persons where the treatment of the photographic artist had been such that the picture represented the person at his very best—represented him as he appeared when all the intellectual and spiritual characteristics were dominating his being; and this was largely due, it seemed to me, to the genius of the photographer in the artistic treatment of the negative, for other pictures of the same person reproduced the material features in such a way that they dominated the

Massachusetts. 48. Maj.-Gen. Oliver O. Howard, U. S. A. 49. John G. Milburn of Buffalo. 50. Senator Marcus A. Hanna. 51. Associate-Justice Joseph McKenna. 52. Secretary Elihu Root. 53. Sir Frederic Borden, Minister of Militia, Canada. 54. Ex-Gov. Geo. S. Boutwell of Massachusetts. 55. Robert Grant, Author and Jurist. 56. Wu Ting Fang, Ex-Minister of China to U. S. 57. Kogoro Takahira, Japanese Minister to U. S. 58. Dis.-Attorney Wm. T. Jerome of New York. 59. Lieut.-Gen. Nelson A. Miles. 60. Capt. Richard P. Hobson. 61. Benj. Ide Wheeler, University of California. 62. Rear-Admiral Francis H. Higginson. 63. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts. 64. Maj.-Gen. Joseph B. Breckenridge. 65. Congressman Chas. E. Littlefield of Maine. 66. Edwin A. Abbey, R. A., Portrait Painter. 67. Joseph G. Cannon, Speaker of Congress. 68. Brig.-Gen. Joseph Wheeler. 69. John S. Sargent, Portrait Painter. 70. David J. Hill, Minister to Switzerland. 71. Senator Redfield Proctor of Vermont. 72. Edward Atkinson, Statistician. 73. George von L. Meyers, Ambassador to Italy. 74. Jules Cambon, Ex-Ambassador of France to U. S. 75. Rev. Francis E. Clark, Pres. Christian Endeavor Society. 76. Wm. T. Harris, U. S. Com. of Education. 77. Rear-Admiral Robley D. Evans. 78. Senator Thomas M. Patterson of Colorado. 79. Ex-Speaker David B. Henderson. 80. Count Cassini, Russian Ambassador to U. S. 81. Senator E. W. Carmack of Tennessee. 82. William Booth, Founder and Commander of the Salvation Army. 83. Winston Spencer Churchill, Mem. of Par. and War Correspondent. 84. Chas. J. Bonaparte, of Baltimore. 85. Admiral John C. Watson. 86. Judge Peter S. Grosscup. 87. Joseph Walton, Member of Parliament. 88. Carroll D. Wright, Commissioner of Labor and Pres. of Clark University. 89. Chas. O'Neil, Admiral U. S. N. and Chief of Bureau of Ordnance. 90. H. L. Palmer, Sov. Grand Com. 33^d Masons and Pres. Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Co. 91. Lord Brassey, Pres. London Chamber of Commerce. 92. John M. Hall, Pres. N. Y., N. H. & H. R. R. 93. Senator Francis G. Newlands of Nevada. 94. Ethan A. Hitchcock, Secretary of Interior. 95. Rev. Chas. H. Parkhurst, New York Reformer and Preacher. 96. Ernest Thompson Seton, Naturalist and Author. 97. Rev. Lyman Abbott, Preacher. 98. Senator Nathan B. Scott of West Virginia. 99. F. Hopkinson Smith, Artist and Author. 100. Edward M. Shepard, New York Statesman.

picture almost to the entire exclusion of a suggestion of intellectual and spiritual force behind the facial mask. I should be very glad for any views you have to give us on this subject."

"The legitimate sphere of photography, as I have observed, is in my judgment to publish the truth, not only as it appears realistically, but to get at the soul and express *all*—the whole truth.

"Somewhere in the Constitution of the United States is a clause authorizing Congress to pass certain laws for the protection of mechanics and artisans who by their marked ingenuity, skill or cleverness may be deemed worthy of such protection. For this purpose the copyright and patent laws have been passed and enacted. The copyright laws under which the authors or proprietors of photographs, works of art and books are accorded protection have been the subject of more or less controversy in the courts from time to time. It has been decided that a purely mechanical photograph is not a proper subject for copyright protection, and some judges have gone so far as to express the opinion that no photograph of a piece of furniture or of a purely inanimate object could be a proper subject for copyright protection. A photograph of a ship might be such as would require more than ordinary skill to make. For instance, picturing the vessel in full sail, in such a position as to show effectively all the sails, rigging and lines with a certain artistic arrangement of lights and shadows, would be a very proper subject for protection as evidencing a display of skill and cleverness beyond the ordinary mechanic. This you will see is quite in line with my idea that the true mission of photography is to publish or portray the truth. The purely mechanical photograph of the ship gives the observer but the merest suggestion of its true shape and character, while the artistic picture, in which every sail filled with the breeze is distinctly visible, seems to fill one with the rush of the water, the sound of the wind, etc. So, too, the

purely mechanical photograph of a person, which gives but the merest suggestion of his true character, is not a proper subject for copyright because lacking in truth essentials. The aim of photography is to bring out or develop the truth, character and feature of the subject in its highest, loftiest sense."

"This I think you have succeeded in doing most admirably in your pictures," we ventured. "Take, for example, the photograph you took of Mr. Hearst and which I understand he is specially partial to. One critic not friendly to Mr. Hearst declared that the photograph was not like Hearst because it revealed a stronger face than he had; it suggested a man of more character than Mr. Hearst possessed. That criticism was made when the enemies of the late Democratic candidate for governor was being sneered at as a myth and a man of straw; but after the recent campaign I imagine few even of his enemies doubted the reality of the man Hearst, and if they chose to speak what was in their hearts, I imagine they would have admitted that he possessed the strength of character and reserve power which your photograph revealed. You merely caught the image when his face expressed the real man behind the somewhat mask-like visage. Here the camera revealed more than the superficial observer detected, because it caught the man when the real strength of his nature looked forth. So in the late pictures of the poet Joaquin Miller, and so in the admirable portraits of John S. Sargent, William Ordway Partridge, Professor Ostwald, John A. S. Monks, Professor Frederick de Sumichrast, and hundreds of other eminent men and women. In every instance, it seems to me, you have done precisely what the true photographic artist should ever strive to accomplish,—reproduce the exact likeness at the moment when the mental and emotional faculties illuminate the face. And this I understand is what the legitimate photographer strives to achieve. Now one more question: Do you favor the ironing

out of the wrinkles or toning down the picture to make it pretty or more pleasing to the subject?"

"Most assuredly not. We aim to religiously preserve every wrinkle which is a record,—everything, in short, which the camera reveals. True, there are workmen who have a mania for retouching and ironing out wrinkles, but this is something which we constantly fight against, our object being to give a true image of the subject we are portraying."

Mr. Purdy in common with other photographic artists makes excursions into the by-ways for results that are legitimate and based on the underlying laws of the art. His crayon portraits are famous for their accuracy. The photograph is first taken; then everything but the barest outline is washed out with cyanide, after which the portrait is drawn in with crayon.



Photo. by Purdy, Boston, Mass.

JACK LONDON.

Two admirable examples of this character are the portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Jack London, which were photographed from the crayon originals by the artist for this paper. These portraits are regarded by the popular novelist and his wife as exceptionally fine likenesses. They are of peculiar interest at the present time when Mr. London and his wife are on the high seas, making an attempt to circle the globe in their little 45-foot boat, "The Snark," with only three other souls on board.

An illustration of special interest in this number is the reproduction, greatly reduced, of "One Hundred Distinguished Men of To-day," made up by Mr. Purdy from portraits he has taken.

Mr. Purdy, as has been seen from the above, does not believe in the photographer attempting to invade the realm of



Photo. by Purdy, Boston, Mass.

MRS. JACK LONDON.



Copyright, 1899, by J. E. Purdy, Boston, Mass.

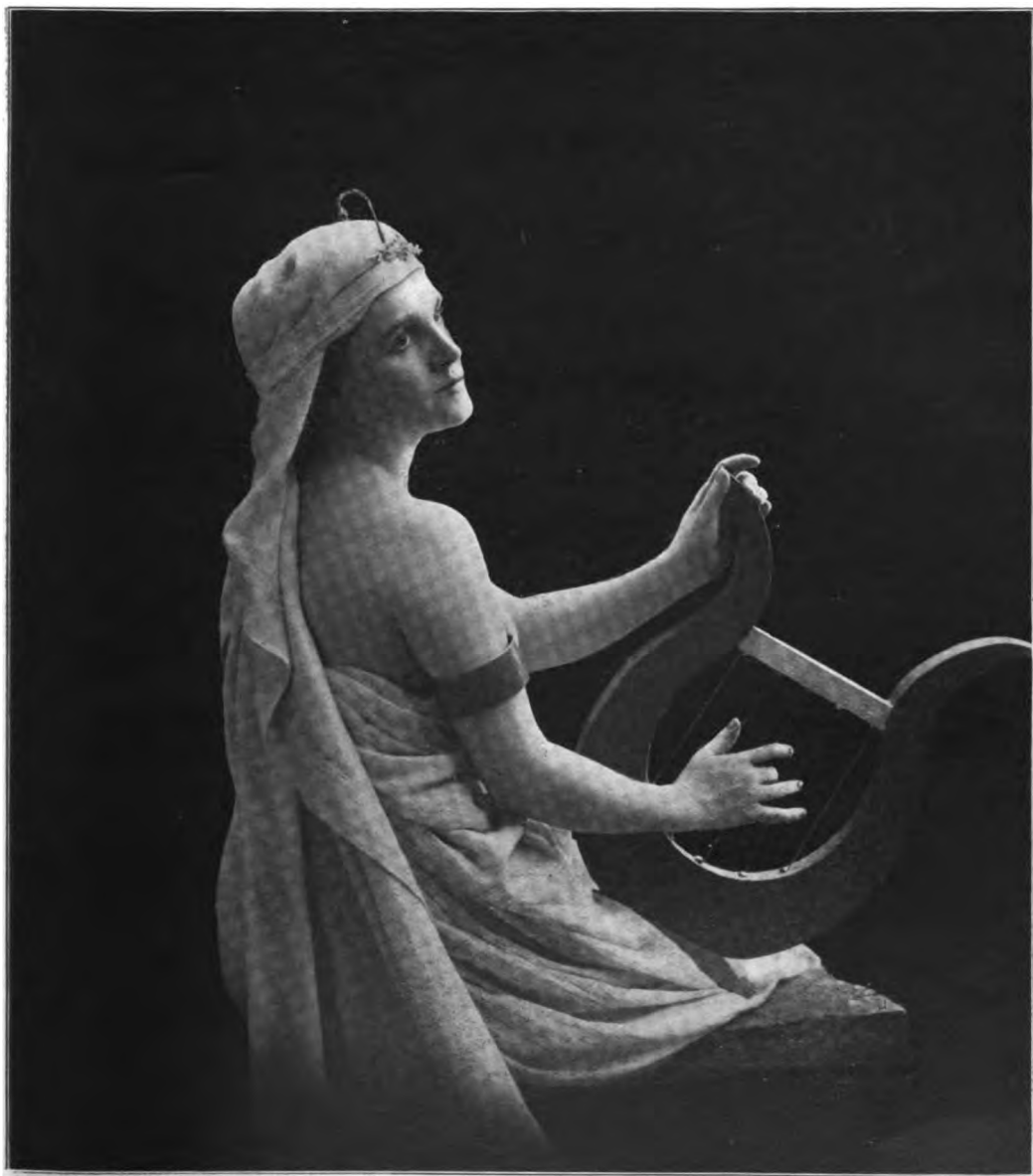
LILLIAN LAWRENCE AS "THE WOMAN OF SAMARIA."

the artist of the brush. At the special request of certain friends he has made some photographs of subjects made famous in paintings, and with his permission we present three specimens of this character. They are beautiful to look upon, but being descriptive they soon lose compelling power over the imagination, if not associated with something that awakens tender sentiments or calls up cherished memories. We look on the photograph of a loved friend and say, "How beautiful!" True, but if that friend were the brother or the lover of a German maiden or a Spanish señorita instead of a member of our cherished circle, we should soon tire of looking at

it; it is too descriptive. We should soon read all the face had to tell us and our interest in it would then wane. Herein lies one great difference between photography, when it relates to objects which hold no personal interest or special charm for us, and great creative or impressionistic art work.

If the reader could go with us into the studio of a really great painter, like J. J. Enneking of Boston, bearing with him some of the best specimens of purely impersonal photography which had no charm other than their claims to beauty or interest such as might appeal to the artistic taste, he would, we think, quickly see and feel the difference be-

tween photography and the painter's canvas. He would soon tire of the purely descriptive subject; but let him look at one of Mr. Enneking's paintings,—say of the crest of Chocorua at dawn. There he would see no brilliant color-effects, the tones are low, but the message to the imagination is compelling. He would feel the coming of the dawn. The crest of the noble New England mountain lies naked and unadorned in the warm glow of the early sunlight, while the slopes are wrapped in the veil-like haze of departing night. Only the faint colors and outlines of the sides of the mountain with its mantle of verdure, its suggestions of rocks and ravines, are discernible. The picture is



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LOTTIE ADAMS AS "A DAUGHTER OF THE TEMPLE."

big with interest. It rivets the eye; it enthalls the imagination. We feel the scene; we are again at the foot of the grand old mountain. The magic of mystery we have felt in other days when watching the dawn stream over its bare, seamed and scarred crest, is once more

of dawn in the forest in spring. [This also is in the mountains, but no special spot or spot known to us. Here again we come under this indescribable spell; the witchery of nature is upon us. Train after train of thought is awakened. Here is the indefinable mystery, the something



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"THE SINGING LESSON" BY BLANCHE AND IDA ROSE.

upon us. The longer we look on the picture the more striking it becomes. It is a scene that grows in fascination; we never weary of it, although there is no living sentient object on the canvas.

But you may say that here is the charm of association, just as in the photograph of a spot hallowed by memory. Very well, let us turn to another picture, that

that lures the imagination and which lies just beyond those flower-decked trees that are flinging their incense upon the heavy but balmy air. Or let us look at that scene in the heart of the wood. It is eventide. There are some cattle drinking at the pool. The colors are subdued, but the power of the picture over the imagination is greater than that of the most

brilliant and gorgeous canvas that is merely descriptive. And what is more, neither you nor I would ever tire of one of these pictures.

Here is a picture that does not impress you particularly at first, so much as a more brilliant and detailed sketch visible across the room. You look at it, however, with special interest, since the artist tells you he has been at work on it for fifteen years, and soon you wonder why it compels your eye to return again and again to it when other more pretentious pictures are less attractive. If you look at it closely it looks like a daub;

if you are in search of brilliant color and clear-cut lines you must look elsewhere; but here in this picture your imagination is led into a thralldom that at first may seem inexplicable. This is the picture you wish to feast your eyes upon, for when looking here you feel what you have felt

at rare moments since childhood when alone in the forest when nature wove her robe of enchantment before your eyes. Here are the beauty, the poetry, the

music that have been known to the holiest of holies of your being.

Now you will understand the gulf between the art of the photographer and the art of the great master-impressionistic painters. You have seen the extremes of descriptive and impressionistic work. But because you have seen and felt all this, do you despise the photographer's art? By no means. You understand its spirit, its value—its measureless value

—in certain directions; but you also understand how futile and pitiful it is for men to talk of the photographer supplanting the master of the brush and pigment.

B. O. FLOWER.

Boston, Mass.



Photo. by Purdy, Boston, Mass.

MISS PAULINE FREDERICK.

CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES DEMANDED TO BULWARK DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT.

BY HON. WALTER CLARK, LL.D.,
Chief-Justice of North Carolina.

I.

IN THE following paper I have pointed out some defects in the Constitution of the United States which call for a constitutional convention to revise that instrument in order to make it responsive

to the fundamental requirements of democratic government. The amendments which I suggest and discuss are briefly as follows: (1) Election of senators, judges and postmasters by the people;

(2) the electoral vote in each State to be divided *pro rata* according to popular vote therein for each candidate; (3) term of President six years, and ineligible for reelection; (4) repeal, or modification, of the Fourteenth Amendment; (5) each Congress to expire at the election of its successor.

II.

At Philadelphia, on July 4, 1776, was proclaimed "Liberty throughout all the land and to all the inhabitants thereof." And there, too, eleven years later, was another notable event, when on September 17, 1787, was issued to the world the Constitution of these United States. It is the latter—"its defects and the necessity for its revision"—that I wish to discuss.

Just here it is well to call to mind the radical difference between these two Conventions. That which met in 1776 was frankly democratic. Success in its great and perilous undertaking was only possible with the support of the people. The Great Declaration was an appeal to the masses. It declared that all men were "created equal and endowed with certain inalienable rights—among them life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness—to secure which rights governments are instituted, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; and that when government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and institute a new government in such form as shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness." Never was the right of revolution more clearly asserted or that government existed for the sole benefit of the people, who were declared to be equal and endowed with the right to change their government at will when it did not subserve their welfare or obey their wishes. Not a word about property. Everything was about the people. The man was more than the dollar then. And the Convention was in earnest.

Every member signed the Declaration, which was unanimously voted. As Dr. Franklin pertinently observed, it behooved them "to hang together or they would hang separately."

The Convention which met in 1787 was as reactionary as the other had been revolutionary and democratic. It had its beginning in commercial negotiations between the States. Wearied with a long war, enthusiasm for liberty somewhat relaxed by the pressing need to earn the comforts and necessities of life whose stores had been diminished, and oppressed by the ban upon prosperity caused by the uncertainties and impotence of the existing government of the Confederacy, the Convention of 1787 came together. Ignoring the maxim that government should exist only by the consent of the governed, it sat with closed doors, that no breath of the popular will should affect their decisions. To free the members from all responsibility, members were prohibited to make copies of any resolution or to correspond with constituents or others about matters pending before the Convention. Any record of Yeas and Nays was forbidden and was kept without the knowledge of the Convention. The journal was kept secret, a vote to destroy it fortunately failed, and Mr. Madison's copy was published only after the lapse of forty-nine years, when every member had passed beyond human accountability. Only 12 States were ever represented, and one of these withdrew before the final result was reached. Of its 65 members only 55 ever attended, and so far from being unanimous, only 39 signed the Constitution, and some actively opposed its ratification by their own States.

That the Constitution thus framed was reactionary was a matter of course. There was, as we know, some talk of a royal government, with Frederick, Duke of York, second son of George the Third, as King. Hamilton, whose subsequent great services as Secretary of the Treasury have crowned him with a halo, and whose

tragic death has obliterated the memory of his faults, declared himself in favor of the English form of government with its hereditary Executive and its House of Lords, which he denominated "a most noble institution." Failing in that, he advocated an Executive elected by Congress for life, Senators and Judges for life, and Governors of States to be appointed by the President. Of these he secured, as it has proved, the most important from his standpoint, the creation of Judges for life. The Convention was aware that a Constitution on Hamilton's lines could not secure ratification by the several States. But the Constitution adopted was made as undemocratic as possible, and was very far from responding to the condition, laid down in the Declaration of 1776, that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. Hamilton, in a speech to the Convention, stated that the members were agreed that "we need to be rescued from the democracy." They were rescued. Thomas Jefferson unfortunately was absent as our Minister to France and took no part in the Convention, though we owe largely to him the compromise by which the first ten amendments were agreed to be adopted in exchange for ratification by several States which otherwise would have been withheld.

In truth, the consent of the governed was not to be asked. In the new government the will of the people was not to control and was little to be consulted. Of the three great departments of the government—Legislative, Executive and Judiciary—the people were entrusted with the election only of the House of Representatives, to-wit, only one-sixth of the government, even if that House had been made equal in authority and power with the Senate, which was very far from being the case. The Declaration of 1776 was concerned with the rights of man. The Convention of 1787 entirely ignored them. There was no Bill of Rights and the guarantees of the

great rights of freedom of speech and of the press, freedom of religion, liberty of the people to assemble, and right of petition, the right to bear arms, exemption from soldiers being quartered upon the people, exemption from general warrants, the right of trial by jury and a grand jury, protection of the law of the land and protection from seizure of private property for other than public use, and then only upon just compensation; the prohibition of excessive bail or cruel and unusual punishment, and the reservation to the people and the States of all rights not granted by the Constitution—all these matters of the utmost importance to the rights of the people—were omitted and were inserted by the first ten amendments only because it was necessary to give assurances that such amendments would be adopted in order to secure the ratification of the Constitution by the several States.

The Constitution was so far from being deemed satisfactory, even to the people, and in the circumstances of the time for which it was framed, that, as already stated, only 11 States voted for its adoption by the Convention, and only 39 members out of 55 attending signed it, some members subsequently opposing its ratification. Its ratification by the conventions in the several States was carried with the greatest difficulty, and in no State was it submitted to a vote of the people themselves. Massachusetts ratified only after a close vote and with a demand for amendments. South Carolina and New Hampshire also demanded amendments, as also did Virginia and New York, both of which voted ratification by the narrowest majorities and reserving to themselves the right to withdraw, and two states rejected the Constitution and subsequently ratified only after Washington had been elected and inaugurated—matters in which they had no share.

George Washington was President of the Convention, it is true, but as such was debarred from sharing in the de-

bates. His services, great as they were, had been military, not civil, and he left no impress upon the instrument of union so far as known. Yet it was admitted that but for his popularity and influence the Constitution would have failed of ratification by the several States, especially in Virginia. Indeed, but for his great influence the Convention would have adjourned without putting its final hand to the Constitution, as it came very near doing. Even his greatest influence would not have availed but for the overwhelming necessity for some form of government as a substitute for the rickety "Articles of Confederation," which were utterly inefficient and whose longer retention threatened civil war.

An instrument so framed, adopted with such difficulty and ratified after such efforts, and by such narrow margins, could not have been a fair and full expression of the consent of the governed. The men that made it did not deem it perfect. Its friends agreed to sundry amendments, ten in number, which were adopted by the first Congress that met. The assumption by the new Supreme Court of a power not contemplated, even by the framers of the Constitution, to drag a State before it as defendant in an action by a citizen of another State, caused the enactment of the Eleventh Amendment. The unfortunate method prescribed for the election of the President nearly caused a civil war in 1801 and forced the adoption of the Twelfth Amendment, and three others were brought about as the result of the great Civil war. The Convention of 1787 recognized itself that the defects innate in the Constitution and which would be developed by experience and the lapse of time, would require amendments, and that instrument prescribed two different methods by which amendments could be made.

Our Federal Constitution was adopted 119 years ago. In that time every State has radically revised its Constitution, and most of them several times. Indeed,

the Constitution of New York requires that the question of a Constitutional Convention shall be submitted to its people at least once every twenty years. The object is that the organic law shall keep abreast of the needs and wants of the people and shall represent the will and progress of to-day, and shall not, as is the case with the Federal Constitution, be hampered by provisions deemed best by the divided counsels of a small handful of men, in providing for the wants of the government of nearly a century and a quarter ago. Had those men been gifted with divine foresight and created a Constitution fit for this day and its development, it would have been unsuited for the needs of the times in which it was fashioned.

When the Constitution was adopted in 1787 it was intended for 3,000,000 of people, scattered along the Atlantic slope, from Massachusetts to the southern boundary of Georgia. We are now trying to make it do duty for very nearly 100,000,000, from Maine to Manila, from Panama and Porto Rico to the Pole. Then our population was mostly rural, for three years later, at the first Census in 1790, we had but five towns in the whole Union which had as many as 6,500 inhabitants each, and only two others had over 4,000. Now we have the second largest city on the globe, with over 4,000,000 of inhabitants, and many that have passed the half-million mark, some of them of over a million population. Three years later, in 1790, we had 75 post-offices with \$37,000 annual post-office expenditures. Now we have 75,000 post-offices, 35,000 rural delivery routes and a post-office appropriation of nearly \$200,000,000.

During the first ten years the total expenditures of the Federal Government, including payments on the Revolutionary debts, and including even the pensions, averaged \$10,000,000 annually. Now the expenditures are seventy-five times as much. When the Constitution was adopted, Virginia was easily the first

State in influence, population and wealth, having one-fourth the population of the entire Union. North Carolina was third, and New York, which then stood fifth, now has double the population of the whole country at that date, and several other States have now a population greater than the original Union, whose very names were then unheard and over whose soil the savage and the buffalo roamed unmolested. Steamboats, railroads, gas, electricity (except as a toy in Franklin's hands), coal mines, petroleum, and a thousand other things which are a part of our lives to-day, were undiscovered.

Corporations, which now control the country and its government, were then so few that not till four years later, in 1791, was the first bank incorporated (in New York), and the charter for the second bank was only obtained by the subtlety of Aaron Burr, who concealed the banking privileges in an act incorporating a water company—and corporations have had an affinity for water ever since.

Had the Constitution been perfectly adapted to the needs and wishes of the people of that day, we would still have outgrown it. Time has revealed flaws in the original instrument, and it was, as might be expected, wholly without safeguards against that enormous growth of corporations, and even of individuals, in wealth and power, which has subverted the control of the government.

The glaring defect in the Constitution was that it was not democratic. It gave, as already pointed out, to the people—to the governed—the selection of only one-sixth of the government, to-wit, one-half—by far the weaker half—of the Legislative Department. The other half, the Senate, was made elective at second hand by the State Legislatures, and the Senators were given not only longer terms, but greater power, for all Presidential appointments, and treaties, were subjected to confirmation by the Senate.

The President was intended to be elected at a still further remove from the people, by being chosen by electors, who,

it was expected, would be selected by the State Legislatures. The President thus was to be selected at third hand, as it were. In fact, down till after the memorable contest between Adams, Clay, Crawford and Jackson, in 1824, in the majority of the States the Presidential electors were chosen by the State Legislatures, and they were so chosen by South Carolina till after the Civil war, and, in fact, by Colorado in 1876. The intention was that the electors should make independent choice, but public opinion forced the transfer of the choice of electors from the Legislatures to the ballot-box, and then made of them mere figure-heads, with no power but to voice the will of the people, who thus captured the Executive Department. That Department, with the House of Representatives, mark to-day the extent of the share of the people in this government.

The Judiciary were placed a step still further removed from the popular choice. The Judges were to be selected at fourth hand by a President (intended to be selected at third hand) and subject to confirmation by a Senate chosen at second hand. And to make the Judiciary absolutely impervious to any consideration of the "consent of the governed," they are appointed for life.

It will be seen at a glance that a Constitution so devised was intended not to express, but to suppress, or at least disregard, the wishes and the consent of the governed. It was admirably adapted for what has come to pass—the absolute domination of the government by the "business interests" which, controlling vast amounts of capital and intent on more, can secure the election of Senators by the small constituencies, the Legislatures which elect them, and can dictate the appointment of Judges, and if they fail in that, the Senate, chosen under their auspices, can defeat the nomination. Should the President favor legislation and the House of Representatives pass the bill, the Senate, with its majority chosen by corporation influences, can

defeat it; and if by any chance it shall yield to the popular will and pass the bill, as was the case with the income-tax, there remains the Judiciary, who have assumed, without any warrant, expressed or implied in the Constitution, the power to declare any act unconstitutional at their own will and without responsibility to any one.

The people's part in the government in the choice of the House of Representatives, even when reinforced by the Executive, whose election they have captured, is an absolute nullity in the face of the Senate and the Judiciary, in whose selection the people have no voice. This, therefore, is the government of the United States—a government by the Senate and Judges—that is to say, frankly, by whatever power can control the selection of Senators and Judges. What is that power? We know that it is not the American people.

Let us not be deceived by forms, but look at the substance. Government rests not upon forms, but upon a true reply to the question, "Where does the governing power reside?" The Roman legions bore to the last day of the empire upon their standards the words, "The Senate and the Roman People," long centuries after the real power had passed from the *curia* and the *comitia* to the barracks of the Pretorian Guard, and when there was no will in Rome save that of their master. There were still Tribunes of the People, and Consuls, and a Senate, and the title of a Republic; but the real share of the people in the Roman government was the donation to them of "bread and circuses" by their tyrants.

Years after the victor of Marengo had been crowned Emperor and the sword of Austerlitz had become the one power in France, the French coins and official documents still bore the inscription of "French Republic"—"*République Française*."

In England to-day there is a monarchy in form, but we know that in truth the real government of England is vested in

a single House of Parliament, elected by the people, under a restricted suffrage; that the real Executive is not the King, but the Prime-Minister and his cabinet, practically elected by that House of Commons; that the King has not even the veto power, except nominally, since it has not been exercised in a single instance for more than 200 years, and that the sole function of the House of Lords—a club of rich men representing great vested interests—is in the exercise of a suspensive veto (of which the King has been deprived), which is exercised only till the Commons make up their mind the bill shall pass—when the House of Lords always gives way, as the condition upon which their continued existence rests. So in this country we retain the forms of a Republic. We still choose our President and the House of Representatives by the people; but the real power does not reside in them or in the people. It rests with those great "interests" which select the majority of the Senate and the Judges.

This being the situation, the sole remedy possible is by amendment of the Constitution to make it democratic, and place the selection of these preponderating bodies in the hands of the people.

III.

First, the election of Senators should be given to the people. Even then consolidated wealth will secure some of the Senators; but it would not be able, as now, at all times to count with absolute certainty upon a majority of the Senate as its creatures. Five times has a bill, proposing such amendment to the constitution, passed the House of Representatives by a practically unanimous vote, and each time it has been lost in the Senate; but never by a direct vote. It has always been disposed of by the chloroform process of referring the bill to a committee, which never reports it back, and never will. It is too much to expect that the great corporations which control a majority of the Senate will ever

voluntarily transfer to the people their profitable and secure hold upon supreme power by permitting the passage of an amendment to elect Senators by the people. The only hope is in the alternative plan of amendment, authorized by the Constitution, to-wit, the call of a Constitutional Convention upon the application of two-thirds of the States, to-wit, thirty States. More than that number have already instructed in favor of an amendment to elect Senators by the people.

It may be recalled here that in the Convention of 1787 Pennsylvania did vote for the election of Senators by the people. A strong argument used against this was that the farming interest, being the largest, would control the House and that the Senate could only be given to the commercial interests by making its members elective by the Legislatures—which was prophetic—though the deciding influence was the fear of the small States that if the Senate was elected by the people its membership would be based on population.

It is high time that we had a Constitutional Convention, after the lapse of near a century and a score of years. The same reasons which have time and again caused the individual States to amend their Constitutions imperatively require a Convention to adjust the Constitution of the Union to the changed conditions of the times and to transfer to the people themselves that control of the government which is now exercised for the profit and benefit of the "interests." Those interests, with all the power of their money and the large part of the press which they own or control, will resist the call of such a convention. They will be aided, doubtless, by some of the smaller States who may fear a loss of their equal representation in the Senate. But in truth and justice it may be that there might be some modification now in that respect without injury to the smaller States. There is no longer any reason why Delaware, or Nevada, or Rhode Island, should have as many Senators as

New York, or Pennsylvania, or Illinois. It would be enough to grant to every State having a million of inhabitants or less, one Senator, and to allot to each State having over one million of inhabitants an additional Senator for every million above one million and for a fractional part if over three-quarters of a million. This, while not putting the Senate frankly on the basis of population, would remove the dissatisfaction with the present unjust ratio and would quiet the opposition to the admission of new States whose area and development entitle them to self-government, but whose population does not entitle them to two Senators.

IV.

The election of the President is now made by the people, who have captured it, though the Constitution did not intend the people should have any choice in naming the Executive. The dangerous and unsafe plan adopted in 1787 was changed in consequence of the narrowly-averted disaster in 1801. But the method in force still leaves much to be desired. It readily lends itself to the choice of a minority candidate. It is an anomaly that 1,100 votes in New York (as in 1884) should swing 70 electoral votes (35 from one candidate to the other) and thus decide the result. The consequence is that while, nominally, any citizen of the Republic is eligible to the Presidency, only citizens of two or three of the larger States, with doubtful electoral votes, are in fact eligible. All others are barred. For proof of this, look at the history of our Presidential electors. For the first forty years of the Union the Presidents were confined to two States—Virginia and Massachusetts. Then there came a period when the growing West required recognition, and Tennessee, Ohio, and New York commanded the situation for the next sixteen years. The Mexican war gave us a soldier who practically represented no State, and was succeeded by a New Yorker. Then for the only

time in our history "off States" had a showing, and Pennsylvania and New Hampshire had their innings. Since then the successful candidates have been again strictly limited to "pivotal States"—New York in the East and Illinois, Indiana and Ohio in the West.

This condition is unsatisfactory. The magnetic Blaine from Maine was defeated, as was Bryan from Nebraska. Had the former hailed from New York and the latter from Illinois, the electoral votes and influence of those States would have secured their election.

It would be dangerous, and almost a certain provocation of civil war, to change the election of President to a per capita vote by the whole of the Union. Then a charge of fraudulent vote at any precinct or voting place, however remote, might affect the result; and as frauds would most likely occur in those States where the majorities are largest—as in Pennsylvania or Texas, Ohio or Georgia—a contest would always be certain. Whereas, now, frauds in States giving large majorities, unless of great enough magnitude to change the electoral vote of the State, can have no effect. The remedy is, preserving the electoral vote system as now, and giving the smaller States, as now, the advantage of electoral votes to represent their Senators, to divide the electoral vote of each State according to the popular vote for each candidate, giving each his *pro rata* of the electoral vote on that basis, the odd elector being apportioned to the candidate having the largest fraction. Thus in New York, Mr. Blaine would have gotten 17 electoral votes and Mr. Cleveland 18. Other States would have also divided, more or less evenly; but the result would be that the choice of President would no longer be restricted to two or three States, as in our past history, and is likely to be always the case as long as the whole electoral vote of two or three large pivotal States must swing to one side or the other and determine the result. This change would avoid the present evil of large sums

being spent to carry the solid electoral vote of "pivotal" States, for there would cease to be "pivotal" States. At the same time this would avoid the open gulf into which a per capita ballot by the whole Union would lead us. While the electoral vote of a State should be divided, *pro rata*, according to the popular vote for each candidate, it is essential that each State should vote as one district, since its boundaries are unchangeable. To permit the Legislature of each State to divide it into electoral districts would simply open up competition in the art of gerrymandering.

v.

By the Convention of 1787 the term of the President was originally fixed at seven years and he was made ineligible for reelection. This was reduced to four years by a compromise that he would be reelected without limitation. This was done in the interest of those who favored a strong government and a long tenure. Washington imposed a limitation by his example which will not always be binding. An amendment making the term six years and the President ineligible to reelection has long been desired by a large portion of the public. Indeed, when the Constitutional Convention of the Union shall assemble, as it must do some day, to remodel our Constitution to fit it to face the dangers and conform to the views of the people of this age, with the aid of our experience, in the past, it is more than probable that the powers of the Executive will be more restricted. His powers are now greater than those of any sovereign of Europe. The real restrictions upon Executive power at present are not in Constitutional provisions, but in the Senate and Judiciary, which often negative the popular will, which he represents more accurately than they.

vi.

And now we come to the most important of the changes necessary to place the government of the Union in the hands of

the people. By far the most serious defect and danger in the Constitution is the appointment of Judges for life, subject to confirmation by the Senate. It is a far more serious matter than it was when the Convention of 1787 framed the Constitution. A proposition was made in the Convention—as we now know from Mr. Madison's Journal—that the Judges should pass upon the constitutionality of acts of Congress. This was defeated June 4th, receiving the vote of only two States. It was renewed no less than three times, *i. e.*, on June 6th, July 21st, and finally again for the fourth time on August 15th; and though it had the powerful support of Mr. Madison and Mr. James Wilson, at no time did it receive the votes of more than three States. On this last occasion (August 15th) Mr. Mercer thus summed up the thought of the Convention: "He disapproved of the doctrine, that the Judges, as expositors of the Constitution, should have authority to declare a law void. He thought laws ought to be well and cautiously made, and then to be incontrovertible."

Prior to the Convention, the courts of four States, New Jersey, Rhode Island, Virginia and North Carolina, had expressed an opinion that they could hold acts of the Legislature unconstitutional. This was a new doctrine never held before (nor in any other country since) and met with strong disapproval. In Rhode Island the movement to remove the offending Judges was stopped only on a suggestion that they could be "dropped" by the Legislature at the annual election, which was done. The decisions of these four States were recent and well-known to the Convention. Mr. Madison and Mr. Wilson liked the new doctrine of the paramount judiciary, doubtless deeming it a safe check upon legislation to be operated only by lawyers. They attempted to get it into the Federal Constitution in its least objectionable shape—the judicial veto before final passage of an act, which would save time and

besides would enable the Legislature to avoid the objections raised. But even in this diluted form, and though four times presented by these two very able and influential members, the suggestion of a judicial veto at no time received the votes of more than one-fourth of the States.

The subsequent action of the Supreme Court in assuming the power to declare acts of Congress unconstitutional was without a line in the Constitution to authorize it, either expressly or by implication. The Constitution recited carefully and fully the matters over which the courts should have jurisdiction, and there is nothing, and after the above vote four times refusing jurisdiction there could be nothing, indicating any power to declare an act of Congress unconstitutional and void.

Had the Convention given such power to the courts, it certainly would not have left its exercise final and unreviewable. It gave the Congress power to override the veto of the President, though that veto was expressly given, thus showing that in the last analysis the will of the people, speaking through the legislative power, should govern. Had the Convention supposed the courts would assume such power, it would certainly have given Congress some review over judicial action and certainly would not have made the Judges irretrievably beyond "the consent of the governed" and regardless of the popular will by making them appointive and further clothing them with the undemocratic prerogative of tenure for life.

Such power does not exist in any other country and never has. It is therefore not essential to our security. It is not conferred by the Constitution, but, on the contrary, the Convention, as we have seen, after the fullest debate, four times, on four several days, refused by a decisive vote to confer such power. The Judges not only have never exercised such power in England, where there is no written Constitution, but they do not exercise it in France, Germany, Austria,

Denmark, or in any other country which, like them, has a written Constitution.

A more complete denial of popular control of this government could not have been conceived than the placing such unreviewable power in the hands of men not elected by the people and holding office for life. The legal-tender act, the financial policy of the government, was invalidated by one court and then validated by another, after a change in its *personnel*. Then the income-tax, which had been held constitutional by the Court for an hundred years, was again so held, and then by a sudden change of vote by one Judge it was held unconstitutional, nullified and set at naught, though it had passed by a nearly unanimous vote of both Houses of Congress, containing many lawyers who were the equals if not the superiors of the vacillating Judge, and had been approved by the President and voiced the will of the people. This was all negatived (without any warrant in the Constitution for the Court to set aside an act of Congress) by the vote of one Judge: and thus one hundred million dollars, and more, of annual taxation, was transferred from those most able to bear it and placed upon the backs of those who already carried far more than their fair share of the burdens of government. Under an untrue assumption of authority given by thirty-nine dead men one man nullified the action of Congress and the President and the will of seventy-five millions of living people, and in the thirteen years since has taxed the property and labor of the country, by his sole vote, \$1,300,000,000, which Congress, in compliance with the public will and relying on previous decisions of the Court, had decreed should be paid out of the excessive incomes of the rich.

In England one-third of the revenue is derived from the superfluities of the very wealthy, by the levy of a graduated income-tax, and a graduated inheritance-tax, increasing the per cent. with the size of the income. The same system is in force in all other civilized countries. In

not one of them would the hereditary monarch venture to veto or declare null such a tax. In this country alone, the people, speaking through their Congress, and with the approval of their Executive, cannot put in force a single measure of any nature whatever with assurance that it shall meet with the approval of the courts; and its failure to receive such approval is fatal, for, unlike the veto of the Executive, the unanimous vote of Congress (and the income-tax came near receiving such vote) cannot avail against it. Of what avail shall it be that Congress has conformed to the popular demand and enacted a "Rate Regulation" bill and the President has approved it, if five lawyers, holding office for life and not elected by the people, shall see fit to destroy it, as they did the income-tax law? Is such a government a reasonable one, and can it be longer tolerated after 120 years of experience have demonstrated the capacity of the people for self-government? If five lawyers can negative the will of 100,000,000 of men, then the art of government is reduced to the selection of those five lawyers.

VII.

A power without limit, except in the shifting views of the court, lies in the construction placed upon the Fourteenth Amendment, which passed, as every one knows, solely to prevent discrimination against the colored race, has been construed by the Court to confer upon it jurisdiction to hold any provision of any statute whatever "not due process of law." This draws the whole body of the reserved rights of the States into the maelstrom of the Federal Courts, subject only to such forbearance as the Federal Supreme Court of the day, or in any particular case, may see fit to exercise. The limits between State and Federal jurisdiction depend upon the views of five men at any given time; and we have a government of men and not a government of laws, prescribed beforehand.

At first the Court generously exempted from its veto, the Police power of the several States. But since then it has proceeded to set aside an act of the Legislature of New York restricting excessive hours of labor, which act had been sustained by the highest court in that great State. Thus labor can obtain no benefit from the growing humanity of the age, expressed by the popular will in any State, if such statute does not meet the views of five elderly lawyers, selected by influences naturally antagonistic to the laboring classes and whose training and daily associations certainly cannot incline them in favor of restrictions upon the power of the employer.

The preservation of the autonomy of the several States and of local self-government is essential to the maintenance of our liberties, which would expire in the grasp of a consolidated despotism. Nothing can save us from this centripetal force but the speedy repeal of the Fourteenth Amendment or a recasting of its language in terms that no future court can misinterpret it.

The vast political power now asserted and exercised by the court to set aside public policies, after their full determination by Congress, cannot safely be left in the hands of any body of men without supervision or control by any other authority whatever. If the President errs, his mandate expires in four years, and his party as well as himself is accountable to the people at the ballot-box for his stewardship. If members of Congress err, they too must account to their constituents. But the Federal Judiciary hold for life, and though popular sentiment should change the entire *personnel* of the other two great departments of government, a whole generation must pass before the people could get control of the Judiciary, which possesses an irresponsible and unrestricted veto upon the action of the other departments—irresponsible because impeachment has become impossible, and if it were possible it could not be invoked as to erroneous

decisions, unless corruption were shown.

The control of the policy of government is thus not in the hands of the people, but in the power of a small body of men not chosen by the people, and holding for life. In many cases which might be mentioned, had the Court been elective, men not biased in favor of colossal wealth would have filled more seats upon the bench, and if there had been such decision as the income-tax, long ere this, under the tenure of a term of years, new incumbents would have been chosen, who, returning to the former line of decisions, would have upheld the right of Congress to control the financial policy of the government in accordance with the will of the people of this day and age, and not according to the shifting views which the Court has imputed to language used by the majority of the fifty-five men who met in Philadelphia in 1787. Such methods of controlling the policy of a government are no whit more tolerable than the conduct of the augurs of old who gave the permission for peace or war, for battle or other public movements, by declaring from the flight of birds, the inspection of the entrails of fowls, or other equally wise devices, that the omens were lucky or unlucky—the rules of such divination being in their own breasts and hence their decisions beyond remedy.

It may be that this power in the courts, however illegally grasped originally, has been too long acquiesced in to be now questioned. If so, the only remedy which can be applied is to make the Judges elective, and for a term of years, for no people can permit its will to be denied, and its destinies shaped, by men it did not choose, and over whose conduct it has no control, by reason of its having no power to change them and select other agents at the close of a fixed term.

Every Federal Judgeship below the Supreme Court can be abolished by an act of Congress, since the power which creates a Federal district or circuit can abolish it at will. If Congress can abolish one, it can abolish all. Several districts

have from time to time been abolished, notably two in 1801; and we know that the sixteen Circuit Judges created by the Judiciary Act of 1801 were abolished eighteen months later.

It is true that under the stress of a great public sentiment every United States District and Circuit Judge can be legislated out of office by a simple act of Congress, and a new system recreated with new Judges. It is also true, as has been pointed out by distinguished lawyers, that while the Supreme Court cannot be thus abolished, it exercises its appellate functions "with such exceptions and under such regulations as Congress shall make" (Constitution, Art. III., sec. 2), and as Congress enacted the Judiciary Act of 1789, it has often amended it, and can repeal it. Judge Marshall recognized this in *Marbury vs. Madison*, in which case in an *obiter* opinion he had asserted the power to declare an act of Congress unconstitutional, for he wound up by refusing the logical result, the issuing of the mandamus sought, because Congress had not conferred jurisdiction upon the Supreme Court to issue it.

In 1831 the attempt was made to repeal section 25 of the Judiciary Act of 1789, by virtue of which writs of error lay to the State Supreme Courts in certain cases. Though the section was not repealed, the repeal was supported and voted for by both Henry Clay, James K. Polk, and other leaders of both of the great parties of that day. But what is needed is not the exercise of these powers which Congress undoubtedly possesses and in an emergency will exercise, but a constitutional revision by which the Federal Judges, like other public servants, shall be chosen by the people for a term of years.

It may be said that the Federal Judges are now in office for life and it would be unjust to dispossess them. So it was with the State Judges in each State when it changed from life Judges to Judges elected by the people; but that did not stay the hand of a much-needed reform.

It must be remembered that when our Federal Constitution was adopted in 1787, in only one State was the Governor elected by the people, and the Judges in none, and that in most, if not all, the States, the Legislature, especially the Senate branch, was chosen by a restricted suffrage. The schoolmaster was not abroad in the land, the masses were illiterate and government by the people was a new experiment and property-holders were afraid of it. The danger to property rights did not come then, as now, from the other direction—from the corporations and others holding vast accumulations of capital and by its power threatening to crush those owning modest estates.

In the State governments the conditions existing in 1787 have long since been changed. In all the States the Governor and the members of both branches of the Legislature have long since been made elective by manhood suffrage. In all the forty-five States save four (Delaware, Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Rhode Island), the Judges now hold for a term of years, and in three of these they are removable (as in England) upon a majority vote of the Legislature, thus preserving a supervision of their conduct which is utterly lacking as to the Federal Judiciary. In Rhode Island the Judges were thus dropped summarily, once, when they had held an act of the Legislature invalid. In thirty-three States the Judges are elected by the people, in five States by the Legislature, and in seven States they are appointed by the Governor with the consent of the Senate. Even in England the Judges hold office subject to removal upon the vote of a bare majority in Parliament—though there the Judges have never asserted any power to set aside an act of Parliament. There the will of the people, when expressed through their representatives in Parliament, is final. The King cannot veto it, and no Judge has ever dreamed he had the power to set it aside.

There are those who believe and have asserted that corporate wealth can exert

such influence that even if Judges are not actually selected by the great corporations, no Judge can take his seat upon the Federal bench if his nomination and confirmation are opposed by the allied plutocracy. It has never been charged that such Judges are corruptly influenced. But the passage of a Judge from the bar to the bench does not necessarily destroy his prejudices or his predilections. If they go upon the bench knowing that this potent influence if not used for them, at least withheld its opposition to their appointment, or their confirmation, and usually with a natural and perhaps unconscious bias from having spent their lives at the bar in advocacy of corporate claims, this will unconsciously, but effectively, be reflected in the decisions they make. Having attempted as lawyers to persuade courts to view debated questions from the standpoint of aggregated wealth, they often end by believing sincerely in the correctness of such views, and not unnaturally put them in force when in turn they themselves ascend the bench. This trend in Federal decisions has been pronounced. Then, too, incumbents of seats upon the Federal Circuit and District bench cannot be oblivious to the influence which procures promotion; and how fatal to confirmation by the plutocratic majority in the Senate will be the expression of any judicial views not in accordance with the "safe, sane and sound" predominance of wealth.

As far back as 1820, Mr. Jefferson had discovered the "sapping and mining," as he termed it, of the life-tenure, appointive Federal Judiciary, owing no gratitude to the people for their appointment and fearing no inconvenience from their conduct, however arbitrary, in the discharge of such office. In short, they possess the autocratic power of absolute irresponsibility. "Step by step, one goes very far," says the French proverb. This is true of the Federal Judiciary. Compare their jurisdiction in 1801, when Marshall ascended the bench, and their jurisdiction in 1906. The Constitution

has been remade and rewritten by the judicial glosses put upon it. Had it been understood in 1787 to mean what it is construed to mean to-day, it is safe to say that not a single State would have ratified it.

An elective Judiciary is less partisan, for in many States half the Judges are habitually taken from each party, and very often in other States the same men are nominated by both parties, as notably the recent selection by a Republican convention of a Democratic successor to Judge Parker. The organs of plutocracy have asserted that in one State the elective Judges are selected by the party boss. But they forget that if that is true, he must in such a condition of affairs name the Governor too, and through the Governor he would select the appointive Judges. If the people are to be trusted to select the Executive and the Legislature, they are fit to select the Judges. The people are wiser than the appointing power which, viewing Judgeships as patronage, has with scarcely an exception filled the Federal bench with appointees of its own party. Public opinion, which is the corner-stone of free government, has no place in the selection or supervision of the judicial augurs who assume power to set aside the will of the people when declared by Congress and the Executive. Whatever their method of divination, equally with the augurs of old they are a law unto themselves and control events.

As was said by a great lawyer lately deceased, Judge Seymour D. Thompson, in 1891 (25 *Am. Law Review*, 288): "If the proposition to make the Federal Judiciary elective instead of appointive is once seriously discussed before the people, *nothing can stay the growth of that sentiment*, and it is almost certain that every session of the Federal Supreme Court will furnish material to stimulate that growth."

Great aggregations of wealth know their own interests, and it is very certain that there is no reform and no constitutional amendment that they will oppose

more bitterly than this. What, then, is the interest of all others in regard to it?

VIII.

Another undemocratic feature of the Constitution is that which requires all Federal officers to be appointed by the President or heads of departments. This is a great evil. Overwhelming necessity has compelled the enactment of the civil-service law, which has protected many thousands of minor officials. But there has been no relief as to the 75,000 postmasters. When the Constitution was adopted there were only 75 postmasters, and it was contemplated that the President or Postmaster-General would really appoint. But this constitutional provision is a dead letter. The selection of this army of 75,000 postmasters, in a large majority of cases, is made by neither, but in the unconstitutional mode of selection by Senator, Member of the House, or a political boss. There is no reason why Congress should not be empowered by amendment to authorize the Department to lay off the territory patronizing each post-office as a district in which an election shall be held once in four years, at the time a member of Congress is chosen, and by the same machinery, the officer giving bond and being subject to the same supervision as now. Thus the people of each locality will get the postmaster they prefer, irrespective of the general result in the Union, relieving the Department at Washington of much call upon its time, which can be used for the public interest in some better way; and, besides, it will remove from the election of President and Members of Congress considerations of public patronage. Elections will then more largely turn upon the great issues as to matters of public policy.

Another obstruction to the effective

operation of the popular will is the fact that, though Congressmen are elected in November, they do not take their seats (unless there is a called session) for thirteen months, and in the meantime the old Congress, whose policy may have been repudiated at the polls, sits and legislates in any event until March 4th following. This surely needs amendment, which fortunately can be done by statute. In England, France and other countries the old Parliament ceases before the election, and the new Assembly meets at once and puts the popular will into law.

In thus discussing the defects of the Federal Constitution I have but exercised the right of the humblest citizen. Few will deny that defects exist. I have indicated what, in my opinion, are the remedies. As to this, many will differ. If better can be found, let us adopt them.

For my part, I believe in popular government. The remedy for the halting, half-way popular government which we have is more democracy. When some one observed to Mr. Gladstone that the "people are not always right," he replied, "No; but they are rarely wrong." When they are wrong, their intelligence and their interests combine to make them correct the wrong. But when rulers, whether Kings, or life Judges, or great corporations, commit an error against the interest of the masses, there is no such certainty of correction.

The growth of this country in population and in material wealth has made it the marvel of the ages.

"But what avail the plow or sail,
Or land or life, if freedom fail?"

The government and the destinies of a great people should always be kept in their own hands.

WALTER CLARK.

Raleigh, N. C.

SPOILS AND THE CIVIL SERVICE.

BY FRANK VROOMAN.

PART I. A RETROSPECT.

PERHAPS the most sinister figure on the horizon of our brief history, and whose name will some day be synonymous with the national Iscariot, is not Benedict Arnold, but Aaron Burr. That he was guilty of treason, of betrayal of sacred social trusts, that he was the assassin of our greatest statesman, that he was the apostle of evil and infamy, we remember oftener than that we trace to his brilliant and unscrupulous mind a heritage of violence, dishonor, and political debauchery which has all but destroyed democratic institutions in the Republic; for it was he, more than any other, who was the originator of the "spoils-system," with the "boss" and the "machine," and the destructive growth which flourished three-quarters of a century in this country with scarcely a check, and for half that time practically without protest.

From Burr's avowed political creed that "*politics is a game, the prizes of which are offices and contracts*," to Senator Marcy's infamous political dictum, that "to the victors belong the spoils of the enemy," there is but one step; and only another step to Martin Van Buren getting the office of surrogate of Columbia county, New York—a judgeship, as a price for the support of Tompkins for governor. In New York, before Tammany and before Andrew Jackson, was the beginning of the spoils-system in the United States.

Because of the influence of Burr, and kindred minds of smaller caliber, of Senator Marcy, Andrew Jackson, Martin Van Buren and their successors and imitators, the United States Government, with the election of Jackson, plunged into a long period of its history with

hundreds of thousands of parasitical vagabonds fastened in the country's vitals; professional office-seekers and contract-mongers, preying on the country, debauching elections, prostituting public office, robbing the public treasury, destroying the instinct of independent self-support, resorting to violence and bribery to carry elections, to be swapped over the bargain-counter for public trusts that did not belong to their stewards. In short, here was developed a malignant institution which is still the curse of our country, synonymous with an infamy all its own—the American "professional politician." Great is the pity that the words "politics" and "politician" should ever have fallen into such company, for after all, whatever else the "ward-heeler" may be—on the scale of municipal, state or national affairs—he is in no sense a politician, nor is "politics a game, the prizes of which are offices and contracts."

Of course, it may be said that by the common law of England public office was once a species of real property held by a tenure like land, and vesting in the incumbent an estate either in land or in fee. Even as late as the middle of the eighteenth century, offices are enumerated by Blackstone in his classification of real property as one of the class of incorporeal hereditaments. But to offer a public office in exchange for help in getting another office is only one short step from offering money for help to get one into office, or in other words, from buying votes; the ethical differences lying all in favor of a plain money-bribe. In the latter case, the money presumably belonged to the candidate. He was not giving for his personal benefit something which did not belong to him. Again, when the money was taken and "tainted," it began to lose power to destroy. But

a public trust, traded off like an old horse, would command little respect of him who swapped something for it, and for all the term of that office, was there opportunity to debauch what he had dishonestly gained.

The root of the whole matter is, that while we in America have no theory of the state, no political ethics, we are overwhelmingly absorbed in the dollar omnipotent, which is after all the foundation of our politics. In other words, our politics is economics. If we believe here and there in political morality, our ideas of it are confined to questions of the suppression of graft, the purification of elections, the elimination of spoils, and kindred phases of a much deeper question; and this is about as far as we have gone. These should be taken for granted as the *sine qua non* of a civilized political society. Is it not time to go further? There is a world-wide difference between political morality and political ethics. The crying need in America is an intelligent statement of the moral mission of the state and the ethical foundations of government from the standpoint of modern democracy. Here, on the contrary, we have scarcely an idea beyond material well-being or commercial interests. The philosophy of the state is what Carlyle would call "the philosophy of the shop-till." Is it any wonder that politics should smack of the bargain-counter?

In England the word politics means statecraft. The politician is a statesman, or is not ashamed to be if he is able to be. The political ideals of the English youth are molded in the "larger utterances of the earlier gods."

Back of us, four hundred years before the revelation in Galilee, stand two pillars of thought, still towering over every other structure on the upward slope of time. These are monuments of the Greek idea of the state. When we look back at them, we ask if it is not time for us to ask some of the old questions over again. "Man," says Aristotle, "is a political animal." "The state exists for the sake

of life—good life." What is a constitution? It is the highway of a nation's progress. What is the state? It is man's national expression of his corporate self. What is law? It is the corporate conscience and the reason of a community finding for itself a voice. In this lucid Greek moment, a new light has fallen upon the direction of the evolution of a superior human society. Here the ethical and rational sanctions of law appear at one, and while it has been ignored by Rome, and mostly forgotten by the modern world, Plato and Aristotle have not been superseded by Machiavelli, or Burr; by our Tweeds, Quays, our Durhams or our Guiteaus.

One of the most widely-quoted writers on American institutions is an Englishman, who has just offered us some more advice; this time against increasing our navy, just at the moment of the announcement of the Anglo-Japanese treaty emphasizing the helplessness of our Pacific frontier, without one. Some words of *The American Commonwealth* (II., 535-6) involve an unnoticed but as fundamental a criticism as was ever written on our American institutions. He says:

"The Americans have 'no theory of the state.' They base their constitutional ideas upon law and history. . . . In America, even the dignity of the state has vanished. It seems actually less than the individuals who live under it. . . . The State is nothing but a name for the legislative and administrative machinery, whereby certain business of the inhabitants is dispatched. It has no more conscience or moral mission or title to awe and respect than a commercial company for working a railroad or a mine."

The corruption of our country has been for many years attributed, especially by foreign writers, to the working-out of democratic principles in politics.

Even De Tocqueville, in an address before the Chamber of Deputies on June 27, 1848, just four weeks before the Revo-

lution of 1848, told his fellow-Frenchmen what his country was coming to by means of this very commercialism; that then they could not look a day, or month, or a year ahead. In just a month the crash came. He said that in the classes which possessed and exercised political rights "political morality is declining. . . . More and more, opinions and sentiments and ideas of a public character are supplemented by personal interests, personal aims, points-of-view borrowed from private interests and private life."

It is because Americans interpret politics from the standpoint of personal aggrandizement disguised under the fiction of "enlightened self-interest," not because they are the possessors of civil liberty, that for three-quarters of a century our politics has been corrupt. It is because we have made commercial make-shifts of our political ideals that "the dignity of the state has vanished."

The pathos of it all appears when we remember our antecedents; that the nation which began its existence, as has been said, with perhaps the best outfit of ethical and intellectual character with which any nation ever "set up business"—to interpolate an Americanism—and which began its life, as it were, with the compact on the "Mayflower," "*In the name of God, Amen!*" came to be such that the *London Times* said in 1876, "Editorially, we can not congratulate ourselves that so corrupt a government as that of the United States exists upon the earth." The recent revelations of modern municipal and corporate business life have brought the world to feel that one scarcely knows any more where to do business in this country and be treated honestly; that one can hardly find a man in business who will do as he says; that one can scarcely know where to invest and invest safely; that it is a prevailing national commercial standard that every one shall acquire everything in reach, consistent with keeping out of jail. While recent investigations and revelations show an idiocy as precipitous on

the part of the "lambs" as insanity of greed as ferocious on the part of the "hyenas" of the "street," this is held by the modern financier to be sufficient justification of theft under whatever guise—that it be transacted consistently with his personal safety.

Every intelligent reader and observer in the world is aware of one present tendency of American life and society; that our politics,—especially municipal,—our vast and unexampled business organism, and "society"—which answers to that name—is a composite stench in the nostrils of decent Christendom. Matthew Arnold's criticism that America was filled with an unredeemed and irredeemable middle-class, was, after all, a criticism as was Mr. Bryce's of the ubiquitous Pan-commercialism of Pan-Americanism.

There are few of our people who have any higher conception of politics than that they are commercial interests. Slaves were freed in the North, not on any moral ground, but because of conditions of economy. And it has been said that they would have been freed in the South on the same grounds when the South became a manufacturing district. One has to listen to our campaign speeches and our debates in Congress to find that we are almost wholly absorbed in matters of dollars and cents. One can not go to a college ball-game, attend an election, see a horse-race, or a contest or sport of any kind; one can not attend a dinner-party in some circles, or a social evening without poker or bridge at high stakes; in other words, not only the stamp of commercialism is set upon these things, but that of dishonor. A gambling society is a commercialized society with an element of immorality added to the sordid. One can not multiply illustrations of the obvious, the illustrations should be of the exception.

It is not possible that the Yankee could have kept his ideals out of his politics when he has made a commercial proposition with practically everything else he

has and is. I have seen no better illustration of the hopelessness of the American spirit than in some recent words of a man who enjoys the distinction of being the possessor of more "tainted money" than any other man in the world, and who is also a veteran Sunday-school man, who has written for a financial consideration, which has gone to his son's Bible-class, an article for a London newspaper, as reported in our papers, practically to the effect that he got his first job because he was an active Sunday-school, Church and Y. M. C. A. man; suggesting to the impecunious and am-

bitious youth of to-day the exalted ethics of Benjamin Franklin that religion is the "best policy." Scarcely any more characteristic or more awful revelation of this man's character has been made in recent years than this naïve and brutal self-revelation of this Sunday-school man, who is stated to have practically advised young men to make religion a policy and the church a shop and the world a policy-shop. One need look no further for a sign of the times.

(To be continued.)

FRANK VROOMAN.

Washington, D. C.

RAMBLES IN BOSTON WITH THE POET OF THE SIERRAS.

AN EDITORIAL SKETCH.

I. THE BOY IS FATHER TO THE MAN.

JOAQUIN MILLER is one of the most genial and interesting of companions as well as one of the most striking and picturesque characters among literary men of distinction in the New World at the present time. He in a greater degree than any other living American author is a connecting link between the pioneer age of daring dreams and marvelous achievements and the present ultra-utilitarian days in which the materialism of the market and the insane passion for gold are battling against the poet's high vision of truth, the apostle's message of social righteousness and the prophet's plea for that moral idealism that lifts a nation upward on the wings of justice as it is borne forward by the impulsion of freedom.

Mr. Miller was born and reared in an age and environment in which the heroic and the commonplace jostled one another at every turn; an age of boundless faith and superb courage; an age in which

the dreams of one day became the achieved facts of the next; an age made glorious by a background of heroic deeds and attainments that dwarfed the hero-tales of infant Greece and Rome into insignificance by comparison. It was with sparkling eye and swelling breast that the child with a poet's imagination and who was christened Cincinnatus Heine, heard at his father's knee of how the poor struggling little Colonies that fringed the Atlantic had braved the mighty power of Britain and beaten back the would-be enslaver of freedom's children. Even in that childhood hour, Lexington, Concord, Bunker Hill and the Old South Church became consecrated spots to the boy; for the places where man dares and dies for liberty are ever holy ground, and the story of how our giant-souled statesmen and soldiers blazed the way for the triumphant advent of democracy held special interest to the poet lad, because his own grandfather, Captain Robert Miller, had died fighting for the freedom of the Colonies.

Then came the story of England's second attempt to crush the children of the New World and destroy the maritime power of the infant Republic—a struggle marked by such ignominious defeat for the mistress of the seas as she had seldom experienced.

These modern wonder-stories that so powerfully stirred the boy were matched by the tales of daring connected with the subjugation of the West. The life of Boone and the stories of other pioneers, which called for no additions of legend or myth to make them rival the herotales of other lands, all conspired to make life an intoxicating dream while nerving the hand and firing the brain to do and dare great things. And it was while such influences played upon the sensitive imagination of the boy that the preacher-teacher-father set his face toward the Pacific. In a prairie-schooner the little family set out from their home in the Middle West for far-away Oregon. They arrived at a time when the Indians were in a restless and an ugly mood. Scarcely, indeed, had the rafters been placed on the little log cabin in the new home far beyond the Great Divide, before the Modocs began indulging in scalping-bees in the vicinity of the Miller home. From that date for over the lapse of a generation young Miller, who was a born poet and actor no less than a frontiersman and an adventurous traveler, lived one of the most stirring lives that has marked the restless pioneers and daring souls of those who subdued the virgin land, found and unlocked the treasure-house of the Sierras and battled for freedom while dreaming dreams of progress.

It was in the golden days of '49 that young Miller donned the broad-brimmed hat and high boots and adopted the famous flannel shirt, usually of a flaming red, as a part of his regular wardrobe, for dress as well as other occasions, as befitting a democratic citizen who believed in living near to nature's heart; and with slight variations and occasional concessions to convention, he has maintained

this garb through all the changes of his restless and active life. For Joaquin Miller is preëminently a live man. When he is not engaged in adventurous acts, fighting for what he believes to be right, braving the terrors of the arctic passes, studying the civilization of Japan, or wandering through storied Palestine, dreaming of the olden days when the Prophet of Nazareth rested 'neath the shades of Olivet or trod the way to Calvary, he is weaving his own vivid dreams into poetry or prose poems, for from childhood his thoughts have ever taken the rhythmic form.

During the past twenty years he has spent much time at his home on The Hights, back of Oakland, California, living with his mother whom he idolized and whose last years he made very happy and full of that peace and contentment that should always mark serene age as it goes toward the morning land. During this period he penned the work which I hold to be not only his master prose creation, but the most exquisitely beautiful and profoundly suggestive social vision that has been written by Anglo-Saxon bard or prophet, *The Building of the City Beautiful*. This work, quite apart from its message of social justice, which alone would entitle it to high rank in the literature of ethical progress, has so many points of excellence that it cannot fail to hold a permanent place in the vital literature of the New World. It is a prose poem of a high order, jeweled with gems of verse. It is one of the most deeply religious books of modern times, yet it is marked by a breadth of thought and tolerance of spirit that invest it with a compelling charm. It is rich in philosophic truths relating to the deeper aspects of life; and here, too, is a message from the mystic to those who have eyes to see and ears to hear the lesson which the two stories of the lions teach the children of men; while the story as an allegorical romance of life's failures and success, glorified and ennobled by love and service, is one of the most fascinating ideal-

istic tales which has come from the brain of an American poet-dreamer or prophet-teacher. It is significant that this matchless social romance and vision and Mr. Miller's new poem, which is now in the hands of the printer and which the author regards as his capital poem, have been produced since the writer passed the half-century mile-post.

II. OCTOBER DAYS IN BOSTON.

On one of those beautiful days that make October, next to June, the most delightful month of the year in Boston, suddenly and without warning, as at intervals there come to us many of the good things of life, the Poet of the Sierras entered my office with his genial and engaging smile and open-hearted, cordial and unaffected greeting.

"I am disappointed in finding that I am too late to enjoy the beauty of the New England autumnal foliage," he said; "but that was only one of many objects I had in view in coming here. I wish to meet my few remaining friends and spend some time at Mount Auburn, where rest so many of those who made my visit a quarter of a century ago one of the bright spots in memory. Then Boston and the country round about are rich in shrines and I want to visit them before I leave."

One morning I suggested that we call upon a publisher whom he wished to meet, and we set out for Washington street.

"Shall we take a car?" I asked.

"Not unless the walk is too much for you," came the prompt reply.

So we threaded our way along a thoroughfare torn up as is the wont in our cities where the street-car, the gas, electric and water companies all have property rights on or under the highways.

"Now this," remarked the poet with a twinkle in his deep gray eye, "reminds me of a time when I was riding with Colonel Ingersoll in Washington. We came to a street torn up as is this thoroughfare, and Colonel Ingersoll said:

"I wonder if I shall ever get to a city that is made."

"I glanced up toward the sky and replied:

"I am afraid not, Colonel."

"In an instant Ingersoll was convulsed with mirth, and you know how whole-souled was his laughter.

"Ah! Is not this the Old South Meeting-House?" queried the poet with a sudden change of voice, indicating the passing of the reminiscent mood and the presence of a very lively interest in the object before us.

"Yes, that is the spot from which the famous Mohawks marched to the wharf," I replied, and the poet, who has a habit of keeping his hat on indoors as well as out, raised it as we passed the building.

"It is a shrine," he said, and I noticed that it was his universal rule to lift his hat as he passed those things which symbolized great victories for humanity or spots consecrated as the scenes of heroic struggles for freedom, justice and human advance.

In the course of our journeyings we visited the famous old Copp's Hill burying-ground in the North End of Boston. This section, once the most aristocratic and exclusive part of the city, is now given over chiefly to Italian, Jewish and Portuguese immigrants, and their multitudinous progeny are everywhere in evidence in the streets. As we neared the burying-ground a number of little boys and girls began to follow us. Some of them shouted out, "Why, it's Santa Claus!" and others piped up, "Hello, Santa Claus! Where did you come from?"

Mr. Miller turned on them a wonderfully benignant gaze and taking a penny from his pocket offered it to a little girl near him, but she timidly drew back. Then he tossed several pennies to the children and we turned again on our way. Soon we were surrounded by a host of street gamins, but happily we were near the gate of the cemetery and so were soon free from the importunities of the rapidly-growing army of bright-eyed and dirty-faced little ones.

On entering the cemetery the attention

of the poet was quickly centered on the objects of special interest. We paused before the tomb of the Mathers and called to mind how those great New England divines—especially how Cotton, the most illustrious of the three—had exerted almost autocratic power over the imagination and the lives of the people. Indeed, these great preachers were the real autocrats of the austere olden days.

In this old cemetery the British encamped before the battle of Bunker Hill. Indeed, it overlooks the site of the historic field, and here are standing to-day tombs of certain fearless friends of freedom who had long ere they died opposed the steady encroachments and aggressions of the English throne. They had, however, died before the struggle opened and their tombs were singled out by the British soldiers as objects for target practice. The scars, dents, cracks and defacements made by the bullets are still in evidence. Mr. Miller was deeply interested in the story of one of the leaders of those pioneers of freedom whose tomb bears eloquent testimony to the vicious spirit of the soldiery of King George.

Next we were shown the vault set aside for the damned infants, for it must be remembered that our pious forefathers held that all babies who died without being baptized were lost, and being lost they insisted they must not be buried with the saved. Hence a vault was set apart to receive their bodies. The superintendent while showing us this object of melancholy interest drew from his pocket an extract from Rev. Michael Wigglesworth's famous poem, "The Day of Doom," which at one time, it will be remembered, was next to the Bible the most popular book in Massachusetts Colony. The ministers regarded it as one of the most edifying books ever written and it is stated that one person in every six possessed a copy. The stanzas to which our guide called our attention were those in which the condemned infants are represented as pleading with Jesus on the last great day for a trial, as

they never had had an opportunity or a chance on earth, and those giving the reply of Christ as the old Presbyterian divine conceived it would be:

"Then to the bar all they drew near who dy'd in infancy,
And never had or good or bad effected pers'nally.
But from the womb unto the tomb were straight-way carried,
Or at the last e'er they transgressed who thus began to plead:
If for our own transgression, or disobedience,
We here did stand at thy left hand, just were the recompense;
But Adam's guilt our souls hath spilt, his fault is charg'd on us:
And that alone hath overthrown, and utterly undone us.
Not we, but he ate of the tree, whose fruit was interdicted:
Yet on us all of his sad fall, the punishment 's inflicted.
How could we sin that had not been, or how is his sin our
Without consent, which to prevent, we never had a pow'r?
O great Creator, why was our nature deprav'd and forlorn?
Why so defil'd, and made so vil'd whilst we were yet unborn?
Behold we see Adam set free, and sav'd from his trespass,
Whose sinful fall has spilt us all, and brought us to this pass.
Canst thou deny us once to try, or grace to us to tender,
When he finds grace before thy face, that was the chief offender?

What you call old Adam's fall, and only his trespass,
You call amiss to call it his, both his and yours it was.
He was design'd of all mankind, to be a publick head,
A common root, whence all should shoot, and stood in all their stead.
He stood and fell, did ill or well, not for himself alone,
But for you all, who now his fall, and trespass would disown.
If he had stood, then all his brood, had been established
In God's true love never to move, nor once awry to tread:
Would you have griev'd to have receiv'd through Adam so much good,
As had been your forevermore, if he at first had stood?
Since then to share in his welfare, you could have been content,
You may with reason share in his treason, and in the punishment.
You sinners are, and such a share as sinners may expect,
Such you shall have; for I do save none but my own elect.

Yet to compare your sin with their who liv'd a
longer time,
I do confess yours is much less, though every sin 's
a crime.
A crime it is, therefore in bliss you may not hope
to dwell;
But unto you I shall allow *the easiest room in hell*.
The glorious king thus answering, they cease, and
plead no longer:
Their consciences must needs confess his reasons
are the stronger."

"All this seems almost incredible," said the poet, and then he added, "and yet some people sigh for the good old days and think the world is not advancing into the light."

Mr. Miller, poet and dreamer though he be, possesses much of the utilitarian spirit of our age, and his first thoughts are ever for the benefit of the living and especially for the joy and delight of childhood. He constantly objected to the old graveyards that he found scattered throughout the populous parts of Boston.

"They should all be turned into parks and playgrounds for the children," he would say. "True, they have historic interest and value, but not so great in worth to the present and the future as would be playgrounds and parks in these congested parts of the city; and the dust of the sleepers could all be reverently moved to a reception hall—a hall of fame, if you will. There let Adams and Hancock rest with the Mathers in ornamental urns below which could be descriptive tablets giving full and needed information,—far more knowledge than can be obtained from the meager messages on the stones in the graveyards that are fenced in and whose gates are locked. I believe in looking out for the coming generation. I would give the children all the freedom possible to grow in body and mind, and I would make these useless cemeteries beauty spots or, better still, playgrounds and sand-gardens for the enjoyment and the benefit of the little tots and the children of larger growth."

From Copp's Hill we passed to Salem street, where within a stone's throw from the cemetery stands the old North Church claimed by many to be the edifice from

whose belfry the signal-lights were hung on the night of Paul Revere's historic ride; although it should be remembered that many people hold that these signal-lanterns were displayed from the tower of the old North Meeting-House and not from the belfry of Christ Church, now known as the old North Church.

"I should like to go by the Revere House, if it is not too far," said my companion. "For when I was here about a quarter of a century ago I stopped there on arriving in the city. Then I became the guest of the poet Longfellow and with him went to call on Walt. Whitman, who resided on Bullfinch Place if I remember right."

We passed the old hotel and also the spot where Whitman lived when Longfellow and Miller visited him.

"And now let us go to the Capitol and from there across the Common to your office," said the poet, who after some miles of walking seemed as fresh as a country youth.

Mr. Miller very justly criticized the mania for military monuments seen in Boston.

"Look at that statue of Hooker," he said, "a carping officer at best and a general that by no stretch of the imagination could be called a military genius. Here he is given the place of honor under the very shade of the historic dome, and this in the intellectual capital of America—the city of Emerson, Longfellow, Lowell, Everett, and Channing. Why should these great men and numbers of others that might be named be passed over for these inferior men of blood? It is all wrong and unworthy of Boston."

I could not gainsay the poet. He was right. The moral and mental aristocracy, the real civilization-builders, deserve far more recognition than they have received. Still, Boston has not wholly forgotten many of her illustrious sons. In the beautiful Gardens and on Commonwealth avenue are to be seen statues of men of conscience and intellect,—such men as Channing, Everett, Sumner and Garrison.

One morning the poet on entering my office said, "I spent most of yesterday at Mount Auburn, visiting the graves of my friends of other days, and one thing that especially attracted my attention was a solitary fall dandelion blooming on the grave of Lowell. I suppose it was an accident, but it reminded me at once of Lowell's fine lines to that beautiful little flower:

"Dear common flower that grow'st beside the way,
Fringing the dusty road with harmless gold,
First pledge of blithesome May,
Which children pluck, and, full of pride uphold,
High-hearted buccaneers, o'erjoyed that they
An Eldorado in the grass have found,
Which not the rich earth's ample round
May match in wealth, thou art more dear to me
Than all the prouder summer-blooms may be.

Gold such as thine ne'er drew the Spanish prow
Through the primeval hush of Indian seas,
Nor wrinkled the lean brow
Of age, to rob the lover's heart of ease;
'T is the Spring's largess, which she scatters now
To rich and poor alike, with lavish hand,
Though most hearts never understand
To take it at God's value, but pass by
The offered wealth with unrewarded eye.

Thou art my tropics and mine Italy;
To look at thee unlocks a warmer clime;
The eyes thou givest me
Are in the heart, and heed not space or time;
Not in mid-June the golden-cuirassed bee
Feels a more summer-like warm ravishment
In the white lily's breezy tent,
His fragrant Sybaris, than I, when first
From the dark green thy yellow circles burst.

Then think I of deep shadows on the grass,
Of meadows where in sun the cattle graze,
Where, as the breezes pass,
The gleaming rushes lean a thousand ways,
Of leaves that slumber in a cloudy mass,
Or whiten in the wind, of waters blue
That from the distance sparkle through
Some woodland gap, and of a sky above,
Where one white cloud like a stray lamb doth
move.

My childhood's earliest thoughts are linked with thee;
The sight of thee calls back the robin's song,
Who, from the dark old tree
Beside the door, sang clearly all day long,
And I, secure in childish piety,
Listened as if I heard an angel sing
With news from heaven, which he could bring
Fresh every day to my untainted ears
When birds and flowers and I were happy peers.

How like a prodigal doth nature seem,
When thou, for all thy gold, so common art!

Thou teachest me to deem
More sacredly of every human heart,
Since each reflects in joy its scanty gleam
Of heaven, and could some wondrous secret show,
Did we but pay the love we owe,
And with a child's undoubting wisdom look
On all these living pages of God's book."

"Would you like to step over to the studio of Mr. J. J. Enneking, who as you know is one of America's greatest impressionistic landscape artists?" I asked. "I think you will find him one of the most original and thoughtful men you have ever met, and from my point-of-view no man in New England has done greater work in picturing landscapes than he. You may not care for his work, but his canvases appeal to me with irresistible power."

"Certainly, I want to go. I have met the artist before and I shall enjoy seeing his work."

We spent a delightful hour and a half in the studio. Mr. Miller instantly came under the spell of the wonderful pictures. In displaying one canvas Mr. Enneking said, "Here is a picture you may not care for at all, but I like it, as I think it gives the impression and feeling of a spring morning, with nature awakening and instinct with new life."

"Peaches and cream!" was the poet's brief but comprehensive comment, after he had riveted his eyes on the canvas for several minutes; and when we left he said: "I thank you for taking me to see Mr. Enneking's paintings. I have not enjoyed anything in Boston so much as seeing those great canvases and talking with that fine thinker."

He went with Mr. Maynard to Concord to call on Mr. Frank Sanborn and to visit many spots very dear to him. This trip he greatly enjoyed. And so the October days wore away, each one finding the poet in a cheerful mood. One balmy morning he remarked, "Ah! this is like the glorious air of California. I have been taking a long walk and enjoying myself greatly." Another morning when a fine Scotch mist was falling and the air was raw and anything but pleas-

ant to me, Mr. Miller remarked, "This weather reminds me of London, and I like it."

It is a great thing to retain the cheerful spirit as one passes down the western slope of life, and in this respect the poet

of the Sierras is peculiarly blessed. On several occasions when talking with him I was strongly reminded of Victor Hugo's utterance a few years before his death: "The snow of age is on my brow, but spring is in my heart."

A CONVERSATION WITH JOAQUIN MILLER

IN WHICH THE POET DISCUSSES MR. WELLS' CRITICISM AND COMPARES
THE MODERN ATHENS WITH AMERICA'S GREAT
COMMERCIAL METROPOLIS.

A SHORT time before Joaquin Miller's recent visit to Boston, Mr. H. G. Wells, hailing from fog-enveloped London, had written his obituary on the living corpse, Boston. He had found the city quite dead. The galaxy of great men—Emerson, Longfellow, Lowell, Sumner, Whittier, Channing, Everett, Howe and Hawthorne—were all gone. The great of half a century ago had disappeared, leaving no successors. This wail of the pessimistic prophet is as old as Homer and the chroniclers of Israel. "There were giants in those days,"—such is the burden of the pessimist's wail.

In the case of Mr. Wells, there is enough truth to make the superficial criticism plausible, but to students of history there is nothing remarkable in the fact that cities, states, nations and civilizations have their golden days and seasons of blossoming and fruitage, and their resting periods. And Mr. Edwin D. Mead, the scholarly essayist and fine thinker, in an admirable reply to Mr. Wells, pointed out that all that the English critic said about the disparity in intellectual eminence between the Boston of to-day and the Boston of half a century ago, could be applied with even greater force to Mr. Wells' own city, London. From the thirties to the sixties of the last century Boston blossomed in moral and intellectual splendor, and the same was true of London. Then in the latter city,

among great statesmen were Sir Robert Peel, Gladstone, Disraeli, Cobden and Bright; among great authors, poets, reformers and novelists, were Carlyle, Browning, the Italian patriot Mazzini, Thackeray, Dickens and Bulwer-Lytton; while the discoveries of Darwin and Wallace, the speculations of Spencer and the deductions of Huxley made London a storm-center of intellectual activity and philosophical discussion. To-day in statescraft, in poetry, in science and in philosophy, London is suffering from a dearth of minds of the first order. True, the venerable Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace is still on the stage of life; but where are the young successors who promise to take the place of the master-minds that placed England in the van of scientific progress? They may be even now entering the stage, but what is true of Boston is also true of London. These great centers are at present experiencing those breathing spells that come to all cities after periods of great moral exaltation and intellectual activity.

But if Boston cannot to-day boast of any literary galaxy such as made the nineteenth century a golden day in her history, it is equally true that never before in her annals was she more truly an intellectual center, a capital for the diffusion of knowledge. Her splendid universities, colleges and technical institutions were never so efficient as to-day,

while they are complemented by the most magnificent public library, if we except the Congressional Library at Washington, to be found in America, and by art museums, natural history museums, schools for art, music and splendid courses of popular lectures which in themselves cannot fail to broaden and deepen the culture of all who enjoy them. Then there are the world-famed Symphony Concerts and scores of other aids to the acquisition of knowledge in almost every department of research. Boston, instead of being a tomb, is a mighty intellectual hive and over the city broods to-day as ever the splendid searching spirit that is the handmaid of true progress. Here as of old is the thirst for knowledge, the deathless hunger for the truth. Here, too, is the old-time love of freedom and of the right of free speech and of individual growth and expression, blended with a strong social spirit that is striving to meet and master the twin forces of peril in modern municipal life,—the greed of the privileged few who place corporate gain above civic morality and communal interests, and the great mass of foreign immigrants who are ignorant of the moral ideals of democracy and who join with the sordid, venal or indifferent voters in blocking true civic progress in municipal life.

So, as a matter of fact, Mr. Wells saw only the surface, took no pains to acquaint himself with the facts that a conscientious critic would have insisted on knowing before venturing an opinion, and thus being ignorant of a large number of vital facts wrote a very foolish and superficial criticism, wholly beneath a man of his standing and literary pretensions.

I was discussing this subject with Mr. Miller on one occasion, and he replied in so interesting a manner that I had his words taken down for our readers:

"Mr. Wells is very unreasonable, if not absurd," said the poet. "You might just as well ask that it should strike twelve o'clock every hour in the day. There is only one twelve o'clock in a day.

The sun reaches the meridian only once in a day, but it comes again. Everything in this world comes in succession. It is the same with cities and with nations. With the fruits I have cultivated, I must permit the leaves to fall and the flowers too, but if I cultivate them carefully I have them again as the years succeed. I should say the same of Boston. She may with perfect confidence go right along. In the meantime the world comes this way to see the great dead and share the unequalled advantages offered to students and all in search of useful information. Boston is a very original city. We do not want two Shakespeares; we do not want two Emersons; but we are thankful for them, however. And when the tide comes in again there will come new people, and strong, strange people. Let us wait for them and not be impatient. It is absurd for Mr. Wells to expect these people to be continually on the stage."

"It has often seemed to me that cities, colonies and states take color or bent from the dominant ideals or notes in the lives of their founders. Do you think there is anything in this?"

"Yes, certainly. Boston and New York afford very striking illustrations. The men who made New England great, who settled Plymouth, Salem and Boston, landed with a Bible and hymn-book in their hands. They began by building churches and schoolhouses. The founders of New York landed with peddlers' packs on their backs. They were nothing if not traders, and they forthwith began building wharves and storehouses. And so these resultant expressions of different types of human activity have gone on their ways, ever since, to this day, as wide apart as London and Paris. New York looks very great on the map, and in fact is very great in a material way, and, I am told, feels lots bigger than Boston; but she is really and truly nothing of the sort. Mentally, morally and spiritually, Boston is vastly the bigger, better and heartier of the two and more

truly alive. Boston as a moral and intellectual capital is always at the head—always will be at the head. The great events began here, and you have kept them up, in one fashion or another, all the time. I should say that if the Vanderbilts, the Astors and the Stuyvesants had landed here in Boston, this city might have been deplorably commercial and perhaps greater than New York,

because these great Dutchmen were great traders and they built cities all over the world, with warehouses and counting-houses and banks. They were the Phœnicians of their age. They settled New York, the commercial metropolis; but the Pilgrims and the Puritans came here with the Bible, and Boston fortunately is just simply Boston, and I hope she will remain Boston."

PAYING CHILDREN TO ATTEND SCHOOL.

BY OSCAR CHRISMAN, Ph.D.,

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SOME years ago, as a Fellow in Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts, when I first began that systematic study of child-nature which has become known under the scientific name of paidology, among my studies of child-life I got hold of two prize-essays of the American Economic Association by Miss Clare de Graffenreid and Mr. William F. Willoughby on child-labor. These papers so impressed me that since that time I have been very deeply interested in the problems of child-labor, and I have tried to keep in touch with this phase of child-life.

The efforts that have been made for helping the children in the Southern manufacturing establishments, the recent agitation over child-labor in New York, and the late Bulletin of the United States Bureau of Labor, "Child-Labor in the United States," have freshened my interest in this matter.

There are a number of causes given for child-labor, but it is not necessary to repeat them here. These causes given are mostly external to the child, and I do not believe they go down deep enough to be real foundation causes, and till the basic causes are found and removed this matter can not be stopped. I think that the chief reasons for child-labor can be

found in the nature of the child himself, and that two of these are, first, the desire on the part of the child to make money, and, second, his love of and need for motion—of doing something with his body.

Mankind has always loved power. This power has taken different forms in different ages. At the present time in our own country the greatest power is attached to money. We would rather not own it, but the love of money is the ruling passion with us in America to-day. Religious power bends to it; political power bends to it. By this I do not mean to say that the love of money is an evil, and so do not speak of it as a wrong thing. I do not know that the power which comes from money is to give one opportunity to do harm, but rather this love of money is because of the great good that can be done with it. I have no patience with the idea that money is a necessary evil, and that he who possesses it thereby shows that he has done evil or he would not possess the money. I do not see why a man who works at a dollar a day may not in his way work just as many evil schemes to get that dollar without fairly earning it as the man who gets a thousand dollars a day. Nor can I see why a man who gets a thousand dollars

a day may not just as honestly earn it as he who gets a dollar a day. It altogether depends upon the man in each case. So when I speak of the wish to gain money as being the ruling passion with us to-day, I mean by this as being a righteous passion and not an evil one.

Thus in considering this question of child-labor, we must consider the inherited tendency of the child to want money. This is shown by the great number of children engaged in work who are not compelled to it by parents, who do not really need to work at all unless they so choose. The students of child-labor, it seems to me, have made a mistake in not studying more closely and deeply this class of child-workers. Every parent who reads this will recall how many times his children have tried various schemes for making money, and how often they have pleaded to be allowed to do certain things to try to make money.

Not only does the child inherit this love for money, but his every environment makes money-getting a vivid thing before him. The denials which his parents compel of him make him wish for money of his own. There is perhaps not a single person reading this but that said to himself when a child, upon being refused something by his parents, that when he got old enough to earn money he would get such things, and perhaps so informed his parents. Also children see the one possessing money honored in his community above every one else, and often rightly, too, for he most often represents the best there is in American life and spirit. In many other ways do the child's environments show him the need of money and keep well before him the power it possesses.

I believe that one of the very deepest reasons for child-labor is the love the child has for doing something and the very need of his nature to do something. All students of child-nature, and also everyone else for that matter, know that the child is a motor being. The greatest

element in child-life is motion. He loves movement and he is compelled to it. He loves to work rather than go to school, because of the motor action allowed him. There is an intense feeling to him in muscle action.

There is no such a thing as a lazy child among normal children. There may be an abnormality of laziness, just as there is of feeble-mindedness and of thievery, etc., but the ordinary, average child is not lazy. This is shown by children at play, and also by children at work, when there is a motive for this work. If the child does not work in school, it is because there is little or no motive, or there are conditions which cause a mental or a physical stupor or both. The impurity of the air of the ordinary school-room, the temperature, the bad light, etc., are in themselves sufficient to make the most industrious child become stupid, especially during the last hour of forenoon and more so of the afternoon. Added to this, those least able to do the mental work are detained in the worst conditions possible in the day—after school-hours. The very school-work itself tends toward stupefying the ability of children. The very nature of the child is activity. As was said before, the child is a motor being. Yet the school ignores this, or is ignorant of it, for physical activity is repressed in the school-room and mental activity is tried to be increased. The humdrum, inactive life of the school-room wearies, weariness grows into fatigue, fatigue into stupor, and then the child is called lazy and he must be kept after school, or otherwise be punished for this so-called laziness brought on by teacher and surroundings. The discipline of the school itself tends against the nature of the child and to depress his faculties. The best children in school are quiet children, but the best children in nature are the active children. Thus I would say that if the child is lazy in school, it is because of his environments—lack of motives for work and conditions to cause stupidity.

The average age at which children leave school is not far from thirteen years perhaps. That is, the child stays in school up to the time when he is able to show to his parents that he can do something outside better than at school, that the school is not doing him good, etc. There is no natural interest in the school-room for the child, especially the boy. He is a savage and filled with savage instincts. The school of the savage has never been in four walls, and particularly not in a little narrow desk; for it has been all outdoors and so the child craves such a school. The school of the savage has been for the most part a physical school, with but little mental application, and so the boy, a savage, wants his physical nature helped and trained. He cannot stand only mental strain, so he goes out from school into the physical, active world. Also, as was suggested before, the present needs, which can only be met by money, appeal to him more than preparation for the future. Hence he leaves school to go out and make money. The parents, not being higher in the scale than the children, acquiesce in this, for to them present money is of more worth than future gains.

The way to keep children in school is to make the school the most valuable place to them. The school must be made attractive. We must change front and recognize that the school-room is made for the child and not for the teacher. At present only the appurtenances of the teacher are placed in it, and whatever may be done for the children is done only because the teacher's interests can best be served by such. The school-room must be made for children. As the business-room is made attractive and fixed up for customers, and whatever is done for the sales-people is done only because thereby the best interests of customers can be cared for, so in the school-room the interests of the children must be consulted and those things done for children which will make the school-room, next to the home, the most attractive place.

In the first place there must be more freedom allowed to boys and to girls. In the next place more pleasure must be allowed them. Again the work must be changed from still life to active life. I have sometimes thought that if a painter wanted to make a study of still life, he ought to go into a well-ordered school-room and study the children, for the natural activity of child-life is crushed out there and still life prevails. The present routine of work of the ordinary school must be entirely revolutionized. The condition of the air, heat, light, etc., of the school-room must require as much time on the part of the teacher as at present is given up to suppressing the spirits of child-nature and in holding examinations. Work which allows the use of the body, freedom of motion and action, must take the place of the tiresome desk-work and dull mental applications of the present. But above and beyond all these must the work be carried out into the field and the wood, along by the river and the brook. The child must be taught through nature. Why cannot a beautiful hillside, shaded with spreading trees and carpeted with lovely flowers and soft grass, be as good a place to teach children as the dreary school-room and drearier desk? But more yet, the teacher instead of always bringing the children to him must go out to them and must teach them by following them in their plays and in their doings. It is very gratifying to students and lovers of children that much of the above is being recognized as necessary in school-work and in some ways is being looked after, so that we may well believe that the future school is going to be conducted along such lines.

Yet with all the above, however attractive the school may be made, we must understand that the child in his work knows only profit of the present. He knows no future. I fully believe that the child, all things being equal, who receives an education, is better prepared for life's struggles than he who leaves school to engage in any work or business,

I care not what it may be. But this is the judgment of an adult. It is not what the child sees. He sees only what he gains for the present. He is as the savage, he lives for the present. So with conditions out in the world calling the children, with the greed of parents and employers, with the love of money implanted within us, I believe another thing must be done, a very radical step must be taken, and that is to pay children in dollars and cents to attend school. Yet this is not such a great innovation, for in higher education it is being done. Scholarships and fellowships are being increased all the time, until it looks as if at least in the very highest education all who undertake such may get paid for it in dollars and cents.

If it is of great value to the state, to mankind, to pay students in the highest and most advanced lines to attend school, why is it not as profitable, and even more so, to pay children to attend school? Surely it is as important to the state to have the masses educated as it is to have some few individuals very highly educated.

It is true it would cost a great deal of money to pay every child who attends school, for I should say pay every child, no matter whether rich or poor, just as every child is paid now who works for it. Perhaps it should be that the children be paid by the amount and kind of work done just as in their work elsewhere and as in markings of grades in school. This, though, is a matter that need not be taken up in this paper.

The cry is going out that the public schools are a great burden, and yet no state or community wants to abolish them, for all know that they are cheaper and better than private schools of former times, and many more children attend them. Yet again the cry goes out that thousands of children are not availing themselves of these schools and are being attracted from them to workshops, store-rooms, etc. Expense must not stand in the way if in any manner these children

can be brought back and kept in the school, for with all its faults and defects the public-school is by far the best training place for the making of American citizens.

Every child in this land has a right to an education and everything must be done to give him the opportunity to get this education, and, by paying children to go to school, those who are compelled by poverty, by greed of parents, or by any cause, to have to go out to work, could thus have the opportunity to attend school, for they could thereby earn money just as now by work outside. Money is the main thing in life about the child and it must be used as a means to attract and keep the child in school.

If individuals alone can afford to pay children to work for them and find it profitable, so can the State, a collection of individuals, find it even more profitable to pay children in order to get them educated. For education gives intelligent voters and intelligent citizens and the State is great, the State is progressive, the State is good, only as its citizens are great and progressive and good. Paying children and thus getting them in school would educate the very class of voters that now are the most dangerous to the welfare of our nation.

The amount of money needed to pay children to go to school would be enormous, for there must be competition such as will make it almost impossible for individuals to obtain child-laborers, but every cent of it will come back in some other form, so that in the end the expense will not be greater than now.

The criminals for the most part come from the class that do not attend school. If by paying children, these can be attracted to school, crime would be so lessened as to greatly relieve the burdens of taxation needed in its suppression; for children would be trained away from crime and would not become criminals, because their surroundings would not tend that way. Since it is true that the use of intoxicating beverages is the great-

est cause of crime, and since scientific temperance teaching is being given in the schools everywhere, then if by paying children to attend schools those most likely to come under the influence of temptations can thus be induced to come to school and get this temperance training, thus will crime be greatly lessened and thereby taxes for caring for criminals be greatly lowered.

If children were paid to attend school much of the burden incurred now in caring for dependent children would be done away with, for it would make many who are now dependent upon the State or upon charity able to care for themselves. Paying children to go to school would also lessen very much the expense for enforcing the laws in reference to child-labor; indeed in time there would be no child-labor which might need looking after very much, for those who might employ children would be compelled to make things as comfortable and attractive as the school, if indeed they could at all attract the children.

Perhaps the greatest present gain would come to the state in the way of taking children out of competition with adults, thus giving more employment to men and better wages, and thus making better homes. In this way would the State be very greatly benefited, for upon the home the State depends more than upon any other one thing. It would add dignity to these homes, for with the children steadily bringing in funds from a most honorable source, and the parents being able to perform their part, charity would not be needed and thus true manhood would come into many homes which are kept down now because of poverty.

But the greatest good would come to the child himself. This appears in so many ways that only a few need to be given here. The reader can think of many more.

If greed of parents is one great cause of child-labor, then if the child can earn money by going to school, as much as by working outside, the parents will want him to go to school. The child will learn

in the school-room much that he can carry home with him to better the home, far, far more than he can obtain in any work he can engage in, and in this way make a better home for himself. Also the school authorities will have power to see that he has proper care, food, clothing, etc.

Writers upon child-labor impress upon us that some of the most deplorable things are that the child learns few if any good habits in his work, is rather unlikely to learn a trade or business, is unsteady in his habits, in fact the workshops are to him demoralizing mentally, morally and physically. By inducing them to attend school by paying them would bring these children under those influences which they most need and would give them habits of great help to them.

There is another side to consider in this matter of paying children to go to school. They ought to be paid to go to school because it is right to do so, for money is really due them for services rendered the State in the school-room. The State demands certain things of its citizens,—one is the bearing of arms when the nation is in danger. Although the preservation of the nation is of the utmost importance to every citizen, yet the State does not for a moment think of having its citizens become soldiers without paying them for such. So it is with children, the State demands that they go to school, because upon educated citizens depends the good of the State. So then a child ought to be paid for rendering such services, just as the citizen who renders his services as a soldier. It may be said that the child is paid by what he learns in school for his use in after life. So it may just as truly be said that the soldier is paid in the preservation of his country and his home. Why should a true patriot require dollars and cents for services in his country's defense any more than a child for services also for his country, for one is done just as much for self as the other? Again, when the child goes into a business establishment or a manufacturing place to work he receives

money for his services. Yet is he not getting an education for future life? Why should a private individual pay the child for his services and not this same individual in a public capacity as the State? The child is serving the State when he is learning business or a trade, and he is also gaining knowledge whereby he may gain a livelihood in later life, yet he is paid for his services in dollars and cents. The apprenticeship system has died out in this country, no doubt, just because of the feeling that one learning a trade should be paid for his services in dollars and cents beyond the mere trade itself. As I see it, the child is just as much entitled to receive money for his services to the State as the soldier, and the State is just as much under obligation to pay him for his public services in the school-room as the private party is to pay him for private services rendered. The apprentice in the school-room should have dollars and cents for his services beyond the mere knowledge gained.

Whatever else is the business of the State, it is to bring happiness to its people. Perhaps there is no other nation at present, nor has there been one in the past, where the people constituting it are as happy as in our country,—I mean all classes of people. I cannot help but feel that the darkest blot upon our pages to-day is that of child-labor. The most unhappy creatures among our people to-day are the poor, helpless children condemned to work as they are. When one reads of these poor children, one can

hardly believe that a great nation that spent millions of dollars to free a race of people who were really never as bad off in their slavery as are these children, God's children, America's children, at the very present time in many places, can refuse to spend any amount to free these children. What can dollars mean to us when these poor, little human souls are perishing! What are taxes to us who are grown to manhood, able-bodied and blessed with health, compared with the woes of those poor children who are taxed a thousand times worse? Of what better use is money if by paying them to go to school we can thus free them from the bondage they are now in?

But this paper is not altogether written in the interests of unhappy and miserable children involved in labor, but also for the helping of all children who go out to work, because money means more to them and to their parents than schooling. It is not claimed that paying children will get them all in school, nor keep them there, nor relieve all burdens about them. But it is claimed and believed in by the writer, that by paying children in dollars and cents to attend school will bring in and keep in a very large body of children not in school now, and that it will pay this nation to do it in the suppression of crime, in the making of more intelligent voters, in the building up of homes, and above all in making hundreds of children now miserable to be happy in the future.

OSCAR CHRISMAN.

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TWO HALVES OF THE WHOLE.

By A. L. SYKES.

"So after she had slept for a brief space in Peace, she arose and asked the Brothers to show her their Cloister. And they, leading her to the summit of a hill, showed her the wide World, saying: 'This is our Cloister, O Lady Poverty.'"

"**W**HAT a silly girl the Princess is," soliloquized Milady. "Gone slumming again when she might be

viewing the yacht-race from the deck of the 'Sunbeam.'"

"'Slumming'?" queried the Critic, with his usual cultivated bitter smile ornamenting his classic features.

Milady looked at him severely through her lorgnette, then her face softened;

she dropped the glass, and I could see her thinking: "Well, perhaps you really don't know, and you are such an extremely nice Critic to look upon, that I find it impossible to be stern with you."

"Well, slumming is going about with a basket, you know, and—ah—talking with the poor, and finding out just what they think and feel and need, and—and—oh, you know,—seeing How the Other Half Lives."

"Humph!" ejaculated the Critic rudely; then he leaned his brow on his hand and meditated, while Milady waited.

At length he looked at her earnestly, and asked: "Do two halves make a whole?"

Milady made no reply, but it is certain that she did not understand the question, for she never fails to have the answer. The Day Laborer stopped with the study door-knob in his hand, and watched Milady sweep out of the room, and saw the Critic resume his bitter smile as he buried himself in his book. Then the Day Laborer went into his study, and thought and thought of how he could make "beautiful books and things" out of such a foolish question as "Do Two Halves Make a Whole?"

But do they? Are we who slum, and they that are slummed, really halves of one great body, in which each man is only a cell, but a vitally important cell? If the blood is poisoned at one point is the whole circulatory system less pure? If bad whiskey, and miserable dwellings, and poor food and pain make some nerves of that vast body quiver, can it be that the whole Body of Man suffers and groans not knowing the source of its discomfort?

If some seer could prove that this be true, would we stop now and then to throw a crumb to Lazarus at the gate, and go on our way rejoicing, or would we strive to make our Body clean from head to heel.

I fancy the latter.

Time was when men were far apart. That time is not now. Vast land-spaces, vaster sea-spaces have been annihilated,

and we have lost the old sense of time and space. A wise man has said that some World Spirit seems to be saying silently to men: "Stand close! Stand close!" and they do stand close in great charities and benefactions, and in vast combinations, and sometimes in ways apparently or really evil, body pressed against body, and hand against hand for the easier passing of money. We must hope that all in good time men will stand heart to heart with the word "Brother" on the lips, and the thought in the mind that the well-being of one child of the great household makes for the good of all.

Rev. Dr. Josiah Strong says: "Society is gaining self-consciousness which marks one of the most important steps in the progress of the race. We are beginning to see that society lives one vast life of which every man is a part. We are gaining what Walter Besant calls 'the sense of humanity.'"

How true this seems when we think of man, but how little true it seems when we try to apply it to individuals. Once there was a child who had the curious notion which was connected in no way with the thought of deafness, that the aged could not hear his remarks, and he would utter sentences in his clear treble that the grandfather or grandmother, sitting in the strange silence that comes to age would be hurt to hear. So we larger children do to the poor. We, in our ignorance, have imagined that the poor are not like ourselves, and we have dreamed that they do not feel—at least, do not feel as we feel,—and we ask them strange questions, and do to them strange deeds, that bite them as neither cold nor hunger does.

Dear Milady, there is no essential difference between you and the poor woman who is, alas! so rudely slummed. She wants to be beautiful. She longs for love as men under water long for air. She, however she is soiled, loves purity above all things. Her heart softens under the grave, deep glances of little children, and she trembles with joy or

pain when the scent of a flower or the feel of the spring in the air brings back lost days.

She is just like you. I have heard the little laugh she gives when her "man" comes home, and I know that he has kissed her, because, proud Milady, you have made my heart smile with that same little laugh a thousand times.

I have seen her bend over her little one, burned or crushed out of all semblance of childhood, and her body with its brooding, bending lines, and her face of anguish, were just your body and face over again, as they were revealed to me when that other Little One died.

"Probably she beat and cursed it when it was alive," you say. Possibly, but one must look beneath the alien grime when searching for the Body of Man.

Just last night I put down my book, and went into the streets with the cry of the childless wife in *Paolo and Francesca* ringing in my ears:

"Eternal yearning, answered by the wind——."

I stopped to buy violets for Milady from a woman at the corner, clumsy, coarse-featured, and dark as a negro. About her head was tied a bright red shawl, and she was almost ludicrous in her ugliness.

"Mother, give me a flower," the street-boys cried, and "Mother, mother, may n't we have just one?" called a crowd of little girls.

"Surely these are not all yours," I said.

"No," she answered, "but I love to be called mother, and I ask 'em to, and sometimes I pay 'em—just with flowers—for I never had a child to call me so."

She turned her face away, and the vein in her neck throbbed in a way that told of coming tears. As I turned homeward my mind compared the noble Lucrezia with the poor violet-seller, but my heart prayed the old Hindu prayer: "Lord, teach me that all things are One."

Wise men see that the tug-of-war has come for this country, which is the Promised Land for the poor of all nations. Jacob Riis has stated the problem baldly

and honestly in his *Battle With the Slum*: "For it is one thing or the other: either we wipe out the slum, or it wipes us out," and he tells us, too, how the problem may be solved, which is more than the calamity-howler, or "the-world-is-growing-worse" pessimist ever does. He says:

"You do not want to come *down* to your work for your fellows when you go from the brown-stone front to the tenement, but neither do you want to make him believe that you are coming up to him, for you know that you do not feel that way.

"You want to come right *over*, to help him to reform conditions with which he cannot grapple alone. For that is the brotherhood, and now you can see that that is the only thing that really helps.

"Children of one Father!

"Spin all the fine theories you like, build up systems of profound philosophy, of social ethics, of philanthropic endeavor; back to that you must get if you get anywhere at all."

There is meat for the thinker.

Alice Brown has written a paragraph that may well be a warning for indifferent men and women bent upon pleasure, and the cruel individuals who fancy themselves fortunate in being able to grind the faces of the poor:

"I do n't think you 'll have your way for very long at a time. You 'll seem to have it, but you must remember the universe is built on honor. The foundations were laid very deep and strong before you and I were born. It won't do the least good for us to tinker up little laws of our own. They 'll only get smashed, and we with them," says blunt Dr. Milbanke in *Margaret Warren*.

Beside the wise men, the butterflies and the oppressors are the people who belong to a fourth class. They, in their charity, do infinite harm, but if once convinced of that harm, they cease to do it, and cease also to accomplish the infinite uses that are given into their loving hands to perform. They do not learn to temper mercy with justice, but cast mercy aside,

and cling painfully to a cold and unsatisfying justice.

"Since justice has replaced charity on the prescription, the patient is improving," says Jacob Riis, and it is sternly true. It is pitifully easy to make beggars, and when one has made a beggar, he will usually find that he has made an enemy. But while we are selfishly and unselfishly careful to guard the priceless treasure of true pride and self-respect in those whom we are privileged to help, let us be careful that we pass none by who need us. Some little one starving for love,—and ministrations; some desolate, desperate man needing a new hope to which he may cling,—and work; some weary woman to whom you may give cheer,—and the help of your hands; perchance one whose pride is swallowed up in suffering, and who cannot be harmed by your most generous gifts. Let us particularly remember these last, for how intolerable must be the days and nights of those who can only pray:

"Who shall deliver me from the body of this death?"

How hot it was in the little room with its one window opening upon the air-shaft—the air-shaft—and everything that her eyes rested on, from dirty verminous walls to dirty verminous floor, was hideous.

Poor eyes, so tired and bright; poor parched lips, and dry wasted hands with the curious finger-tips, and poor weary body burning with fever, and lungs gasping for clean air that was not.

Some one—oh, how could she?—had read to her of green pastures and still waters, and she told me, when the cough would let her, of the night just past.

"I got to thinkin'," she said, "of how it would feel to lay out in the wet green grass, and have the cool rain fallin' on me, and it seemed as real as real, and then somebody stepped on a baby on the stairs and nearly killed it, and I coughed till I was 'most dead, but when I did get to sleep, I had the rummest dream. I thought I was layin' by a water-thing [a fountain], with a marble edge, so cool—you can 't think—and I drank and drank,

and the water came up around me, and great branches of white grapes with green leaves hung into the water, and when I ate some of 'em—cold as ice—I had n't any pain at all, but just a sort of peaceful *dead* feeling, like when you first wake up, and have n't begun to cough yet. My, it was good!"

Poor dreamer! It was stifling in the dark dreadful room, and the air was full of the sound of the crying of children, dying by the score in that great hive of human life. Outside the sun beat down on the reeking pavements, and the heat was almost unbearable, but on the fruit-stand at the corner lay pounds and pounds of grapes holding coolness and freshness within their dusty skins. A paltry pound in a coarse white dish filled with ice and fresh water made the dream almost true, and cooled the parched mouth for a day and a night, but poverty means that thousands, who like her, are in the grasp of the "Living Death," could as easily buy a diamond as the piece of ice, or the fruit that would make the suffering less intolerable for a space.

It was pitiful to see a little one of seven die with a tiny basket of fruit, which came too late, alas! pressed against her breast. For weeks she had been able to eat but little of the coarse food which was provided in that wretched home, but she went out, bless her, not knowing of her poverty, for had she not her basket of fruit and a new doll?

"Who are the poor that the preacher man told about?" she asked, and her mother, hiding her tears, told her that the poor were those who had not enough to eat and wear.

"I am glad that we are not poor, Mamma," she whispered, and so went where there are no poor.

Yes, it is pitifully easy to make beggars, but oh, we must not fear that we may harm the little ones, or those travelers that are so near the end of their journey, if we venture to give them more than the cup of cold water.

Vineland, N. J. A. L. SYKES.

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

CHILD-SLAVERY: DEMOCRACY'S PRESENT BATTLE WITH THE MOLOCH OF GREED.

One of The Gravest and Most Fundamental Problems Confronting The Statesmanship of America.

ONE OF the gravest and most essentially fundamental problems before the American people to-day is that relating to the overthrow of child-slavery, which is rapidly becoming one of the most sinister perils that threaten the Republic of to-morrow, as it is also the capital crime against the helpless young. It is a question in behalf of which right, reason and humanity are battling against the sordid present-day commercialism that is the most deadly menace to free institutions; and furthermore, it is a question about which no right-thinking American can be indifferent, especially in view of the fact that the modern plutocracy that in recent years has so successfully pulled the strings of power in state and nation, is alive to the fact that the American people are awakening to the evil. Already the greed-governed interests are working, mole-like but actively, to prevent by delays any further effective official investigations as to the nature and extent of this crime against civilization and to check or, if that is impossible, to emasculate, any legislation that would strike at the root of the evil and destroy it. Of the most immediate and, because of its underhanded character, the most dangerous peril along this line, against the success of which all humanity-loving people should direct their efforts, we shall presently speak. Just now, however, we ask our readers to call to mind some historical facts that are germane to the subject; for the battle of democracy is the battle for human emancipation and individual development and progress, and at every step it has encountered the forces of privilege and reaction which under varying guises have ever been actuated by the same twin spirit—the passion for gain and for power; and the struggle for the emancipation of the children, that alone can guarantee a noble civilization for coming ages, is no new conflict.

What The Democratic Epoch Represents.

With the advent of democracy the great

aggressive battle for human rights, freedom and justice was inaugurated. Democracy struck first at the fountain-head of despotism—government of the people by the privileged few. It declared, and declared in no uncertain tones, that the source of government lay, not in the throne, the aristocracy, or any privileged class claiming to know more than the people or assuming to act in the interests of the people while doing things which were contrary to the wishes and interests of the populace. It declared as its great fundamental postulate that in the people, and in the people alone, resided the law-making power. All government derived its just power from the consent of the governed. It insisted that the law-makers and all persons entrusted with the interpretation and execution of the law should be the servants and not the masters of the people. Thus we find George Washington saying in regard to those entrusted with law-making and executing power, "They are no more than creatures of the people," and again that, "The powers under the Constitution will always be with the people."

But democracy did not rest with this first and supreme demand that the people should be recognized as the head and fountain of government and that the representatives should represent and not misrepresent their wishes. It contended that as essential requirements for free institutions, human progress and growth, three other further facts should be recognized: namely, (1) the rights of man—equal justice and equality of opportunities and of rights for all; (2) the emancipation of the brain of man—freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom of association; (3) universal education of the young—a basic requisite for the success of free government. And this last demand necessarily carried with it the freedom and protection of the young in the full enjoyment of that education, so essential to the State. These four fundamental or basic demands of democracy, when once accepted, led naturally to a steadily broadening moral vision. All forms of slavery became hateful to men who accepted the new evangel of civilization. Justice for the weak

became not only a sacred duty imposed on the national conscience, but the highest wisdom. And thus step by step the new handmaid of civilization sought to lead the awakened social conscience and intelligence up the highway of enduring progress.

But, as has ever been the case in the story of the slow ascent of man, the dazzling victories that marked the advent of democracy were clouded by excesses, the legitimate but deplorable result of centuries of oppression; and these excesses gave the forces of class-rule, oppression and reaction the opportunity for which selfishness, ambition, privilege and greed are ever watching, and a period of reaction set in in Europe after the dawn of the democratic epoch. It, however, was succeeded by another incoming tide of popular sentiment, and this recurrence of democratic sentiment demanded further emancipation for the weak and oppressed. Then it was that the conscience of England awakened to the horrors of child-slavery as then practiced.

Child Slavery in England During The First Half of The Nineteenth Century.

One of the most striking features of the great moral or democratic awakening of the second quarter of the nineteenth century in England was the general protest on the part of humanitarians and reformers which led to the modification in a material manner of the frightful conditions attending child-slavery in Great Britain. This noble crusade for tender and helpless childhood and in behalf of a greater and better England was led in the halls of state by Lord Ashley, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury; in the church by Canon Charles Kingsley and Frederic D. Maurice; in the field of philanthropic and social reform by Robert Owen; while the poets of the day contributed some of their noblest verse in behalf of the children. It was at this time that Elizabeth Barrett, later Mrs. Browning, penned her well-known poem, "The Cry of the Children," which thrilled England and in a large way awakened the sleeping conscience of the people. Charles Mackay, one of the greatest of the people's poets of the age, at this time wrote his memorable poem entitled "The Souls of the Children," the first three stanzas of which ran as follows:

"Who bids for the little children,—
Body, and soul, and brain?"

Who bids for the little children,—
Young, and without a stain?
Will no one bid,' said England,
'For their souls so pure and white,
And fit for all good or evil,
The world on their page may write?'

'We bid,' said Pest and Famine,
'We bid for life and limb;
Fever and pain and squalor
Their bright young eyes shall dim.
When the children grow too many,
We'll nurse them as our own,
And hide them in secret places,
Where none may hear their moan.'

'I bid,' said Beggary, howling,
'I bid for them, one and all!
I'll teach them a thousand lessons—
To lie, to skulk, to crawl!
They shall sleep in my lair, like maggots,
They shall rot in the fair sunshine;
And if they serve my purpose,
I hope they'll answer thine.'"

But the fine, sensitive heart of woman, always quick to respond when the call of humanity is made, and the popular poet of the people, were not alone in voicing in verse the imperious demand of democracy in behalf of the helpless little ones who were the victims of the soulless spirit of commercial greed. Perhaps the most remarkable poem indicating the materialistic commercialism which fattens off of the little child slaves was written by Lord Bulwer-Lytton in his great poem, "King Arthur." Here we find in the following notable lines the English novelist and poet representing King Arthur as peering into the future by means of the magic power given him, and appalled at seeing the state to which England in the far-off nineteenth century should descend. We know of few more graphic or striking pictures of Christian civilization under the dominion of the present-day commercial spirit—civilization crazed by the mania for gold—than are found in these lines:

"Slow fades the pageant, and the Phantom stage
As slowly fill'd with squalid, ghastly forms;
Here, over fireless hearths, cower'd shivering Age
And blew with feeble breath dead embers;—
storms
Hung in the icy welkin; and the bare
Earth lay forlorn in Winter's charnel air.
No careless Childhood laugh'd disportingly,
But dwarf'd, pale mandrakes, with a century's
gloom
On infant brows, beneath a poison-tree
With skeleton fingers plied a ghastly loom,
Mocking in cynic jest life's gravest things;
They wove gay King-robcs, muttering 'What are
Kings?'

And through that dreary Hades to and fro,
Stalk'd all unheeded the Tartarean Guests;
Grim Discontent that loathes the Gods, and Woe
Clasping dead infants to her milkless breasts;
And maddening Hate, and Force with iron heel,
And voiceless Vengeance sharp'ning secret steel.

'Can such things be below and God above?'
Falter'd the King;—replied the Genius—'Nay,
This is the state the sages most approve;
This is Man civilized!—the perfect sway
Of Merchant Kings; the ripeness of the Art
Which cheapens men—the Elysium of the Mart.'"

The great moral awakening in England achieved great things in modifying conditions in the opening conflict in a war which must be waged until democracy and humanity have triumphed. In America after the Civil war there came a period of moral inertia and exhaustion on the part of the people, during which, as is always the case in such periods, the retrogressive forces of reaction, greed and oppression were quick to stealthily advance along various lines. One by one the high old ideals of democracy were quietly ignored in the interests of privilege, monopoly and the gambling-world of Wall street. Then came that unholy alliance between the political machine and the commercial feudalism, in which the princes of privilege virtually furnished the money to form public opinion and carry elections, while they in return either named those who were to misrepresent the people or were guaranteed ample assurances that their special grafts or interests would be protected by the recreant government and the faithless public servants. As a natural result, the great corporations operating public utilities, vast monopolies, and the men of master-brains and seared consciences who placed profit or the acquisition of gold above all considerations of human rights and justice to the people, became the master-spirits in a vigorous young plutocracy that for years has been banishing from the temple of free government the representatives of the democracy of Jefferson and the republicanism of Lincoln. The Treasury Department was turned over to bankers long trained to fight for the special privileges of the banking class and moneyed interests. Trusts were given greater and greater protection in their merciless robbery of the people by tariffs that enabled them to compel the American people to pay far more for their products than the same products were sold for by the American trusts in England, Canada and other foreign lands. Meanwhile the railroads were permitted to defy

laws, destroy great business enterprises through discrimination, and rob the people at will, and the great manufacturing and mining corporations were not only given the power to take untold millions of money from all the American people by the monopoly rights granted through special legislation, but their greed, fed on princely returns through the plunder of the millions, has been insatiable, and step by step they have proceeded to augment their wealth by displacing men wherever possible and employing women and later children of tender years, until there are vast armies of little ones who should be living the normal, healthy life of children, when not attending school, but who are condemned to perpetual slavery in mill, factory and mine—slavery that is dwarfing body, mind and soul, taking from them the priceless birth-right which is the hope of a glorious heritage for the America of to-morrow. And this crime of measureless proportions is being justified by the same specious arguments and sophistries which have ever been summoned to uphold the moral criminality of the would-be despots and oppressors of humanity.

The Rise of Moral Sentiment and Democratic Spirit Against The Slavery of The Young.

During recent years a persistent and an increasingly effective campaign has been carried on by small groups of high-minded patriots looking toward acquainting the people with this crime against the children. Of these splendid workers who have made war against child-slavery, the Socialists have been probably the most persistent and insistent workers; and some of their number—men like John Spargo and Robert Hunter—have contributed great, important and authoritative works to the literature of juvenile emancipation. Then there have been a number of radical and progressive democrats who have stood preëminently representative of the conscience force in American political and economic life—thinkers like Edwin Markham, the prophet-poet of democracy; Henry George, Jr., and other equally able and conscientious workers for a nobler civilization; while perhaps as much really effective work has been accomplished by brave and high-minded American women as by any other class of workers. They have investigated the conditions and have pointed out the facts with the moral insistence that marks aroused woman-

hood, and they have made their appeal directly to the heart and the higher emotions of the people. In this work also the social reformers and moral leaders among the women have been ably seconded by certain high-minded clergymen, among whom perhaps none deserves such special mention as the Rev. Owen R. Lovejoy, an earnest worker who in the present crusade reminds one strongly of Canon Kingsley and Frederic D. Maurice in the earlier days when the battle was being fought in England for the oppressed among the men, women and children of Great Britain. But now as was the case in England, the splendid services that isolated clergymen are rendering to the cause of the children necessarily emphasize in a striking manner the moral inertia of the body of the clergy in the presence of this blighting crime. The work of these leaders of moral progress and democratic advance has at last aroused the conscience of the nation to such a degree that politicians awake to the growing unrest of the hour, but who have for the most part heretofore been strangely indifferent to this crime and others for which the feudalism of wealth is directly responsible, are now responding to the public outcry.

President Roosevelt's Noble Words on Child-Labor.

In his recent message the President uttered the following noble words on the subject of child-labor:

"Let me again urge that the Congress provide for a thorough investigation of the conditions of child-labor and of the labor of women in the United States. More and more our people are growing to recognize the fact that the questions which are not merely of industrial but of social importance outweigh all others; and these two questions most emphatically come in the category of those which affect in the most far-reaching way the home-life of the Nation. The horrors incident to the employment of young children in factories or at work anywhere are a blot on our civilization. It is true that each state must ultimately settle the question in its own way; but a thorough official investigation of the matter, with the results published broadcast, would greatly help toward arousing the public conscience and securing unity of State action in the matter. There is, however, one law on the subject which should be enacted

immediately, because there is no need for an investigation in reference thereto, and the failure to enact it is discreditable to the National Government. A drastic and thorough-going child-labor law should be enacted for the District of Columbia and the Territories."

It will be noticed that the President commits himself strongly and unequivocally to a measure for the thorough official investigation of child-labor in the United States and also strongly urges thorough-going and drastic child-labor laws for the District of Columbia and the Territories. These utterances do credit to the President and will meet with the hearty approval of conscience-guided and truly democratic citizens everywhere. But the proposed provision will be opposed by all those interested in getting cheap goods for great department stores, rendered possible only by the inhuman system of sweating, no less than by the immensely rich mining corporations and the textile, glass and other manufacturing interests in which child-slavery is extensively practiced. Indeed, already this opposition of the interests is in evidence. If Congress will make the provision for a strong, honest and exhaustive investigation of all conditions attending the employment of children, in sweat-shops, in factories and in mines, there will be brought before the public facts that will establish the claim of conscientious investigators in such a way that the States will be forced to act; and if the investigation is accompanied by proper legislation in the District of Columbia and the Territories, such statutes can easily be made general working models for the States, only so modified as to cover the conditions that prevail in the different commonwealths.

Will The President Back Up His Words by Throwing His Influence For The Protection of The Young?

The influence which a President can properly or legitimately exert in such a case as this is very great and more than sufficient, when backed as he is in this instance by the awakened conscience of the nation, to render inevitable such legislation as he has recommended. And by the exertion of legitimate influence we merely mean that active discussion of measures and appeals to the conscience and manhood of his friends in Congress that a high-minded statesman might properly resort to, without any attempts to coerce or

over-influence any one by threat of displeasure.

If the strong appeal of the President as given above had come from an official like Governor Folk of Missouri, occupying a position of relative strength such as that held by President Roosevelt, there would be every reason to expect both recommendations would be carried out; for Governor Folk has always acted on the theory that "words are good when backed up by deeds, and only so." He has always modestly and clearly set forth what he would strive to do if elected, and then has faithfully carried out his pledges. Or if the above words had come from a clear-visioned, consistent and intrepid statesman whose past political career had demonstrated him to be a man of resolute character and moral stamina—a man of such persistence in carrying forward what he conceived to be right as has ever been displayed by Mayor Johnson of Cleveland, there would be little question but what the provisions would be crystallized into laws; because Mayor Johnson has never allowed any considerations of personal or party interest to stand in the way of his determined endeavor to secure whatever he believed to be for the best interests of all the people. Both Governor Folk and Mayor Johnson are preëminently "doers of the word" rather than mere preachers of that which is obviously just and right.

Unhappily, such cannot be said of President Roosevelt. He is a preacher *par excellence*, and he possesses as positive a genius for uttering striking and admirable epigrams as he has a faculty for disregarding them after they have been promulgated. His famous utterance, "Words are good when backed up by deeds, and only so," is an excellent motto which if consistently followed by the President would lead to sweeping and fundamental victories for the people in a period of moral awakening like the present, when the temper of the public is ready to support any radical measures proposed by the chief executive. Yet nothing is, we think, clearer to the careful student of present-day events than that the plutocracy does not at heart fear the President. The great gamblers of Wall street and the chief buccaneers among the representatives of predatory wealth are for the most part among his personal friends and liberal campaign supporters. They are men on the most intimate terms with Secretary Root, Mr. Cortelyou, First Assistant-Secretary Bacon, and others who are almost as near to the President

as are these most intimate of his councillors. True, from time to time they indulge in stage-play to throw dust in the eyes of the people or to serve a warning on the President that he must not go too far; but so long as their life-long servant, Root, is the administration's mouthpiece and the President's chief-of-staff, and so long as fat-frying Cortelyou is rewarded for his great service in getting large sums of money for Roosevelt's campaign from the insurance grafters—those "safe and sane" scoundrels who have been misappropriating the people's insurance money—by being promoted to be Secretary of the Treasury, where his position will enable him to secure untold wealth for political purposes from the banks and other representatives of the feudalism of wealth,—so long, we say, as a politician so beholden to Wall-street gamblers and so thoroughly satisfactory to the great heads of public-service corporations is made Secretary of the Treasury, the plutocracy will stand as solidly for Roosevelt as it has stood by him in the past. So we very much fear that now that the President has gone on record as he has in regard to child-slavery, the matter, in so far as he is actually concerned, will receive little encouragement. In this we hope we may be mistaken, and if so it will afford us great pleasure to acknowledge such mistake; but the political history of Mr. Roosevelt since he became President does not give us much hope in this direction, since it is apparent that the powerful interests that have so long dominated the Republican party are awake and working to defeat the proposed governmental investigation as well as the suggested legislation for the District of Columbia and the Territories.

Sinister Forces at Work Which We Fear Will Influence The President.

It has recently developed that the Civic Federation or master-spirits in that organization presided over by August Belmont, one of the chief plutocrats of the country, is anxious to head off the proposed governmental investigation of child-labor and in lieu of the investigation appoint a committee of their own men to conduct an inquiry. Now the Civic Federation, with Mr. Belmont, the great public-service magnate, as its master-spirit, is not an organization that has up to the present time given the public any evidence of that conspicuous impartiality that would entitle it to public confidence. True, among its prom-

inent members are many of our noblest reform-workers, but the fact remains that it not only embraces a large number of the leading representatives of the feudalism of privileged interests that is aggressively fighting progressive democracy and the popular interests, but it is also true that the heavy financial contributions come largely if not chiefly from the rich beneficiaries of class legislation—the men who are determined at all hazards to maintain the present order and beat back the growing demand for public-ownership and equitable legislation in the interests of all the people. Furthermore, it is true that the Federation has conducted extensive investigations of the working of public-ownership in England, and it was hoped that a full report of this investigation could have been published long ere this. Doubtless if that report had been as favorable to the interests of the public-service companies as Mr. Belmont and other master-spirits in the Federation had hoped, the report would long since have appeared, or at least a preliminary report giving the substance of the findings; yet up to the present time no report or preliminary report has appeared and until the Federation publishes and widely distributes the report that fully and fairly gives all sides of the great question and the results of the findings, it will justly rest under suspicion of being so strongly beholden to predatory wealth or the feudalism of privileged interests that no great value can be expected for the cause of civic righteousness from any of its labors.

Now why does the Civic Federation want to shunt a full and exhaustive investigation of the conditions attending child-labor in factories, sweat-shops, mines and mills throughout America—a full and comprehensive investigation conducted by impartial government officials which would exert an authoritative influence over the public mind and over state governments which no private investigation or investigation by a clique or a coterie could possibly exert? Obviously because the influence of the Moloch of greed is so great in the Civic Federation that master-spirits in that organization who are being enriched through the slavery of the young, justly dread an official investigation directed by such a competent person as Commissioner Neill.

It has been argued by some of the Civic Federation leaders that there are comparatively few children employed at labor outside of the farms and in open-air pursuits in this

country; that there are comparatively few wretched little slaves in the sweat-shops, factories and mines. If this is true, the government investigation would only give authoritative voice to the fact, and any benefit that might come from the substantiation of such fact would be greater if it came from the government than if it came from the report of a committee appointed by a federation already under public suspicion. If the Civic Federation attempted to carry out an investigation of child-labor in lieu of a governmental investigation, we predict that one of two things would follow: Either a strongly biased report would be published that would be very gratifying to the great merchant-princes who are sweaters, no less than to the factory chiefs and the mine-owners; or else, what would be still more probable, the report would be delayed and dragged on from year to year until the public interest which is now aroused and which the slave-masters are in dread of, should have subsided.

There is therefore no good or valid reason why the President's recommendations should not be speedily carried out by Congress, and there is no reason to believe that any investigation conducted by the Civic Federation would serve any purpose other than to interfere with the proposed governmental investigation and ultimately defeat the cause of humanity. Therefore it is the duty of all friends of sound morality and civic righteousness, all persons who are interested in the welfare of the little ones of the land, to be ready to meet and oppose the powerful efforts of the Federation, if, as we are led to believe, it attempts to shunt the government investigation and substitute for it an investigation conducted by its own members.

Secretary Strauss' Attitude and Its Possible Influence on The President.

To us one of the most disquieting facts relating to this question is the attitude of Mr. Oscar Strauss, the new Cabinet member. He is one of the Civic Federation leaders who are extremely anxious, if we are rightly informed, to prevent the government conducting the proposed investigation of child-labor. Every one who knows how anxious Mr. Roosevelt always is to please the members of his official family and his strong personal friends, will feel disquieted at the advent into the Cabinet of the great merchant who is, we are informed, so strongly opposed to governmental

investigation of child-slavery and who affects to believe the child-labor evil is far less extensive than the people believe.

Knowing Mr. Roosevelt as we think we do, we greatly fear that he will not be found exerting his strong influence in favor of the excellent proposals made in his message, in view of his new minister's opposition to the same;

and therefore we would urge all friends of the children everywhere to write their Congressmen and Senators urging most insistently that they actively work for the carrying out of the President's proposed suggestions for the protection and rights of the children and for the salvation and increasing greatness of our Republic.

OPPOSING VIEWS ON MUNICIPAL-OWNERSHIP: A NOTABLE SYMPOSIUM BY LEADING SPECIALISTS.

A Battle of Giants.

IN THE October and November numbers of *Moody's Magazine*, one of the leading financial journals of the land, appears a symposium by the most prominent advocates and opponents of municipal-ownership of natural monopolies. The case of popular ownership of public utilities is ably presented by a number of master-thinkers whose eminence and character entitle their views to special regard. Among these are Professor Frank Parsons, Ph.D., Mayor Tom L. Johnson of Cleveland, Ex-Governor L. F. C. Garvin of Rhode Island, Hon. John Ford of New York, Senator Frederic C. Howe of Cleveland, Mayor Dunne of Chicago, Louis F. Post, editor of *The Public*, and William P. Hill, Ph.D.

Among those who appear in behalf of the over-rich private corporations operating public utilities are Edward W. Burdett, attorney for the Edison Electric Illuminating Company of Boston, the Massachusetts Electric Lighting Company, etc.; Henry Clews, the Wall-street banker and upholder of privileged interests; W. W. Freeman, vice-president and general manager of the Edison Electric Illuminating Company of Brooklyn, New York; and Arthur Williams, President of the National Electric Lighting Association. Of the other writers who champion private-ownership we do not know how many are in the employ of the public-service corporations or otherwise personally interested in these monopolies, but the arguments in most instances read far more like lawyers' briefs than able discussions of persons who are conscientiously defending what they believe to be true and who are anxious to present the whole facts and not mis-state or cover up vital truths.

Typical Illustrations of The Tactics of The Special-Pleaders for The Public-Service Companies.

A few illustrations will emphasize this disposition to mislead the public by misrepresentation through suppressing vital facts in a controversy, or by reckless assertions in lieu of arguments. In his article Mr. H. T. Newcomb, who zealously pleads the cause of the notorious Cleveland Electric Railway Company, thus seeks to make the public believe that Mayor Johnson is opposed to a referendum vote and is thus false to his oft-repeated advocacy of home-rule and his contention that the people should decide all questions in which they are immediately interested:

"All that the Cleveland Electric Railway is now asking of Mayor Johnson and the City Council is that the acceptance or rejection of the offer just outlined shall be left to the decision of the popular vote of the people of Cleveland. So far this request has been denied, although those who are denying it have heretofore given verbal adherence to the principle of the referendum."

Unhappily for this advocate of the malodorous Cleveland street railway corporation, Senator Frederic C. Howe in the symposium discusses the situation in Cleveland and incidentally tells the whole truth, which not only puts Mr. Newcomb in a very unfortunate position but entirely changes the aspect of the contention while exposing in a striking manner one of the most common methods of the special pleaders of plutocracy in misleading the people, either by misrepresenting or partially stating facts. On this point Senator Howe, who, it will be remembered, is the author of that extremely able work, *The City*

the Hope of Democracy, and who is recognized as one of the ablest thinkers among the younger statesmen of Ohio, says:

"In advocacy of its position, The Cleveland Electric Railway Company has imported paid experts to make public opinion. It has hired advertising space in the newspapers to promote its cause. Having failed to secure its franchise from the Council, it is appealing to the people as a final resort. It has asked that its proposition be submitted to a popular vote. But it has refused to be bound in any way by that vote if it is adverse to its interests. It seeks a referendum on the 'Heads-I-win, tails-you-lose' basis. Mayor Johnson has declared that he favored a referendum which would bind somebody, a referendum which the company was bound to accept, one in which they would lose, as well as gain, something. His proposition has been to submit, at the same time, the ordinances of The Cleveland Electric and The Forest City Railway, under a binding agreement of their directors that they would abide by the decision of the people. The Cleveland Electric has shown no inclination to accept this modification to its own proposal."

Another illustration of this attempt to mislead the public is found in the paper by Mr. Arthur Williams, president of the National Electric Lighting Association. In speaking of municipal-ownership in England, Mr. Williams says:

"While municipal-ownership is for the moment a popular fad in America, there is evidence of a decided check in that direction in England—the home and chief exponent of this insidious form of Socialism."

There is only one thing the matter with the above statement, and that is that it is not true. No fact is better established than that the present drift and current of public sentiment in Great Britain is overwhelmingly in favor of municipal-ownership, and, more than this, that it is rapidly increasing all the time. True, in recent years in London the friends of popular ownership and progressive democracy suffered a check or partial defeat, due to a number of causes, but such isolated reverses are always present in the history of every great onward movement. But Mr. Williams does not stop here. He raises the old, threadbare and oft-exploded alarmist cry about increase

of municipal indebtedness incident to the cities taking over the public utilities, and would have the people believe that the changes which private companies as well as cities have to make, in order to keep public utilities up to the demands of the times, represent in the hands of the cities a frightful waste that makes the owning of these utilities, that are the source of such enormous and ever-increasing wealth to private corporations, a source of grave danger if not of bankruptcy where they are found in the hands of municipalities. We think it was Sir Oliver Lodge who noticed the alarmist cry of increase of municipal indebtedness incident to cities taking over public utilities, raised by those who are striving to keep those great gold mines of modern metropolitan life—the public utilities—in the hands of a few over-rich men and corporations. He showed that these obligations assumed by a city were not debts in the ordinary sense; that they were rather investments for the good and profit of the community, carrying with them enormous asset values—values that were in most instances worth more than the obligations and which were in the nature of the case continually becoming more and more valuable; so that nothing could be more absurd than this cry of the public-service corporations and their tools and special-pleaders.

The men who are so anxious to prevent our cities from acquiring public utilities that are annually pouring from one to ten million dollars into the pockets of a few privileged individuals, which under public ownership would go for the improvement of the service, the reduction of taxes and the raising of wages, seem to imagine that the American people have lost the power of reasoning for themselves. Who are the men most vociferous in their cries against public-ownership? The officers and attorneys in the great public-service corporations, with here and there professors in some college or university that like the Chicago University is subsidized by individuals who have been rendered enormously rich through monopoly rights and special privileges. And these are the men who are so anxious that their employers and the companies they represent should assume the enormous debts that they would have us believe would jeopardize the credit of any city, and thus save the imperilled municipalities.

The whole claim is so transparent, so absurdly transparent, that the advancing of it by leading special-pleaders for corporate in-

terests exposes the essential weakness of the case for private-ownership. This pitiful exhibition of the sophistry of the special-pleaders for the feudalism of privileged wealth is nothing new. We remember a few years ago, when Henry D. Lloyd published his great work on New Zealand and the wonderful facts showing the results that had followed a government of the people, by the people and for the people, acting at all times in the interests of the masses and discouraging class aggressions, and furthermore demonstrating the splendid result of government-ownership of railways, telegraphs, telephones and other public utilities, a great cry was raised that New Zealand was groaning under a terrible debt, and this statement was published from the Atlantic to the Pacific by the plutocratic press and the hired agents of the public-service companies in schools and on the rostrum, until the facts of the case were made plain. Then it was shown that while the great public debts of other countries largely if not chiefly represented the waste of war and the fearful outlay for armaments and the hire of soldiers, all of which represented no tangible asset on which values could be realized, the debt of New Zealand was almost entirely an investment that could not do other than return an ever-increasing revenue to the State while becoming more and more valuable all the time; and that this debt, that from a purely commercial view-point represented a wise investment, was also raising to independence the mass of the citizens and making them wealth-producers who were adding materially to the annual wealth-creation in the commonwealth. It was shown that the state debt represented its investments in railways, in telegraphs, and in land taken over from larger holders who were keeping it idle, and which was sold or leased in small parcels on advantageous terms to real settlers, so that it would eventually bring an ample return to the state, and that in these and in various other ways the state was wisely developing the resources of the land in such a way as to make a great commonwealth of independent, prosperous and happy citizens. Since the real facts were brought out we have heard little about the debt of New Zealand.

Had we space we should like to notice other similar shallow and sophistical claims made by the advocates of private interests in the symposium under consideration. We must, however, content ourselves with a brief notice

of Mr. Henry Clews' paper. This gentleman, as most of our readers doubtless know, is a banker and one of the high-priests of Wall-street finance. In his article he displays all the recklessness in assertion and contempt for facts which mark a certain class of men who seem to measure worth and ability only by the standard of acquisition of dollars, and who seem to think that the earnest, thinking millions of America are all ignoramuses, incapable of reasoning clearly on any subject. If a school-boy of ten years should talk about a subject on which he was supposed to have some knowledge, as ignorantly or as recklessly as does Mr. Clews on municipal-ownership, he would be summarily sent to the foot of his class by any discriminating teacher. It is indeed difficult to conceive how it is possible for any one to be as dense or as mendacious as is this writer. Here is a choice specimen of Mr. Clews' logic in attempting to help the cause of the predatory bands that are realizing untold millions of dollars from the operation of public utilities. He first gravely informs us that it would be impossible for any government to assume ownership of all the business done even by corporations that have been chartered by the state; and in speaking of the state and city, Mr. Clews says:

"If it is right that they should acquire one line of business, it is right that they should control all."

To fully appreciate how puerile is this claim, let the reader turn to the extract which we make elsewhere from the arguments of Mayor Johnson and Mr. Louis F. Post. Again, in speaking of those who advocate public-ownership, this high-priest of the privileged interests and beneficiaries of class legislation says:

"They may fool the ignorant, but the intelligent can see the fallacy of their arguments. Brains and courage will not stand by and see a policy rule which is impossible in fulfilling. Public work always lags and work for individuals and corporations is generally pushed to early completion, and so it would be in a greater degree the more municipal-ownership extended."

There you have it. Professor Frank Parsons, one of the greatest authorities on economic and political science in America, Mayor Dunne of Chicago, Mayor Johnson of Cleveland, Ex-Governor Garvin of Rhode Island,

Hon. Frederic C. Howe, the brilliant leader of the democracy in the Ohio Senate, W. P. Hill, Ph.D., and others who contend in this symposium, together with scores upon scores of others among the most able and thoughtful men of the land who have given years to profound study of the questions, are being condemned to the ranks of knaves or fools who are either striving to wickedly deceive the ignorant people or are themselves ignorant of the subject they aim to speak upon. True, the members of this great assembly that is resting under the condemnation of the high-priest of Wall-street finance, are not alone, as they have with them the city governments of most of the principal cities of Great Britain, the German government, the Swiss government and the government of New Zealand while most of the other enlightened lands have done, and most successfully done, many things that Mr. Clews believes cannot be performed by city, state or national government. And what is more, every year they are taking over more and more of their public utilities. Nor is that all. The result of public-ownership in Great Britain, in Europe and in Australasia is so satisfactory to the people that there is no danger of the people giving up their immensely valuable properties to the rapacity of privileged bands, that a few men may become multi-millionaires and be enabled, as has been the case in our country, to debauch government in all its ramifications. The twaddle such as Mr. Clews insults the intelligence of the general reader with, is typical of the efforts of the special-pleaders for the privileged interests that are attempting to stem the rising tide of public opinion in favor of popular ownership.

Let us now notice a few of the many facts dwelt upon by several leading thinkers who advocate public-ownership in this symposium.

Professor Parsons on Three Phases of The Question.

Space prevents our noticing many of the excellent arguments advanced by Professor Parsons and the other advocates of public-ownership in this symposium, and it is necessary for us to confine ourselves merely to brief extracts from the different arguments. In the case of Professor Parsons we quote what he has to say on (1) *private-ownership as a cause of bad government*; (2) *patriotic reasons for public-ownership*; and (3) *forces making for municipal-ownership*:

"The spoils system and the imperfection of our city governments do not constitute a valid argument against public-ownership. They are reasons for not jumping into public-ownership without any effort to secure good government, but they are not reasons against public-ownership. On the contrary, they are powerful reasons for public-ownership. What is the cause of political rottenness in our great cities? Is it not mainly the pressure of the public-service corporations on legislative bodies and public officials? That is what Pingree, Folk, La Follette, Ely, Shaw, Bemis, Commons and many other high authorities have affirmed. It is what the progressive press declares. It is what the people know. Public-ownership will remove the principal cause of political corruption. If the spoils system is left in control there will be trouble. But the spoils system must not be left in control. The spoils system must be abolished as well as the private monopolies. When urged to do one thing you ought to do, it is no answer to set up the fact that you have n't done another thing you ought to do. You tell a man he should stop drinking, and he says: 'How can I when I'm loafing around the saloons all the time?' You reply: 'Stop loafing around the saloons.' So with public-ownership and the spoils system. You say: 'Establish public-ownership of monopolies to secure pure government, diffusion of wealth, improvement of the conditions of labor, etc.,' and the corporations say: 'Look at your governments; see how rotten they are! What will public-ownership be under the spoils system?' The reply is: 'You make most of the rottenness yourself, and that's one of the reasons why we mean to get rid of you. And as for the use of public plants for party spoils, we intend to abolish the spoils system along with the private corporations.'

"On the other hand, it is manifest that public-ownership cannot be confined to street monopolies. The fundamental reasons for public-ownership are the protection and development of democracy and the diffusion of benefit. Where these ends cannot be adequately attained by private enterprise, public-ownership is necessary. Take education, for example. It does not demand special privileges in the streets, and it does not partake of the nature of monopoly. But its wide diffusion at low charges, or without charge, is so important to the public weal that it is

held to be a public function by all but the most extreme conservatives or retrogressionists.

"Similar reasoning applies to fire service, parks, hospitals, etc. Railroads and telegraphs are as much within the reasons for public-ownership as street-railways or telephone exchanges.

"Whatever we may think of the virtues and vices of public-ownership, whether we join with Tammany and the corporations in opposing it, or with Bryan, Hearst, Johnson & Company in advocating it, there can be little doubt that it is coming. The conduct of the corporations is more eloquent in favor of public-ownership than is their spoken or written argument against it. Every time they inflate their capital or buy up a legislature they convert more voters to public-ownership than they can argue back again in a twelvemonth. And aside from the good or bad behavior of the companies, the giant forces that underlie the movement of industrial organization are sweeping us on towards public-ownership.

"In modern industrial development the principle of union is emphatic. Men combine for industrial purposes in larger and larger groups—the syndicate, the corporation, the trust, and finally, in the case of public enterprise, the whole community. It is simply the manifestation of that fundamental tendency to integration which Herbert Spencer has shown to be a part of the law of progress.

"The growing tendency toward the dominance of public interest over private interest is equally manifest. The successive waves of legislation for the regulation of railways and other forms of monopoly that have swept over this country, are expressions of this tendency, as are also the coöperative and public-ownership movements in Europe, America and Australia. In an enlightened community with the public-school, the printing press, and universal suffrage, the interest of all is a stronger force than the interest of the few and must in time subdue it.

"These two all-powerful principles of union and control in the public interest lead inevitably, in the field of monopoly, to public-ownership. In fact, public-ownership is simply union and the dominance of public interest in full bloom. Union for economy and power will go on until it ends in the final form of union for all. The law of industrial

gravitation will continue to act in spite of Sherman acts and other legislative twigs in the way of the falling meteors and planets. Public interest will triumph over private interest and the interest of all will conquer the interest of the few. Follow the line of growing dominance of public interest to where it meets the line of union and you have public-ownership—the marriage of organization and public interest. In the open field of commerce manufactures and agriculture, we may move toward union in the public interest by the path of voluntary coöperation, but in the field of monopoly that path is practically closed, and legislative action establishing public-ownership and operation is the only means of escaping from union *against* the public interest and securing union *in* the public interest."

Mayor Johnson on Those Utilities That a Community Should Properly Control.

Mayor Tom L. Johnson of Cleveland makes a clear, strong and able argument for public-ownership. He very clearly points out the difference between what he believes to be proper subjects for public-ownership and what should be retained by private parties. On this point he says:

"No enterprise should be considered a subject for municipal-ownership unless it (1) rests upon a public grant or franchise bestowing a special privilege; (2) is of such a nature that competition cannot enter with benefit to the people at large; (3) requires a very large expenditure of capital for a plant and equipment; and (4) contemplates a performance of its functions for a long period of time."

On the cost of service under private and public management Mayor Johnson has this to say:

"It is not difficult to compare the cost of any public service under public and private ownership. Under private-ownership the charge to be collected from the public must be large enough to (1) pay operating expenses, (2) provide against depreciation and betterments, (3) earn a fair dividend on actual capital invested, (4) pay dividends on any securities issued in excess of the actual capital invested, and (5) to repay during the life of the grant not only the actual investment but the 'water' as well.

"Under municipal-ownership the cost of service would only have to include the first

two items with the addition of a sinking-fund charge to retire the bonds representing the original cost of the plant or from one-tenth to one-third of the fifth item.

"All the money now devoted to the third and fourth items and a greater part of the fifth item would either be saved directly in reduction of cost to the public or in bettering the service.

"Safeguard these activities by strict civil service and the most extravagant administration could not overcome the handicap imposed on private-ownership by the rules of modern finance."

And on the results of public-ownership he observes:

"Municipal-ownership applied to such functions as come under the rule first stated must then inevitably result in the following three benefits: (1) purify politics by extinguishing a powerful interest hostile to good government, (2) work betterments in service, and (3) reduce the cost of service to the public."

Hon. Frederic O. Howe on The Results of Public-Ownership in Cleveland.

Mr. Howe in speaking of conditions in Cleveland and Ohio, closes his admirable paper with the following observations showing the success of public-ownership in the water and garbage-plants of Cleveland:

"The conflict of interest, the control of the government, the misuse of the courts, the arrogance, insolence and terrorism which they exercise, has schooled the people to a resentment of any interest whose magnitude renders it immune from any control. Added to this is the unquestioned success of the Water Department in Cleveland. It makes three-quarters of a million dollars a year profit. Almost all consumers have been metered, and the average house-rate is \$5 a year. The garbage disposal plant has also been taken over by the city. Its service has been greatly extended and bettered, while the cost has been materially reduced."

Ex-Governor Garvin of Rhode Island on The Ethics and Expediency of Public-Ownership.

Ex-Governor L. F. C. Garvin of Rhode Island makes a clear and strong plea, in the course of which he shows that public-ownership rests on sound principles and is usually expedient:

"The theory of supplying a public service by a private corporation is this: A few enterprising men in a community agree to conduct the public utility for a reasonable return upon the investment made, at the same time paying into the public treasury the value of the right of way. Thus, if in a large city three-cent fares will pay all expenses and give the usual profit to investors, then two cents, the remainder of the five-cent fare, should go to the municipality for allowing the use of the streets. The principle involved in such a transaction seems to differ in no respect from that of licensing hack-drivers.

"On the other hand, under municipal-ownership and operation the business is carried on by the city, both the return for operating expenses and for right of way is covered into the treasury.

"To this course no objection can be sustained on principle. It is the manner in which most cities supply themselves and their inhabitants with water, a public service very analogous to the distribution of light, which in this country is mainly in private hands.

"The objection usually urged to municipal ownership is that the public should only perform such duties as cannot equally well be carried on by private enterprise. But the application of that objection in this case is to beg the question, which is, can a private corporation do the work in all respects as well as the city itself?

"On the other hand, many are doubtful of the ethical right of the public authorities, after taking from citizens any land for public purposes by the exercise of the power of eminent domain, to transfer that land, or a part of it, to other private citizens to their emolument.

"But, assuming that no principle is violated by either public or private ownership, then the question under discussion in this symposium resolves itself into one of expediency. If the public water-works of a city be compared with the private gas or electric lighting concerns, it will be found, almost universally, that the former is conducted the more satisfactorily. The private franchise, as a rule, has been gained by the corruption of some public officials. Oftentimes dividends have been manipulated by the directors and large stockholders in order to deceive and cheat the small investors. The tax paid for the use of the streets is wholly inadequate; and, not infrequently, the service rendered is

unsatisfactory to the consumer, because of its high price or inferior quality.

"Putting aside all other objections, the one which stands out most prominently is this: The private interests of those who have invested largely in a street franchise are antagonistic to those of the public. The wealthy men of the city, therefore, who ought to be the most useful citizens, are found to be really on the side of corrupt government."

Mr. Louis F. Post on The Evolution and Proper Functions of Government.

Mr. Louis F. Post, the able editor of the *Chicago Public*, traces the evolution of government and shows what things in his judgment a city, state and nation should properly take over and operate:

"Once it was customary to farm out the public business of collecting taxes. Tax farmers naturally resisted the abrogation of this custom; but tax collecting as a private business has so completely passed away that few persons now would advocate a return to private management of this public function. The administration of justice, also, has been in greater or less degree farmed out in the past; but who would advocate it now? Our problems with reference to public or private administration of social utilities no longer relate to fiscal or judicial functions. But the same problems in principle confront us in relation to such social utilities as the distribution of oil, water, gas and electricity, and the operation of street-car and railroad systems.

"These social services are practically inseparable from the highways—whether rail highways, pipe highways or wire highways—by means whereof they are rendered. It is therefore impossible, from the nature of the case, for any willing and competent person or persons to perform them in the modern manner without permission from government. The services belong, consequently, in the category not of private but of public utilities; and the question of public or private-ownership regarding them raises the issue of farming out public functions for private operation. To farm them out is to do with these public functions what was once done with judicial and fiscal functions. To abolish the prevailing practice regarding any of them, so far from being a step in the direction of establishing government-ownership of private business, is a step in the direction of abolishing private-ownership of government business.

"This step is often denounced as 'socialistic,' a term which has of recent years been substituted for 'communistic,' by objectors who prefer what they regard as offensive epithets to sober argument in discussions of this character. In so far, however, as the term 'socialistic' may be used descriptively instead of epithetically, the difference between such social utilities as are essentially personal and such as are essentially governmental, is doubtless overlooked. In view of this difference, public-ownership of such social utilities as are afforded by street-car, railway, water, oil-pipe, gas and electric systems, is not socialistic. If we governmentalize social utilities regardless of whether they are public or private in their essential character, we do tend toward socialism; but on the other hand, if we turn over to private-ownership and operation such utilities as are governmental as well as those that are personal, we tend toward anarchism. For the fundamental difference between the goal of socialism and the goal of anarchism is this: that socialism would governmentalize all social utilities, whereas anarchism would governmentalize none.

"It is only when we adopt the policy of having government leave private functions to private management and resume public management of public functions, that we tend toward that ideal of American democracy which demands a people's government for the administration of governmental affairs, and leaves every individual in freedom but without governmental privileges regarding his personal affairs."

Justice John Ford on Why Franchise Rights Should be Retained by The People.

Justice John Ford, the able legislator and recently elected Judge on the Supreme Bench of New York, thus thoughtfully points out why franchises should be retained by the people and shows how public-ownership would inevitably purify politics:

"Public-service corporations are those that have charter powers to take property of individuals for public purposes; that is, the right under their charter, which they hold by grant of the people, to condemn private property for public use, thus becoming an arm of the government. And being an arm of the government, there is no question about the right of the public to manage its own affairs, except in the greedy and avaricious

minds of those who exploit the public for private gain.

"That which the shrewd financiers at the head of public-service corporations find of sufficient value to warrant the purchasing of whole legislatures, boards of aldermen, the corrupting and stealing the election of a metropolis, should be worth retaining by the public for the following reasons: the dignity of proprietorship; the reduction of rents and the cost of transportation to wholesome homes in suburban districts; the improvement of the conditions of labor; the limitation of the opportunities for the inordinately rich to become richer, resulting in increased power to corrupt legislatures and demoralize the public and ultimately to so far control the resources and transportation facilities of the country as to bring about conditions similar to those that obtained in France just prior to the French Revolution.

"Excessive charges have always been the result of private monopoly. It was Jefferson's opinion that 'no other depositories of power (than the people themselves) have ever been found which did not end in converting to their own private use, the earnings of those committed to their charge.'

"The excessive charge of public-service corporations is a tax levied upon the public for private purposes, and thus indirectly our public-service corporations exercise the power of taxation without representation, the returns from which would make the sums gathered by the tax-gatherers of Rome pale into insignificance.

"The power to tax belongs only to the government. The people have their remedy at the polls for excessive taxation by the state. They are powerless to correct the extortion of corporations holding grants from the state which authorize them to perform these public functions for private gain. The over-capitalization of public-service corporations amounts to a perpetual tax. By increasing (watering) the capital stock and issuing bonds from time to time, the real earnings based on actual capital invested in the business are never made known to the public. Earnings should be based upon the cost of original construction; or a better basis would be, the cost of duplicating the plant under present conditions. With this basis once established, a fair charge to the public would be whatever it costs to serve the public after paying the legal rate of interest on the investment of capi-

tal and setting aside a reasonable sinking-fund for depreciation and the retirement of the bonded debt.

"All the principal cities of Europe have adopted municipal-ownership wholly or partially, and those that have not already done so are steadily taking over all their municipal utilities.

"Civil service laws have practically eliminated the objection formerly urged against municipal-ownership on the ground that the large body of public employes created would be controlled by the political machine in power and thus become a grave source of danger in the community. The fact now is, whatever might have been the situation under the old open ballot and before civil service laws and rules safeguarded the city from danger from this source, that the franchise-holding corporations are the real promoters of this abuse. They employ and discharge thousands at the mere word of the political boss, and there are no civil service barriers to prevent. I venture to assert that for every public-office holder in this city who is bound to the dominant machine by virtue of the place which he holds, there are a score so bound by virtue of their employment with franchise-holding corporations.

"Municipal-ownership would at once purge the body politic of these malignant growths and do more to purify public life than a generation of reform preaching. But I am firmly persuaded that municipal-ownership would not only elevate politics by stopping up the great sources of political corruption, but that it would be a financial success as well and bring to us all the benefits I have mentioned.

"It is no untried experiment whose sole champions are visionary dreamers or political quacks. It has been in successful operation as to water and docks and recently as to the Staten Island ferries in this city."

William P. Hill, Ph.D., on The Evils of Private-Ownership and The Benefits of Popular Management.

One of the most valuable papers contributed to this symposium is by the well-known economic writer, William P. Hill, Ph.D., of St. Louis. In his argument he shows how the political bosses are created by the private corporations; how the granting of franchises immediately raises up a powerful privileged class whose interests are inimical to those of the people and who shortly become the chief

source of public corruption; while public-ownership removes this cause of corruption. He also cites a number of important examples comparing public-ownership with private-ownership in American cities, and concludes by pointing out that public-ownership is the law of civilization. From this paper we have space only for the following extracts:

"It is notorious that practically all of our larger American cities are each in the control of a political boss, who derives his power from the private corporations which own the public utilities.

"They are the ones who furnish the boss with the money which enables him to carry on his political machine; and the boss can secure employment for his henchmen with his corporation allies as well as get them positions in the political government.

"He can place his creatures on the police force, or make them street-car conductors, or electric linemen, with equal facility.

"He often controls the machinery of both parties, and the Mayor and Aldermen have been chosen by him, and consequently owe him allegiance.

"The corporations deal directly with the boss when anything comes up that requires political action; such as procuring a new franchise, or modifying an old one.

"In fact the boss is simply the legislative agent of the franchise corporations, and attends to the political end of their business.

"Every one who studies this question deeply must eventually reach the conclusion that corruption is inherent and inevitable in the system that attempts to have a public function owned and operated by a few individuals for their own private gain and benefit.

"The moment a franchise monopoly is granted to a privileged few, an evil force is unchained that must, of necessity, end by corrupting the government itself.

"The post-office officials have never tried to bribe the Federal Government, control Congress, Senators, etc., but the telegraph and other monopolies have done so repeatedly, and are still doing so."

And Professor Hill might have added, are doing so to such a degree that the efficient operation of the post-office department is rendered impossible by the powerful and corrupt influence exerted by the express companies and the railway corporations. This has been frequently pointed out. Thus we

find that in England, Germany, Austria and other nations where the private corporations have not been enriched through debauching government, effective and splendid systems of parcels-post have long since been successfully inaugurated. Again, the only handicap the post-office department has suffered from, save the corrupt influence of the express companies, is found in the railways whose baleful influence has for years led to the government submitting to extortions that more than amount to the annual postal deficit, as was recently shown in our book-study of Professor Parsons' late railway work.

Destroy private operation of public utilities and you not only destroy the chief spring of political corruption, but you also render all departments of government more efficient, by removing an influence that is always operating for private enrichment and against the public weal. Mr. Hill well points out:

"That a franchise to private individuals, to operate a public utility, in which all the people are interested, must necessarily come more or less under the regulation, supervision or influence of the city government.

"It is, therefore, liable to be injured by adverse, or benefited by favorable, legislation.

"And the owners of these monopolies form a powerful privileged class that fear what legislators may do, and will, therefore, never rest until they gain complete control over the government.

"Under private-ownership, the true economic interests of the owners of these monopolies is directly antagonistic to the real economic interests of all the people.

"Under public-ownership, however, this antagonism of interests entirely disappears. The people are then the owners of these monopolies, but they are also the patrons who use them, and it is to their interests to give themselves the best service at the lowest cost.

"It seems to me, therefore, that when we abolish the private-ownership of these monopolies, we, at one stroke and immediately, remove the chief cause that has corrupted our governments in the past, and when this source of corruption has been removed, that our governments will be more honest and representative."

Professor Hill next points out some striking examples of the actual results seen in his own city of St. Louis and also in certain other

cities, touching the operation of public utilities in the hands of the people and of private corporations:

"I feel confident that in this conflict of facts, we could show ten times as many examples of successful municipal ownership, as our opponents can cite of failures, even in this country.

"The reason is that the greed and extortions of private franchise monopolies are so unlimited and phenomenal, that it is difficult even for the most corrupt public-ownership to approach their status of iniquity.

"It is notorious that my native city, St. Louis, has had for years, one of the most corrupt governments of any city on this continent.

"When the then Circuit Attorney Folk began his sensational prosecutions, and indicted the criminal politicians, it was found, by actual count, that a full quorum of the city fathers was in the city jail awaiting trial.

"And yet even under this corrupt government the water-works have been owned and operated successfully by the city, and the people have had a better service and cheaper water-rates than a private franchise company would give them.

"We know this by actual experience, because right across the line of the city limits, the water-works are owned by a private franchise company, and they charge the people double what the city charges for the same service.

"Furthermore, the water-rates are 43 per cent. lower in St. Louis than they are in Indianapolis, New Orleans or San Francisco, where private franchise monopolies supply the water. And our water works in St. Louis have yielded the city a surplus in addition to carrying on a vast scheme of extension and improvement.

"Some twenty years ago, St. Louis undertook to sprinkle her streets. Before that, sprinkling was done by private companies. The cost under the private companies was fully five times as great as it has been since, under the city management, and the service was much less complete and satisfactory.

"The city of Tucson, Arizona, once had a private franchise company to supply its water. About ten years ago it adopted municipal-ownership, and its water-rates have been reduced to one-half of what they were with the private company, and the service has been

greatly extended in addition to laying up a surplus and extinguishing the debt contracted in the purchase of the works.

"El Paso, Texas, a city similarly situated, and getting its water-supply the same way, has a private company in control, and its water rates are consequently more than double what they are in Tucson."

In closing his argument Mr. Hill points out how public-ownership is in alignment with the march of civilization:

"I could go on indefinitely in this way, citing example after example and to the same effect. City after city in this country has voted to oust the private companies, and adopt public-ownership, simply because they could no longer tolerate the greed and extortions of the private monopolies. In fact, the sentiment of public-ownership keeps growing everywhere, and getting stronger and stronger, simply because the franchise monopolies everywhere finish by becoming intolerable nuisances, in accordance with their nature. And I predict that this sentiment for public-ownership will never be checked, but will continue to grow, *pari passu* with civilization itself, until it brings all these monopolies into harmonious relations with all the people under public-ownership.

"We must not forget that the whole history of civilization has been one long record of the growth of coöperative effort. The savage in the primeval forest is the only real simon-pure individualist, and we have been progressing away from him ever since.

"We must not forget that at one time it was considered impossible for the government to manage even the army and navy, and that these were contracted out to private individuals. It was also considered impossible for the governments to collect their own taxes and revenues, and they let this function out to *farmers-of-the-revenue*.

"Now every government on earth, except those of Turkey and China, performs these functions for itself, and it would be considered barbarous to go back to a privately-managed army and navy and to private *farmers-of-the-revenue*. And so it is with many other activities that have naturally been taken up by civilized governments. If civilization is to keep on growing and to reach still greater heights, this movement must accentuate itself in ever-widening circles, until coöperation shall be the key-note of man's relations to his fellow-man."

AN ENGLISH LABOR-LEADER ON THE PROBLEM OF THE UNEMPLOYED.

Mr. George Lansbury's Appeal to The Church on Behalf of The Out-of-Works.

A TYPEWRITTEN copy of the recent address delivered before the Church Congress at Barrow-in-Furness, England, by Mr. George Lansbury, has just been sent us by a valued correspondent in London who believes that some of the things emphasized by this well-known labor-leader and efficient worker in behalf of the poor and the unemployed would be interesting to social reformers in America. The address as a whole is clear, temperate, thoughtful and instinct with the vital conscience-force that marks the difference between the humanitarian and the money-grubber.

It is a very hopeful sign that the English Church is at last taking sufficient interest in the great social problems of the hour to invite one of the strongest and ablest labor-leaders to address it. The Church, if true to its Founder's life and teachings, would to-day be a leader and not a camp-follower in the cause of social righteousness. Unhappily it too often takes the ancient Pharisees of Christ's time as a model when it is called to choose between manhood and the dollar-worshippers. But in spite of the attempt of the Rockefellers, the Rogerses, the Archbolds, and the princes of privilege in general to buy the silence of the churches and the colleges, we believe we are approaching the hour when the nobler element of the clergy will take a brave stand for humanity, for the rights of the people and for the principles of free government; and when they do this, the doom of the hypocritical and soulless feudalism of privileged wealth that is exploiting and plundering the people will be sealed.

The Present Status of The Problem of The Unemployed.

Mr. Lansbury in his address shows that in good times in England to-day there are always between three and four hundred thousand people unable to secure employment; while in dull periods this army is increased to from five to six hundred thousand. Nor must we allow ourselves to be deceived by the old

sophistical cry that the individual man or woman is responsible for the inability to secure employment. Of course there are instances where such is the case, but this is not the rule. Present economic conditions, with the steady encroachment of machines, are responsible for the growing army of those who become worthless to society as flotsam and jetsam, a burden to themselves and in the long run a grave and sinister menace to the nation and the civilization of to-morrow. The appalling conditions that are at last alarming the gravest statesmen and best thinkers arise primarily from the subordination of moral idealism or ethical principles to the greed for gold. Profits have been exalted and manhood has been cast down.

"In our day," says Mr. Lansbury, "men and women find it more and more difficult to obtain really steady regular work; more and more industry becomes a question of profit, and more and more it is recognized that the greatest captain of industry is the one who can turn out most goods with the least human labor. In factory and warehouse, in office and shop, wherever trade and commerce are carried on, the spirit of the Manchester school reigns supreme, *vis.*, produce cheaply at whatever cost, even if your mill or workshop is run entirely by machinery. The man who would succeed in business to-day must so organize things that his wages bill is reduced to a minimum. Old and tried servants must be parted with, if a machine will do the work better; skilled workpeople, whose parents have scraped together enough money to enable them to learn a trade, must find their skill of no avail if a clever inventor succeeds in perfecting a machine to do the work better.

"Have you seen boots manufactured on the team system, with men, women, and children as tenders, a piece of leather at one end becoming a boot at the other end, all the machinery automatic? . . . All production is Social, that is, we are all part of a huge system for turning out goods of various descriptions and our ability to turn out such goods was

never so great as to-day and yet this curious thing happens that when our warehouses are full, then is the time people are most hungry. Just think, in London at the present moment the cry is that we have overbuilt, and have too many houses, and yet families are living in one room by the thousand. Why is this? It is simply because we have built houses, not to live in, but for profit only. In fact products are produced not to use, but to sell for profit, and our insane commercial system sets everyone to work to turn out goods at the quickest rate possible without any regard to whether they are needed or not and this results in what are known as 'gluts.'"

Thus amid a plethora of goods the people go ragged and hungry, and "the very people who have produced the goods stored in warehouses are thrown onto the streets to starve or beg. The case of the shoemakers will prove my point. In that town an entire change in the method of producing boots came into vogue and hundreds of men were displaced and not needed. Many of these tramped to London to appeal for work and were obliged to get boots by the aid of Charity, and yet they were out of work because boots could be produced more cheaply under the new system than the old. If I have made myself clear, you will see that it is not a question of a man's fitness or unfitness which pushes him out of work, but simply hard economic conditions which he cannot control. It is of course true that the least capable, mentally, morally, or physically, get squeezed out first; this, however, does not mean that their disability is the cause for they would be out in any case. And one of the very worst features of modern life is that thousands of decent self-respecting men and women are put off and slowly but surely sink down to the ranks of the so-called unfit.

"I would also call special attention to the case of women. Just imagine the kinds of lives we doom women who work as matchboxmakers, ropemakers, tailoresses, shirtmakers and all the whole crowd of sweated industries. Can you wonder that many girls, and many women, too, are to be found on our streets? and I know from actual experience that many factories in London to-day are employing women and young girls casually in just as vile a manner from the point-of-view of casual labor as men are at the Docks; that

is to say, they are taken on sometimes for a few hours only in the course of a week and dropped just as you would a tool. This arises, not merely because the employer is hard-hearted, or the manager of the factory is a brute, but because his business in life, and his only business in life, is to run his factory either at a profit for himself or for his shareholders. I, at any rate, desire that we should realize that these people are degraded and poor, are out of employment and not wanted simply because if they were employed, dividends and profits would suffer."

Whenever the capitalistic class finds that the profits are dwindling, they throw on the street, so to speak, a large number of their human tools; or whenever the inventor produces a machine which potentially might bless society by shortening the hours of labor and giving the toilers a chance to develop the best in them and enjoy life, under the present order it proves a curse to the workers because it displaces many laborers and swells the army of the out-of-works. Moreover, the machine is often a double curse: it displaces men because women or tender children can operate it as well as men, and women and children can be hired for lower wages. Thus the home is robbed of the wife and mother or the child is robbed of its rightful heritage and instead of being permitted to grow naturally and to obtain an education, it is turned into a machine and its future life is blighted.

"It is well," says Mr. Lansbury, "that we should consider the kind of occupations to which so many children are doomed. I once saw a bright, intelligent girl minding a machine in a chocolate factory; the machine she tended made chocolate pigs, and her sole duty was to stand ten hours a day shifting the pigs, the machine finished on to a tray at her side. As I looked at her I ceased to wonder why so many women and men lack initiative and why so many are to be found in the ranks of the unemployable."

The labor-leader next appeals to the conscience of the church and society. "If," he says, "it is true that men and women are out of work because of conditions they cannot, as individuals, control, it is obvious that we must consider some means by which society may help."

Mr. Lansbury's Failure to Point Out Some of The Most Fundamental Remedies.

We do not quite agree with Mr. Lansbury when he comes to remedies, as it seems to us he does not strike at the great fundamental evils that must be righted before the present economic and social anarchy that is sapping national life and debauching manhood can be supplanted by a juster and more civilized economic order. The state organization of industry as suggested may come, but before that, if the improved social conditions are to be firmly rooted and grounded in justice, it seems to us that certain basic ethical demands must be met. Such great fundamental principles as have been luminously enunciated by Henry George, Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace and other illustrious social philosophers do not seem to have appealed to Mr. Lansbury as compellingly as the measures he mentions. True, he strikes in the direction of the true trail when he calls for measures for the reclamation of waste-land, and the home colony experiment he describes is a splendid partial measure to help meet the immediate conditions. But so long as society refuses to recognize that the land as well as the air and the water is the common gift of the common Father to His common children, and therefore that it should be taxed for its rental value; so long as society allows the great public utilities to be monopolized by greed-crazed corporations that fatten off of the people, acquiring hundreds of millions of dollars annually that should go to the fund for the common good; so long as government shows favors to rich and powerful classes, granting privileges that destroy equality of opportunities and of rights; so long as the church, society and government accept the prosperity cry of the exploiting and predatory classes as of more concern to the nation and civilization than the welfare of the men, women and children in the ranks of the toilers, present conditions will not materially improve. Indeed, the materialism of the market and the sordid spirit of the day will steadily poison life's spiritual energies on all planes of being.

The English Labor Leader on The Way Out of The Social Quagmire.

Mr. Lansbury briefly touches on what he conceives to be the great solution of the problem, but he deems it wisest only to briefly touch on that point and most of his observa-

tions are confined to the consideration of palliative measures for meeting the present appalling conditions—measures that will tend to restore the unfortunate to the high estate from which they have been pressed downward, restore them to the plane of self-respecting manhood. Of his views on the real solution he says:

"I am convinced that the only true solution is to be found in the State Organization of industry on such lines as will organize production for use instead of for profit. I do not propose to enter into a defense of that proposition now except to say that after giving the question the best thought I can, it appears to me quite impossible to find a real remedy other than this, and, as a means towards this end, I would at once fix a minimum wage and a maximum number of hours which people should work, and, in this connection, would point out that we have one set of people at present working too hard and another set not being allowed to work at all. This cannot be dealt with in any other way but by Parliament, and would, I am certain, lead to the removal of many of the dreadful evils which the sweating exhibition exposed. I would also at once abolish all half-time work for children, raise the age limit for the employment of children to sixteen and compel all employers of young people to make provision that their work should be such as would lead to a permanent occupation as they reached years of maturity. I would also give powers to County Councils to buy estates to break up into small holdings and so stop the influx of men to the towns. There are many other methods which Parliament could invoke for dealing with private employers, and all of which would lead on to my ultimate solution."

Palliative Measures for The Out-of-Works.

Passing to a consideration of plans for relieving the condition of the army of starving men that have been driven to the brink of the precipice under modern conditions, Mr. Lansbury says:

"As to what we should do with the man who is out of work to-day, let me at once say that I believe the first and the last thing to do is to find him useful work and the only test which should be established should be the willingness and ability of the person concerned to do the work. I am not wanting to find soft jobs for the out-of-works; neither am I want-

ing to put them to useless jobs which benefit no one. What is needed first of all is the creation of a public department which should have handed to it the whole of the questions which affect the workers, especially the unemployed. Such a department should be called the Public Works and Labor Department, and its duty in relation to the unemployed should be the organization and control of works of public utility such as reafforestation, the reclamation of foreshores, the construction and leveling of great public highways, the clearing away of slum areas, the provision of swimming baths, open-air or covered, in all crowded districts, and last, but by no means least, Home Colonization.

"I think the money for such works should be found by the State, and this would of course involve State control; this can be best secured by the State itself in its own way organizing and controlling the whole work. As to the works themselves, anyone who has thought about the question knows that there are many thousands of acres of land in England and Scotland which could be brought into use by afforestation. All of us who are at all acquainted with our river and sea coasts, know the damage which is done yearly by the encroachment of river and sea. And there appears no good reason why the nation should not undertake this work. Our main roads, are quite inadequate for the traffic of motors and team wagons. We know, too, the dangerous gradients which abound in every county are a great danger. It should be possible to arrange for these kind of works to be carried through by the labor which cries in the market-place for work. With regard to Home Colonization, I regard this as the most important work of all. I view with a good deal of misgiving the exodus from the country to the towns. Although born in the country, I have lived in London practically all my life, and, when I go about amongst the people, what strikes me is the physical weakness which appears to be growing in our midst, and therefore some means must be found for getting people out of the towns into the country."

A Most Interesting Home Colonization Experiment.

One of the most interesting portions of the speaker's address is devoted to a description of the Home Colony at Hollesley Bay, Suffolk. This colony was established about two years

ago in accordance with Mr Walter Long's plan for aiding the unemployed.

"It consists of 1,200 acres of heath, pasture, marsh, and arable land. It was formerly an agricultural college for middle-class young men and has accommodation for 350 men in the college buildings. The colony has a two-fold object. It temporarily relieves men who are only temporarily out of work, and these men have been engaged doing the necessary estate work, such as double digging the heath and waste-land to bring it back into cultivation. Others have been taught dairying and other farming operations and have emigrated. Others have been learning market-gardening and horticulture with a view to settling on small holdings in England. For these latter the scheme is as follows: The man first of all goes down as an ordinary colonist; after a short period, if he shows aptitude and eagerness to take up country work, he is put to such work, and, after a further period, if still satisfactory, he is placed on a selected list and, as soon as possible his wife and family join him in a cottage on the estate; after a further short period, it is hoped we may be able to put him on a small holding, quite as an independent person paying rent; this last step is, however, dependent on our being able to secure another estate. It is not proposed to dump these men down on a piece of land and leave them to worry through it, but instead we propose to organize the purchase of seed and tools, the collection and distribution of produce so as to ensure that this part of the business is thoroughly well done. Some may ask will the unemployed respond to such work as this without hesitation. I reply that they will and I am certain that if we had had command of sufficient capital at the start, we would long ago have established one hundred families. Even as it is through the generous help of Mr. Joseph Fels, who not only lent us the estate, but also lent us £2,000 to start our cottages, twelve London men are in residence and this autumn they will be planting and planning out their holdings, and this number, as I say, is only limited through lack of funds. I am hoping that such an experiment as this will receive its due share of the £200,000 which the Government has granted for the unemployed. I think the London Committee has earned the right to this money, for without experience, it determined to try a labor-colony on new lines and, so far as funds have allowed it, has abundantly

demonstrated that London men are able and willing to learn country work and many of them are quite eager to settle here in England rather than starve in London or emigrate. I do not claim that this will be a cheap method for dealing with the unemployed. I do claim though that it is an effective method and one which, if adopted, would at least lift permanently out of the ranks of the workless some few of those who are being squeezed out day by day, and we must remember that no sound treatment of this question can be cheap."

Mr. Lansbury explains that he has dwelt on the Hollesley Bay experiment because he has had it under his personal supervision from the start and so is competent to speak on the question, and because he feels that the problem of getting the out-of-works in London out onto the land is one of the most vital questions of the time.

"When," he says, "I think of this England of ours, and of the many thousands of acres of land untilled, when I remember that we have crown-lands lying waste and remember, too, that in London people are dying under our very eyes because of want of work, I cannot help asking why idle land and workless men cannot be brought together in the way suggested."

A Heart to Heart Appeal to Christians.

The address is concluded with an earnest word to the conscience of those who wish to follow in the footsteps of the Great Nazarene:

"To me the call of these people, the out-cast and the lonely, comes every day with ever insistent force. People talk of our religion. What is it to the masses that you and I speak of them as our Brothers and Sisters and leave them to live out their wretched lives as best they can? We talk to people of the Savior

who went about doing good. I wonder what He would be saying about the unemployed if He lived on earth again. We know that in His day the common people heard Him gladly and we know that to-day the common people in the mass care nothing for us or for our message. Why is all this? Christ's message to us all is the same as of yore—Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy soul and with all thy strength, and thy neighbor as thyself. This do and thou shalt live. And again: He would gain his life must lose it. What does all this mean to you and me? How much are we concerned about our fellows? How much of our time and our energy are we giving to the service of men and thus to our God? I am not pleading for your money, I am asking for you. What is needed to-day is personal service more than anything else. Let you and me determine that so far as we are able, we will do our best to press this question through till it is settled once and for all. We can get huge demonstrations over the Education Bill and Foreign Missions. Why it is that so few of us are to be found worrying about the social condition of the people I do not know, unless it is we are wilfully blinding ourselves as to the true position of affairs. Sabatier said somewhere: 'Where will the Church of Christ be to-morrow?' and he answered the question by saying that one thing was certain, 'She would be found on the side of the oppressed and the downtrodden.' If she is to live in England, I am certain this must be so, and we churchmen must remember creeds and words will not feed the hungry or clothe the naked, but that you and I must

"Worship God by doing good,
Deeds not words are understood,
Kind deeds done to one another
Unto God are done my brother
Unto Him."

HOW MEXICO RECENTLY BROKE THE POWER OF A BEEF COMBINE.

IN THE Commonwealth of New Zealand and the Republic of Mexico where the interest, prosperity and happiness of all the people are as much the first concern of the government as is the interest of the public-service corporations, the trusts and monopo-

lies the first concern of our national Senate and House of Representatives, the governments do not tolerate any attempt to rob the many in order to make richer a few already dangerously rich men.

We recently pointed out the way the gov-

ernment of Mexico had destroyed the power of the corn-combine and saved the people from almost as great suffering, robbery and loss of life as our people suffered by reason of the action of the great morally criminal coal-trust and railway corporations during the last anthracite coal strike. Now we wish to call attention to another recent act on the part of the government of Mexico by which an incipient trust or combine in the meat trade was promptly crushed by the government's vigilance in the interests of all the people. We are indebted to our special correspondent, Mr. F. E. Plummer of the City of Mexico for the following facts which are of peculiar interest at the present time when the privileged classes are spending vast amounts of money to check the rising tide of public indignation against the extortions of the public-service corporations, trusts and combines, as they afford another of those clear-cut illustrations of how the people's servants can serve the people when they have not already accepted service from class interests or are not beholden to political machines owned by privileged

interests. In his communication Mr. Plummer thus describes the effective action of the Mexican authorities:

"Some two months ago a combination was formed here to put up the price of meat, and as a result meat was soon selling at a price which placed it beyond the reach of all except those with fat purses. That state of affairs did n't last more than two weeks before the government had a meat-stall of its own in the market selling meat at a just price, and the meat-combine went the way of the corn-combine of a few years ago, and of every other combine that has been formed in Mexico in recent years to run up the price of food stuffs.

"No doubt you are aware of the fact that the Mexican Government has just acquired a controlling interest in the Mexican Central Railroad which renders it absolute master of the railroad situation in the republic. Just two days before this deal was announced, the Minister of Finance asked Congress for authority to reduce taxes."

UNSPARING CONDEMNATION BY SUPREME COURT JUSTICES OF THE ATTEMPT TO PREPARE THE WAY FOR OFFICIAL USURPATION OF UNCONSTITUTIONAL POWER.

SUPREME Justices Brewer and Harlan have recently strongly seconded Justice Brown in opposing the dangerous and, to democratic government, destructive doctrine being insidiously advanced by certain present-day politicians, ostensibly speaking in the interests of the people but in reality seeking to further, through the establishment of an autocratic government at Washington, a condition by which a Root, a Fairbanks, a Taft, a Cortelyou, a Bailey or any other politician beholden to privileged interests who might be elected to the Presidency could quickly and effectively further bulwark the advancing and sinister power of the Wall-street gamblers and the princes of privilege in general.

There is one fact that no thoughtful American should lose sight of, and that is that the most dangerous rulers or popular servants of the past have frequently been popular monarchs or officers and oftentimes men who were

actuated by high and laudable motives, but who have established dangerous precedents that could only have been set by men who were popular or regarded as good. But these precedents once established have always been later employed in behalf of despotism and oppression by men who were unscrupulous or the willing tools of ambitious, avaricious or interested classes. Any autocratic assumption of power or any attempt by one of the three departments of government to usurp powers properly delegated and properly belonging to either of the other departments, no matter for what purpose the usurpation should be made, ought to be strongly opposed by all true friends of good government and free institutions, because it is only by rendering impossible unconstitutional usurpation of power or irresponsible acts of officials that the vital principles of democracy can be maintained and the government preserved to the

people. One department or another may at times come under the power of privileged interests, but once arouse the public conscience, and the wrong will inevitably be righted, so long as the government is securely held in the hands of the people and no unconstitutional arrogation of power is tolerated.

Free institutions depend upon two things: first, the recognition of the people as the real masters and of the officials merely as their servants, subject to their direction or instructions; and, secondly, the faithful observance of the provisions made for the orderly carrying out of the demands of popular government as provided by the people. The Constitution, it is true, needs revision to meet the changed conditions of the present time, but that revision must be made by the people and not by executive officials who would usurp constitution-making and law-making power or judicial interpretation of law. Until the people in their wisdom revise the Constitution and bring it down to date, that instrument must be adhered to by all friends of free institutions. Any attempt by executive officers to usurp the power of the judicial or legislative departments of government, or any attempt on the part of the judiciary to arrogate to themselves rights that should belong only to juries or to the legislative and executive departments of government, should be strenuously opposed by all true democrats.

Justice Brown made an excellent point in answering Secretary Root when he gravely pointed out the danger of removing the government too far from the people. The hope of good government in a free state depends on keeping the people at all times in intimate touch with their government.

In his address delivered at New Rochelle, New York, on December 16th, Justice Brewer complemented Justice Brown's admirable answer to Secretary Root and paid his compliments to the shallow, upstart politicians of the present who are busily engaged in attempts to discredit Washington and the Constitution, in the same manner that the imperialists and the upholders of the feudalism of privileged interests have during recent years striven to discredit the Declaration of Independence. On these points Justice Brewer said:

"There is a patronizing new way of looking at George Washington. This tendency is to say that the Father of his Country did very well as Commander-in-Chief of a very small army; did tolerably well as the Chief of State of a very small and struggling new republic. They say that if George Washington were alive to-day, he would not be able to cope with the demands upon his statesmanship. They would speak of him, in the Western phrase, as 'a back number,' a man not up to the requirements of the present day.

"Just so there are some persons who look upon the Constitution of the United States as something useful in the past, like the Code of Hammurabai—a sort of a back number, for which the cemetery of past things is yawning.

"But I believe that the Constitution of the United States was never intended to become a mere cemetery ornament. I believe that it is a living wall, erected by statesmen against the ever-encroaching greed of power to preserve the liberties of the individual. And I am one of those who still believe in George Washington."

On December 25th, Justice Harlan of the Supreme Bench thus expressed his views on the attempt of the friends of autocratic government to prepare the way for official usurpation of powers not entertained by the Constitution and which would take from the States their rightful authority:

"I served in the Civil war as colonel, and have been on the bench twenty-nine years the tenth day of this month. I can say now what I have said in many judicial decisions, and such has been the uniform doctrine of our court, that the Federal Government has no powers except those delegated to it by express grant, or by necessary implication from express grants.

"I think the Federal Government has all the powers it need have for the purpose of accomplishing the objects for which the Government was established and that any tendency to enlarge its powers by loose construction of the words of the Constitution ought to be restricted.

"I think the preservation of the States with all their just powers is essential to the preservation of our liberties."

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AS A DISCIPLE OF MR. BRYAN.

MR. BRYAN'S *Commoner* recently placed the editors of a number of Republican papers in a very embarrassing position. These journalists had savagely attacked Mr. Bryan's Madison Square speech, dwelling at length in many instances upon the very things which Mr. Roosevelt has strongly advocated in his message. Yet these same editors were as enthusiastic in their praise of Mr. Roosevelt's message as they had been bitter in their comments on Mr. Bryan when he advanced similar ideas. To show the essential insincerity and inconsistency of their position, *The Commoner* published a number of quotations from President Roosevelt's message and in each instance these paragraphs were followed by the utterances bearing on the same subject taken from Mr. Bryan's Madison Square address. Among these were "Enforcing the Criminal Clause," "Government by Injunction," "The Eight-Hour Law," "Arbitration in Labor Disputes," "Income Tax," "Campaign Contributions," and "Federal License for Corporations."

The placing of the recommendations by President Roosevelt in juxtaposition to Mr. Bryan's clear utterances in the Madison Square address—and for that matter, the demands he has advanced for years—shows in a most startling manner how faithfully on most subjects Mr. Roosevelt has accepted Mr. Bryan's teachings and the demands of the radical wing of the Democratic party since 1896, which the Republican party

has been so hysterically denouncing for the past ten years.

The publication in *The Commoner* of the incorporation in the President's message of so many of the demands which the radical Democracy under Mr. Bryan's lead has for years insisted upon, and which have been so frantically opposed by the Republican press, shows conclusively that the excellent cartoon published some time ago, which represented President Roosevelt as carefully stepping in Mr. Bryan's footsteps, and the one published in the *New York World*, which represented him as appropriating the great Nebraskan's clothing, are even more apt to-day than when they were first published.

This does not mean, however, that Mr. Roosevelt's message is more than partially democratic in character. His advocacy of the infamous ship-subsidy steal, the manner in which he holds the idea that physical power is more to be depended upon by a Christian nation than moral idealism, and many other reactionary sentiments in the message, especially when taken into consideration with his many acts and the fact that he surrounds himself so largely by the erstwhile tools of plutocracy, indicate that while he realizes the growing popular demand for certain great and radical progressive steps, he also desires to keep in favor with the plutocratic and reactionary elements that are antagonizing the interests of the people and the demands of progressive democracy.

THE INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.

BY RALPH ALBERTSON.

Secretary of the Massachusetts Referendum League.

The Next Congress.

IN THE recent election every candidate for Congress who could be reached was questioned by the National Federation for People's Rule on his attitude upon the Advisory Initiative as applied to certain issues

in national affairs and the Advisory Referendum. These questions were published in the October *ARENA*. One hundred and seven of the candidates who had replied favorably were elected. The next Congress therefore will contain 107 members (and probably 5 more from Oklahoma) pledged to favor a

direct vote of the entire nation upon questions of (1) interstate commerce; (2) civil service; (3) immigration; (4) the injunction power; (5) eight-hour day; (6) constitutional amendment for initiative and referendum; (7) election of United States senators by the people; (8) election of fourth-class postmasters by patrons of each office.

A full list of the pledged Congressmen is published in the *Referendum News* for November. Of the 107, 72 are Democrats and 35 are Republicans. In 35 districts both the leading candidates were pledged. One hundred and thirty-four pledged Republican and Democratic candidates failed of election. In South Dakota, where the people have a form of the initiative and referendum system in state and municipal affairs, all the nominees pledged for it. In Wisconsin, of the twenty-four Republican and Democratic nominees, only four refused to pledge, and of these two were defeated. In Missouri all of the sixteen Democratic nominees pledged and five of the Republicans. Of the eleven Republicans who refused only three were elected. In Oregon and in Maine, where both parties are pledged to Direct-Legislation, the Congressmen had already been elected, and are not included in the above figures.

This is certainly a most encouraging beginning with the National House of Representatives. It represents a four-fold gain over the last House, and clearly indicates the possibility of a large majority for the initiative and referendum in the Congress that will be elected with the next president.

Montana Constitution Amended.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL amendment submitted by the legislature of Montana to a referendum vote of the people and which establishes the initiative and referendum in the organic law of that state, was adopted by a vote of 36,374 to 6,616, giving a clear majority of 29,758 on the side of the people's rule. Those who did not vote on the amendment, pro or con, were 18,207. If all these were counted against the amendment, which of course is quite preposterous, there would still be a majority of 16,537 in favor. This speaks well, and very well, for Montana. It has been a long, hard fight. Five consecutive legislatures have turned the question down, refusing to submit it to the people, and the credit for finally forcing its submission from

a reluctant legislature is chiefly due to the activity of the State Federation of Labor and the Heinz Anti-trust Convention. Prior to the election of the legislature of two years ago, the executive council of the State Federation of Labor issued a circular letter to each of the central and local unions in the state requesting them at once to appoint two committees, one to call upon the legislative candidates and request them to pledge that if elected they would vote to submit a constitutional amendment for the initiative and referendum, the other committee to circulate for signatures among the electors an agreement to vote only for such candidates as should pledge to vote for a restoration of majority-rule. After election day, petitions to the legislature were printed and circulated throughout the state, and during the session, when the initiative and referendum amendment was up for consideration, seven to fifteen petitions were read daily. This was continued twenty days and the house passed the bill, but the senate refused it the necessary two-thirds vote; but this so aroused the voters of the state that in the next campaign the political leaders vied with each other in declaring for the initiative and referendum, the state conventions of both the leading parties declared for the measure, and the next legislature submitted it.

During the recent campaign the State Federation circulated 50,000 circulars among the voters of the state in support of the amendment.

We have but fragmentary information as to the specific provisions of the amendment but understand it to be modeled after the Oregon amendment, the main features of which are provisions that five per cent. of the voters can cause to be referred to a vote of the people any law passed by the legislature, and eight per cent. of the voters can propose a measure and have it put to a direct vote of the people. Three serious limitations however have been added to the Montana amendment. The first is that no measure can be proposed by the voters to amend the constitution or local or special laws, the second requires that every state initiative must receive the required percentage of signatures in two-fifths of the counties, and the third makes the unusually large requirement of fifteen per cent. to secure a state referendum.

As Mr. George H. Shibley points out, this "doctoring" of the system is only what must be expected when the framing of the measures

is left to the legislatures. The measure, as he suggests, should be framed by its friends in a non-partisan convention called for the purpose, and the legislature should be pledged to the measure before election.

Success in Minnesota.

THROUGH the activities of the Minnesota Initiative and Referendum League which was organized last August, enough members of the new legislature were pledged to insure, it is hoped, the passage of a law installing the Advisory Initiative and Advisory Referendum. Out of thirty-two candidates who were elected to the legislature from Minneapolis district all are pledged to the submission of a constitutional amendment for the Initiative and Referendum, as well as for the passage of the advisory system.

A batch of eleven charter amendments was submitted to the voters of Minneapolis at the last general election and three-fourths of the voters expressed judgment upon them. Nearly twenty-five thousand voters cast ballots. The highest affirmative vote cast for any proposed amendment was 14,765; the lowest 10,099. The largest negative vote was 7,526 and the lowest 3,372. "When we consider that about one-half of the qualified voters never vote," says the *Minneapolis Dispatch*, "taking the state at large, and that a fourth of them never do even in our cities, it is distinctly encouraging that three-fourths of those who voted marked the charter amendment ballots with either a yes or a nay mark."

Massachusetts Referendum League.

AT THE last annual meeting of the Massachusetts Referendum League, the following officers were elected: Henry Sterling, president; Ralph Albertson, secretary; Frank Parsons, treasurer. The league is now circulating chiefly among members of labor unions the following non-partisan pledge, which is to be kept on file in the local organizations, these to be notified by the state league of the attitude of each of the candidates:

"We, the undersigned, hereby pledge ourselves to vote against every legislator who opposes the right of the people to govern themselves by Direct-Legislation through the Initiative and Referendum.

"We believe that the American govern-

ment ought to be in the hands of the whole American people, and not in the hands of lobbies, monopolists, and corrupt politicians.

"We believe that the public verdict on each policy and each question, separated and free from every other issue, is essential for the preservation of self-government.

"Therefore, to secure to all an equal voice and equal power in this government of the people, by the people, for the people,

"We solemnly pledge ourselves to seek first and to hold superior to all other issues (for by it all other issues must be determined) the *Initiative and Referendum*, that is, the power of the citizens to vote direct at the polls on any public question which by petition of five per cent. of the voters is submitted on the ballot for their verdict; to veto and enact legislation at the ballot-box."

Nebraska Cities.

THERE is a strong movement in Omaha to secure the application of the Initiative and Referendum to local affairs. Under a law adopted by the legislature in 1897 the cities of the state can establish a prescribed system of the Initiative and Referendum if the question of its establishment is submitted to the people by the city council, and adopted by a favorable Referendum vote. This has been vigorously demanded in Omaha by the Federation of Improvement Clubs and the Central Labor Union. The city council, after backing and filling and luffing and jibing, was finally forced to submit the question to a referendum vote at the last election. The vote was 6,373 for the system, and 1,337 against it.

The city of Blair held a special election on the same question late in November, and the measure was defeated by the liquor interests by a majority of 83 votes.

North Platte and several of the smaller cities adopted the Initiative and Referendum system several years ago.

The Omaha Board of Education has submitted to a referendum vote of the parents of the pupils affected, the question of commencing the session of the High School at eight o'clock in the morning.

A movement is on foot to secure the submission of a referendum on the question of the referendum in local affairs to the voters of Lincoln at the spring election. It is actively supported by several councilmen, college pro-

fessors, business men, ministers, and attorneys, as well as by the labor unions.

Grand Rapids Referendum.

LAST April the city council of Grand Rapids passed an ordinance closing theaters on Sunday. Through the optional referendum this was brought up for a vote of the people in November, 6,281 voting to sustain the closing ordinance and 6,895 voting against it. At the same election a charter amendment, submitted under the advisory initiative, to secure a system of non-partisan municipal elections, was carried by a vote of 8,865 to 3,350. "The total vote on the theater ordinance," says Jesse F. Orton in *The Public*, "was more than the total vote on governor, and the vote on the charter amendment was nearly equal to that on governor. The theater ordinance was very hotly contested on both sides, and helped greatly in bringing out a large vote. There was practically no contest on offices either in the state or local election, everything being conceded to the Republicans. In fact there were no Democratic nominees for county offices, with one exception, and no Democratic nomination for Congress. So there was little to attract the attention of voters except these propositions. The non-partisan amendment received a majority in every precinct of the city. Before it becomes effective, however, it must be passed by the legislature. It will be sent to the legislature with the official request of the city of Grand Rapids that it be made part of the charter. The two state senators from Grand Rapids are pledged in writing to do all in their power to put this amendment through early in the session so that the non-partisan method can be used at the city elections next April. Of the three representatives from Grand Rapids, one is pledged in writing to do as the majority of the people desire; another is pledged orally to vote for the amendment if carried; and the third dodged the issue and merely said he would represent "all the people."

Miscellaneous Items.

GOVERNOR STOKES of New Jersey has declared in favor of a state referendum vote on the excise question.

THE REFERENDUM vote taken by the city of Paterson, N. J., upon the question of mu-

nicipal-ownership of water and light, resulted in a decisive victory for municipalization. The vote for the water-plant was 8,040 for, to 1,234 against, and for the lighting-plant 7,140 for, to 1,766 against. The police-pension plan was carried by a vote of 5,602 for, to 4,202 against.

THE REFERENDUM vote taken by the towns and cities of Massachusetts directly affected on the new Brockton canal proposition resulted in an overwhelming majority favoring the project, and work will soon begin, it is expected, upon this great internal improvement which the people have indorsed. The entire plan must be approved by the Harbor and Land Commissioners before actual digging can be begun, and the work will take about seven years to complete. At mean high tide the canal must be twenty-five feet deep, 120 feet wide at the bottom and 200 feet at the top. It will give direct water-communication between Boston and New York, saving 150 miles in distance and making the dangerous trip around Cape Cod unnecessary in winter, besides providing direct water transportation for fourteen cities on its route.

THE CENTRAL Trades and Labor Assembly of Syracuse has appointed a committee to devise ways and means to secure a referendum vote on the question of municipal gas and electricity.

THE CITIZENS of Portland, Maine, voted on December 3d in favor of a public water-works.

THE QUESTION of establishing a municipal electric-light plant was submitted to a referendum vote of the citizens of Fort Wayne, Indiana, at the November election. Nearly every qualified voter voted on the question, the total referendum vote being nearly 100 more than the total Democratic and Republican vote in the city for secretary of state, the office at the head of the ticket. It amounted to 11,171; and of this aggregate 8,996 voted for municipalization and only 2,175 against it.

WINNETKA, Illinois, well-known as the home of the "Winnetka Plan," voted to instal a municipal gas-plant at the last election, and took steps to finance the project.

THE MUNICIPAL League of Wichita, Kan-

sas, is fighting for referendum control of all public franchises. This fight has to be made at Topeka, as it is state legislation that is desired.

TO PROTECT our noble Niagara Falls from commercialism, Louis F. Post, editor of *The Public*, proposes that before there is any further alienation to power-producing monopolies there shall be a national referendum vote.

THE NEW city charter of Newport, Rhode Island, provides that every vote of the council involving an appropriation of \$10,000 or over, shall be tested by a popular referendum, if within seven days of the council's action such a referendum is requested by 100 voters at large and ten voters from each ward. The charter attempts also to eliminate party politics from municipal affairs.

WE ARE pleased to learn that ex-United States Senator Call of Florida is in the running again. Senator Call is one of the most ardent friends of the initiative and referendum in this country.

BOSTON took a referendum vote December 11th, on the question of permitting hotel-bars to extend their time of doing business from eleven to twelve o'clock at night. A large majority voted in favor of the extension of time. On the same day the city of Lowell had a referendum on the question of pensioning disabled firemen. New Bedford voted on a street-sprinkling proposition and a hospital scheme which had been referred to the voters by the council. The voters of Chicopee passed judgment on the question of setting aside property for park purposes.

THE VOTERS of Jersey City passed upon three propositions at the last election,—one relating to the extension of the park system and two relating to police and fire salaries.

HALF a dozen or more amendments to the constitution were submitted to the voters of Louisiana at the recent election and adopted. Much criticism has come from the captious on the score that the vote was small, but no one has denied that it was larger and more representative than its alternative—the votes of a few legislators.

A PROPOSITION to amend the constitution of Indiana so as to restrict the practice of law to the legal profession failed of adoption by the referendum vote at the last election.

AN AMENDMENT to the constitution of Illinois, authorizing the sale of the Illinois and Michigan canal to the highest bidder also failed of adoption at the recent election.

ONLY twenty per cent. of the voters of Colorado voted upon a proposed constitutional amendment in November, and the plutocratic papers are making much noise about the indifference, incapacity, and ignorance of voters and the "failure of the referendum." It looks to us like the failure of the amendment. An amendment in Nebraska at the same election received almost a unanimous vote, nearly every elector voting on the subject. It is not uncommon, however, for a referendum to poll only seventy-five per cent. of the vote, and this but shows that those who are really ignorant and indifferent are automatically disfranchised, the vote representing the intelligence and public spirit of the community.

RALPH ALBERTSON.

THE COÖPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN THE NEW WORLD.

BY RALPH ALBERTSON,
Secretary of the Coöperative Association of America.

Maynard, Massachusetts.

IT IS doubtful whether in England itself a proportionately more prosperous co-operative company can be found, all things

considered, than the Riverside Coöperative Association of this manufacturing town of less than 10,000 inhabitants. The Association owns its own store, the best in the town, which has a fine big "Coöperative Hall" up

stairs, and other real estate, valued altogether at \$11,000. The paid-up share capital is \$14,235. About \$8,000 worth of stock is carried, and the annual business amounts to over \$75,000. Interest is paid on capital and dividends on purchases. The Association is twenty-seven years old, and under the able and efficient management of Mr. J. J. Hilferty did the largest business in its history during the past year. The last six months' report shows sales of \$38,230, rentals of \$835; paid to sinking-fund, \$300; depreciation, \$216; and dividends to members, \$2,970. The semi-annual stockholders' meetings are made times of sociability, at which refreshments are served, as well as business occasions at which officers are elected and reports received.

American Society of Equity.

The Michigan mint-growers of this coöperative society have adopted the programme of the society that was at first applied to wheat and combined to raise the price of their product. Before the beginning of their campaign, peppermint-oil was 80 cents a pound. Last year it was \$2.10, and now it is \$2.90. The slogan of this society is "coöperate in holding your product for a certain agreed-upon price," and, all obstacles considered, remarkable success has been achieved. But now a firm of New York exporters of peppermint-oil has petitioned the president and attorney-general to break up the society as a combine in violation of the Sherman anti-trust law. So the anti-trust law works both ways—only it is likely to work this way quickest.

Waverly, Minnesota.

REPRESENTATIVES of the Right Relationship League of Minneapolis have recently organized here a coöperative store and shipping company. It is to be known as the Wright County Coöperative Company and to have a capital of \$50,000. About fifty members, mostly farmers, have been secured, each furnishing \$100 of capital. After paying five per cent. on capital and setting aside a reserve-fund all profits will be divided among members in proportion to the business created by each. The company has made arrangements to buy out the stock of goods and business of C. G. Kingstedt, a successful merchant of twenty-six years' standing, who will manage the bus-

iness under the direction of the executive committee of the company. Mr. J. M. Carmichael, manager of the Ono department of the Pierce county (Wisconsin) Coöperative Company, is to take the invoice, representing the Wright County Coöperative Company on the board of appraisement. Several inquiries have already come in from merchants in other trading communities of Wright county as to terms of joining with the movement and the prospects are that within a year several stores will have united with the coöperative company.

Lindstrom, Minnesota.

THE CHICAGO County Coöperative Company organized here last August now has three stores and 225 members. The stores are located at Lindstrom, Scandia, and Chicago City. This company is organized on the Right Relationship League plan and is doing a fine business.

Grand Forks, British Columbia.

MAMMOTH meetings of the local labor-unions here have been held to consider the establishment of a coöperative store. A committee has been appointed to mature plans and definite action is expected soon.

Loomis, California.

THERE are in California about fifty successful and prosperous Rochdale Coöperative stores that are giving good service, paying good dividends to their members, and educating their members and the public in the coöperative life of democratic industry. Here is the statement made by the manager to the board of directors of the Loomis Rochdale Company for the month of November:

New members,.....	7
Total membership,.....	46
Received on share capital,.....	\$912 70
Total paid on share capital,.....	3,543 12
Unpaid share capital,.....	1,066 88
Total share capital,.....	4,600 00
Paid on share Rochdale Wholesale Company,.....	99 55
Total amount paid to Rochdale Wholesale Company,.....	368 71
Total amount purchased from Rochdale Wholesale Company and elsewhere,...	1,352 47
Membership trade,.....	637 08
Non-membership trade,.....	1,071 51
Total trade for the month,.....	1,708 54
Expense,.....	155 00

Cash on hand,.....	319 51
Cash in bank,.....	5,016 68
Total cash,.....	5,336 19

Selma, California.

THE FOLLOWING is the latest six-months' report of the Selma Rochdale store:

RESOURCES.	
Stock of merchandise,.....	\$6,338 57
Fixtures, delivery wagon, horse, etc.,...	1,823 55
Share in Rochdale Wholesale Company,	130 55
Personal accounts (good),.....	5,738 16
Total,	\$14,030 83
LIABILITIES.	
Members' stock shares,.....	\$4,501 14
Interest on same at 8 per cent.,.....	180 05
Borrowed money,.....	2,300 00
Interest on same to date,.....	19 10
Due wholesale houses,.....	3,545 03
Due customers for produce and money left on deposit,.....	2,159 87
Surplus, February 1, 1906,.....	222 04
Net gain in six months (after paying the \$180 interest to members),.....	1,103 60
Total,.....	\$14,030 83
Total sales for the six months,.....	19,695 09

Failure in Chicago.

THE MILWAUKEE Avenue Coöperative Store of Chicago has failed and will henceforth be quoted among the long list of similar failures kept on hand by our college professors to show the impracticability of coöperation in the United States. As a matter of fact it develops that the Milwaukee Avenue store was not coöperative, but was owned by Paul O. Stensland and closed by the receiver who sold it for \$162,000.

Topeka, Kansas.

THE Coöperative Cold Storage and Ice Plant of this city is doing a flourishing business. Over 50,000 barrels of Shawnee apples were taken in in November for later shipment

to the Southern states where the Topeka Storage apples have an established reputation.

Co-operative Telephones.

THE FARMERS' Mutual Telephone Company has been organized at Campbell, California, on purely coöperative principles, with shares at \$25 each. Forty members are enlisted and seven miles of line are up, and these figures will be doubled in another month.

Another new Coöperative Telephone Company has been organized by the people of Knightsen, Oakley, Brentwood, and Byron, adjoining towns in California. The lines are to be ready for use in January.

Co-operative Warehouse.

LINCOLN GRANGE, at Cupertino, California, is planning to erect a coöperative grading and warehousing building for prunes, of which that section produces great quantities of the finest quality.

Garden Cities in America.

THE REV. Dr. W. D. P. Bliss, for four years rector of St. Mary's Protestant Episcopal Church of Amityville, Long Island, has tendered his resignation, to take effect January 1st. He will become secretary of the Garden Cities of America, an association recently formed to found and develop coöperative cities for laboring men. The movement is patterned after the Garden City Association of Great Britain, which is now building its first city at Letchworth, in Hertshire. The Association will build cities where men of small means may have attractive homes with their own gardens. President Ralph Peters of the Long Island Railway, is vice-president of the Association. On the board of managers are Bishop Burgess, Bishop Potter, and other men of prominence.

RALPH ALBERTSON.

"THE BITTER CRY OF THE CHILDREN."*

A BOOK-STUDY.

I. THE HERALD VOICES OF THE COMING DAWN.

IF THE conscientious reformer and sincere friend of democratic institutions becomes discouraged at the seeming advance of the forces of greed and the indifference and casuistry so shamefully evident in society, the church and the press, he should turn his attention to the rapidly increasing literature of moral protest and progress that is being issued by leading American firms which a few years ago would not have seriously entertained the thought of bringing out any literature so radical as are these works, and he should also note the fact that the majority of these volumes which may be rightly characterized as the strongest writings voicing democracy and human progress of the day, are with a few noteworthy exceptions from the pen of comparatively young men. *Poverty*, by Robert Hunter; *The Menace of Privilege*, by Henry George, Jr.; *The City the Hope of Democracy*, by Frederic C. Howe; *The Reign of Gilt*, by David Graham Phillips; *In the Fire of the Heart*, Ralph Waldo Trine's latest work; *The Heart of the Railroad Problem* and *The Railways, the Trusts and the People*, by Professor Frank Parsons; *The Economy of Happiness*, by James Mackaye; and *The Bitter Cry of the Children*, by John Spargo, are but a few representative works in the rapidly growing literature of democratic progress and enlightened humanitarianism that clearly speaks of the rising tide of moral idealism that ever precedes the great struggles between the light and the darkness, the weal of the many and the self-interest of the privileged few. The democrats of thought ever precede the democrats of action. They are the conscience-awakeners, the voices in the wilderness of self-absorption and greed that prepare the way for the men who are to become the great actors in the pending crises. We are approaching one of these great moral conflicts in which democracy and the humane spirit will be pitted against the new despotism of privileged

wealth, and as in every preceding conflict that has been waged, where the issues have been fought in the open between fundamental justice and human rights on the one hand and privilege or class interests on the other, since the advent of democracy, so in the coming struggle the people are going to win and civilization will again see the Republic rise from the degradation of dollar-worship and the retrogression of imperialism and world-power based on force, to her old moral prestige as the world's great leader of peace and the principles of democratic enlightenment. Of the outcome we have little fear, but if that outcome is to be won in a peaceful manner it will be necessary for all friends of progressive democracy and humanitarian progress to unite and labor with the zeal of apostles in the noblest cause that ever called men and women to its standard.

II. MR. SPARGO'S IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION TO THE LITERATURE OF SOCIAL PROGRESS.

In the past we have sometimes felt that the writings and criticisms of Mr. Spargo were wanting in breadth of spirit and tolerance for the thoughts of others as earnest and sincere as himself but whose point-of-view was in some respects different from his own, and it was with some misgiving that we commenced our perusal of his *Bitter Cry of the Children*. We feared that the value of the work as a volume to meet the present stage of public enlightenment might be weakened by views so extreme as to defeat in part his purpose, or that there might be present a narrow and intolerant spirit that would repel many sincere persons whose help is needed in the present battle against the crimes and greed of the privileged interests that are fattening off of child-slavery and that are indifferent to the pitiful conditions of the children of the poor in the great congested centers of wealth.

It was with genuine pleasure therefore that we found our fears groundless. This work is a masterly volume marked by a firm and comprehensive grasp of the subject which speaks of wide and painstaking research and investigation. Here, too, is clear reasoning,

"The Bitter Cry of the Children." By John Spargo, with an introduction by Robert Hunter. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 338. Price, \$1.50. New York: The Macmillan Company.

instinct with that conscience quality that gives virility and worth to the discussion of questions that concern human well-being; yet there is no over-zeal, no intemperance of expression, nothing to suggest hysterical emotionalism. It is a volume vibrant with moral enthusiasm, a book that is clearly from the heart; yet at all times reason has ruled.

These things of course give special value to the book and make it indispensable to persons who would understand the full significance of the great issues discussed. All persons who love justice and human rights, whose hearts go out in sympathy for the unfortunate children or whose patriotism is of that high order that makes them willing and ready to battle for a truer republic and a happier civilization for the to-morrow of our people, should possess this book, because in it the subject of poverty among American children is handled in so comprehensive and broad a manner that it may be regarded as the most authoritative handbook on the subject that has appeared.

III. THE SLAUGHTER OF THE INNOCENTS.

In a survey of such a work it is of course impossible to even summarize the subjects discussed, and it becomes necessary to confine our extended notice to some special phase presented. The subject of child-labor has been very extensively discussed in magazine literature during the past few years, while comparatively little space has been given to other tragic aspects of the question of the child in relation to poverty.

In a chapter entitled "The Blighting of the Babies," Mr. Spargo presents a powerful picture of the tragic fate of a great army of little lives in this, the richest nation on earth. He shows that "the burden and blight of poverty fall most heavily upon the child. . . . And it is the consciousness of this, the knowledge that poverty in childhood blights the whole of life, which makes it the most appalling of all the phases of the poverty problem."

"The problem of the child is the problem of the race," and more and more emphatically science declares that almost all the problems of physical, mental, and moral degeneracy originate with the child. The physician traces the weakness and disease of the adult to defective nutrition in early childhood; the penologist traces moral perversion to the same cause; the pedagogue finds the same

explanation for his failures. Thanks to the many notable investigations made in recent years, especially in European countries, sociological science is being revolutionized. Hitherto we have not studied the great and pressing problems of pauperism and criminology from the child-end; we have concerned ourselves almost entirely with results while ignoring causes. The new spirit aims at prevention.

"The cry of a child for food which its mother is powerless to give it is the most awful cry the ages have known. . . . Yet that cry goes up incessantly: in the world's richest cities the child's hunger-cry rises above the din of the mart.

"It is not, however, the occasional hunger, the loss of a few meals now and then in such periods of distress, that is of most importance; it is the chronic underfeeding day after day, month after month, year after year. . . . The thousands of rickety infants to be seen in all our large cities and towns, the anæmic, languid-looking children one sees everywhere in working-class districts, and the striking contrast presented by the appearance of the children of the well-to-do bear eloquent witness to the widespread prevalence of under-feeding.

"Poverty and death are grim companions. Wherever there is much poverty the death-rate is high and rises higher with every rise of the tide of want and misery. In London, Bethnal Green's death-rate is nearly double that of Belgravia; in Paris, the poverty-stricken district of Ménilmontant has a death-rate twice as high as that of the Elysée; in Chicago, the death-rate varies from about twelve per thousand in the wards where the well-to-do reside to thirty-seven per thousand in the tenement wards.

"Dr. Henry Ashby, an eminent authority upon children's diseases, says: '*In healthy children among the well-to-do class the mortality [from measles] is practically nil; in the tubercular and wasted children to be found in work-houses, hospitals, and among the lower classes, the mortality is enormous, no disease more certainly being attended with a fatal result.* William Squires places it in crowded wards at 20 to 30 per cent. of those attacked.'

"These are terrible words coming as they do from a great physician and teacher of phy-

sicians. Upon any less authority one would scarcely dare to quote them, so terrible are they. They mean that practically the whole 8,645 infant deaths recorded from measles in the United States in the year 1900 were due to poverty—to the measureless inequality of opportunity to live and grow which human ignorance and greed have made. Moreover, the full significance of this impressive statement will not be realized if we think only of its relation to one disease. The same might be said of many other diseases of childhood which blight and destroy the lives of babies as mercilessly as the sharp frosts blight and kill the first tender blossoms of spring. The same writer says: 'It may be taken for granted that no healthy infants suffer from convulsions; those who do are either rickety or the children of neurotic parents.' And there were no less than 14,288 infant deaths from convulsions in the United States in the census year. It would probably be a considerable under-estimate to regard 10,000 of these deaths, or 70 per cent. of the whole, as due to poverty."

There is something almost startling in the diagrams presented by Mr. Spargo, showing the relative death-rate between the well-to-do class, the best-paid workers, and the worst-paid workers.

"As we ascend the social scale," observes our author, "the span of life lengthens and the death-rate gradually diminishes, the death-rate of the poorest class of workers being three and a half times as great as that of the well-to-do. It is estimated that among 10,000,000 persons of this latter class the annual deaths do not number more than 100,000, among the best paid of the working-class the number is not less than 150,000, while among the poorest workers the number is at least 350,000.

"In Boston's 'Back Bay' district the death-rate at all ages last year was 13.45 per thousand as compared with 18.45 in the Thirteenth Ward, which is a typical working-class district, and of the total number of deaths the percentage under one year was 9.44 in the former as against 25.21 in the latter. Wolf, in his classic studies based upon the vital statistics of Erfurt for a period of twenty years, found that for every 1,000 children born in working-class families 505 died in the first year; among the middle classes 173, and among the higher classes only 89. . . . Dr.

Charles R. Drysdale, Senior Physician of the Metropolitan Free Hospital, London, declared some years ago that the death-rate of infants among the rich was not more than 8 per cent., while among the very poor it was often as high as 40 per cent. Dr. Playfair says that 18 per cent. of the children of the upper classes, 36 per cent. of the tradesman class, and 55 per cent. of those of the working-class die under the age of five years."

Mr. Spargo discusses at length the statistics relating to the vast army of infants in England and America who every year come to death from "socially preventable" causes. In England he finds the "appalling total of 95,000 unnecessary deaths in a single year." In this country the record is also startling. Of the "socially preventable" causes he says:

"There can be no doubt that the various phases of poverty represent fully 85 per cent., giving an annual sacrifice to poverty of practically 80,000 baby lives. If some modern Herod had caused the death of every male child under twelve months of age in the state of New York in the year 1900, not a single child escaping, the number thus brutally slaughtered would have been practically identical with this sacrifice. Poverty is the Herod of modern civilization, and Justice the warning angel calling upon society to 'arise and take the young child' out of the reach of the monster's wrath.

"I think it can safely be said that in this country, the richest and greatest country in the world's history, poverty is responsible for at least 80,000 infants lives every year—more than two hundred every day in the year, more than eight lives each hour, day by day, night by night, throughout the year. It is impossible for us to realize fully the immensity of this annual sacrifice of baby lives. Think what it means in five years—in a decade—in a quarter of a century.

"The yearly loss of these priceless baby lives does not, however, represent the full measure of the awful cost of the poverty which surrounds the cradle. It is not only that 75,000 or 80,000 die, but that as many more of those that survive are irreparably weakened and injured. Not graves alone but hospitals and prisons are filled with the victims of childhood poverty. They who survive go to school, but are weak, nervous, dull, and

backward in their studies. Discouraged, they become morose and defiant, and soon find their way into the 'reformatories,' for truancy or other juvenile delinquencies. Later they fill the prisons, for the ranks of the vagrant and the criminal are recruited from the truant and juvenile offender. Or if happily they do not become vicious, they fail in the struggle for existence, the relentless competition of the crowded labor mart, and sink into the abysmal depths of pauperism. Weakened and impaired by the privations of their early years, they cannot resist the attacks of disease, and constant sickness brings them to the lowest level of that condition which the French call *la misère*."

He finds what many other thoughtful students of social and economic problems have long since discovered,—namely, that the vital statistics since the plutocracy has largely dominated government, fail to furnish civilization vital facts which are among the most important things for society to know. He finds that:

"If our vital statistics were specially designed to that end, they could not hide the relation of poverty to disease and death more effectually than they do now. It is impossible to tell from any of the elaborate tables compiled by the census authorities what proportion of the total number of infant deaths were due to defective nutrition or other conditions primarily associated with poverty. No one who has studied the question doubts that the proportion is very great, but it is impossible to present the matter statistically, except in the form of a crude estimate. There is much of value in our great collections of statistics, but the most vital facts of all are rarely included in them."

Here is a graphic and typical case of how poverty mothers death:

"In the great dispensary a little girl of tender years stands holding up a baby, not yet able to walk. She is a 'little mother,' that most pathetic of all poverty's victims, her childhood taken away and the burden of womanly cares thrust upon her. 'Please, doctor, do somethin' fer baby!' she pleads. Baby is sick unto death, but she does not realize it. Its breath comes in short, wheezy gasps; its skin burns, and its little eyes glow with the brightness that doctors and nurses dread. One glance is all the doctor needs;

in that brief glance he sees the ill-shaped head and the bent and twisted legs that tell of rickets. Helpless, with the pathetically perfunctory manner long grown familiar to him he gives the child some soothing medicine for her tiny charge's bronchial trouble and enters another case of 'bronchitis' upon the register. 'And if it was n't bronchitis, 't would be something else, and death soon, anyhow,' he says. Death does come soon, the white presence of its symbol hangs upon the street door of the crowded tenement, and to the long death-roll of the nation another victim of bronchitis is added—one of the eleven thousand so registered under five years of age. The record gives no hint that back of the bronchitis was rickets and back of the rickets poverty and hunger. But the doctor knows—he knows that little Tad's case is typical of thousands who are statistically recorded as dying from bronchitis or some other specific disease when the real cause, the inducing cause of the disease, is malnutrition. Even as the Great White Plague recruits its victims from the haunts of poverty, so bronchitis preys there and gathers most of its victims from the ranks of the children whose lives are spent either in the foul and stuffy atmosphere of over-crowded and ill-ventilated homes, or on the streets, underfed, imperfectly clad, and exposed to all sorts of weather."

Then again, we find through food adulterations a great number of little lives yearly sacrificed. In 1902, 3,970 samples of milk were taken from dealers in New York City and analyzed, and no less than 2,095, or 52.77 per cent., were found to be adulterated.

These facts merely serve to give the reader a faint idea of the slaughter of the infants going on all the time almost under the shadow of our mighty cathedrals and within cannon-shot of the palaces of our multi-millionaires, as it is graphically pictured by Mr. Spargo in his extended examination under the title of "The Blighting of the Babies." And from this tragic phase of the subject he passes to a consideration of the school-children.

IV. THE FATAL HANDICAP OF THE UNDER-FED CHILD IN THE BATTLE TO OBTAIN AN EDUCATION.

The essential dominance of greed or sordid materialism in society is constantly emphasized. From our President and statesmen

down to the man on the street, the mind of the age seems to measure success first and foremost by the rod of material acquisition and achievement. The moral ideals and principles that were the pillar of fire before our statesmen in the earlier days are conspicuous by their absence, save in high-sounding platitudes. Great navies, larger armies, increase in salaried officialdom, and first consideration given to the interests of the feudalism of privileged wealth,—such are the most notable phenomena in political and business life since privileged classes and the apostles of imperialism have gained control of the government. And this temper of mind is as fatal to the best interests of true civilization as it is directly and glaringly opposed to the positive teachings, the life and the deeds of the Founder of Christianity. It also accounts for the brutal indifference of society to the rights of the child and the intellectual blindness that prevents people from seeing that this indifference is suicidal to free government or permanent national greatness. Here is a tragic yet typical illustration of conditions as they are found in American urban life to-day. It is one of a vast number of similar illustrative anecdotes that might be given as emphasizing the subject in hand and forming counts in the indictment against our slothful but boasted Christian civilization:

"In a New York kindergarten one winter's morning a frail, dark-eyed girl stood at the radiator warming her tiny blue and benumbed hands. She was poorly and scantily clad, and her wan, pinched face was unutterably sad with the sadness that shadows the children of poverty and comes from cares which only maturer years should know. When she had warmed her little hands back to life again, the child looked wistfully up into the teacher's face and asked:

"Teacher, do you love God?"

"Why, yes, dearie, of course I love God," answered the wondering teacher.

"Well, I do n't—I hate Him!" was the fierce rejoinder. "He makes the wind blow, and I have n't any warm clothes—He makes it snow, and my shoes have holes in them—He makes it cold, and we have n't any fire at home—He makes us hungry, and mamma had n't any bread for our breakfast—Oh, I hate Him!"

"This story, widely published in the newspapers two or three years ago and vouched

for by the teacher, is remarkable no less for its graphic description of the thing called poverty than for the child's passionate revolt against the supposed author of her misery. Poor, scanty clothing, cheerless homes, hunger day by day,—these are the main characteristics of that heritage of poverty to which so many thousands of children are born. Tens of thousands of baby lives are extinguished by its blasts every year, as though they were so many candles swept by angry winds. But their fate is far more merciful and enviable than the fate of those who survive."

Mr. Spargo thus emphasizes a vital fact which our educators of the past have for the most part ignored, but which twentieth-century enlightened thought must take cognizance of:

"There are certain conditions precedent to successful education, whether physical or mental. Chief of these are a reasonable amount of good, nourishing food and a healthy home. Deprived of these, physical or mental development must necessarily be hindered. And poverty means just that to the child. It denies its victim these very necessities with the inevitable result, physical and mental weakness and inefficiency."

Our author estimates that at least 3,300,000 children under fourteen years of age in the United States are in a condition of poverty. His conclusions are based on a careful investigation of indicative facts and he holds that they amply justify the figures named,—that is to say, that in normal times there are not less than 3,300,000 children under fourteen years of age in poverty, and a considerably greater number in periods of commercial depression. And this condition is becoming more and more serious as swollen fortunes acquired largely by special privileges and various forms of indirection are making a comparatively few multi-millionaires while the Dead Sea of poverty is steadily enlarging its borders, bringing us face to face with the startling fact that there are "two nations within the nation,—the nation of the rich and the nation of the poor,—and that Fourier's terrible prophecy of 'poverty through plethora,' has found fulfilment in the land where he fondly dreamed that his Utopia might be realized."

A convincing array of facts and statistics are advanced to show the alarming preva-

lence of underfeeding among the children who attend school and the dire effect of this condition of semi-starvation among the young. Here are some tragic facts:

"In another school the principal told me that she had reported to the District Superintendent that of 1,000 children on the register at least 100 were underfed. She told of children fainting in school or in the yard from lack of food, and of others suffering from disorders of the bowels due to the same cause. Many of these children were pointed out in the course of several visits to the school. 'Ignorance plays a large part in the problem,' said the principal, 'but I think it is mostly poverty. When work is hard to get or there is sickness in the family, or when there is a strike, then the children suffer most, and that shows that it is poverty in most cases.'

"Soon after the foregoing investigations were made, Dr. H. M. Lechstrecker, of the New York State Board of Charities, conducted an examination of 10,707 children in the Industrial Schools of New York City. He found that 499, or 4.10 per cent., had had no breakfast at the date of the inquiry, while 998, or 9.32 per cent., exhibited anæmic conditions apparently due to lack of proper nourishment. Upon investigation the teachers found that the breakfast of each of the 998 consisted either of coffee only, or of coffee with bread only. Only 1,885, or 17.32 per cent., started the day with what Dr. Lechstrecker considered to be an adequate meal. Other independent inquiries in several cities show that the problem is by no means peculiar to New York."

Mr. Spargo then briefly sums up the results of investigations as they relate to the underfeeding of school-children.

"Summarizing, briefly, the results of this investigation, the problem of poverty as it affects school-children may be stated in a few lines. All the data available tend to show that not less than 2,000,000 children of school age in the United States are the victims of poverty which denies them common necessities, particularly adequate nourishment. As a result of this privation they are far inferior in physical development to their more fortunate fellows. This inferiority of physique, in turn, is responsible for much mental and moral degeneration. Such children are in very many cases incapable of successful men-

tal effort, and much of our national expenditure for education is in consequence an absolute waste. With their enfeebled bodies and minds we turn these children adrift unfitted for the struggle of life, which tends to become keener with every advance in our industrial development, and because of their lack of physical and mental training they are found to be inefficient industrially and dangerous socially. They become dependent, paupers, and the procreators of a pauper and dependent race.

"Here, then, is a problem of awful magnitude. In the richest country on earth hundreds of thousands of children are literally damned to lifelong, helpless and debasing poverty. They are plunged in the earliest and most important years of character formation into that terrible maelstrom of poverty which casts so many thousands, ay, millions, of physical, mental, and moral wrecks upon the shores of our social life. For them there is little or no hope of escape from the blight and curse of pauperism unless the nation, pursuing a policy of enlightened self-interest and protection, decides to save them."

V. A GLANCE AT THE TRAGIC SPECTACLE OF CHILD-SLAVERY IN AMERICA.

Space forbids our extending this study so as to consider at length the great subject of child-labor or slavery in mills, factories and mines, or the remedies proposed. These chapters are of deep and melancholy interest to the lover of justice and the more thoughtful among our patriotic people. They should arouse the most deadened conscience and stimulate to activity every man and woman who has any desire to follow in the footsteps of the Great Nazarene or to imitate the example of the fathers who founded this nation. The author points out the fact that, according to the census returns for 1900, 7,116, or a little over 13 per cent. of the workers in the glass factories of America, were children under sixteen years of age; while something of the facts and conditions that obtain in the textile industries may be gathered from the following observations:

"There are more than 80,000 children employed in the textile industries of the United States, according to the very incomplete census returns, most of them being little girls. In these industries conditions are undoubtedly worse in the Southern states than elsewhere,

though I have witnessed many pitiable cases of child-slavery in Northern mills which almost equaled anything I have ever seen in the South. During the Philadelphia textile workers' strike in 1903, I saw at least a score of children ranging from eight to ten years of age who had been working in the mills prior to the strike. One little girl of nine I saw in the Kensington Labor Lyceum. She had been working for almost a year before the strike began, she said, and careful inquiry proved her story to be true. When 'Mother' Mary Jones started with her little 'army' of child toilers to march to Oyster Bay, in order that the President of the United States might see for himself some of the little ones who had actually been employed in the mills of Philadelphia, I happened to be engaged in assisting the strikers. For two days I accompanied the little 'army' on its march, and thus had an excellent opportunity of studying the children. Among them were several from eight to eleven years of age, and I remember one little girl who was not quite eleven telling me with pride that she had 'worked two years and never missed a day.'

"One evening, not long ago, I stood outside of a large flax mill in Paterson, N. J., while it disgorged its crowd of men, women, and children employes. . . . At six o'clock the whistles shrieked, and the streets were suddenly filled with people, many of them mere children. Of all the crowd of tired, pallid, and languid-looking children I could only get speech with one, a little girl who claimed thirteen years, though she was smaller than many a child of ten. Indeed, as I think

of her now, I doubt whether she would have come up to the standard or normal physical development either in weight or stature for a child of ten. One learns, however, not to judge the ages of working children by their physical appearance, for they are usually behind other children in height, weight, and girth of chest,—often as much as two or three years. If my little Paterson friend was thirteen, perhaps the nature of her employment will explain her puny, stunted body. She works in the 'steaming room' of the flax mill. All day long, in a room filled with clouds of steam, she has to stand bare-footed in pools of water twisting coils of wet hemp. When I saw her she was dripping wet, though she said that she had worn a rubber apron all day. In the coldest evenings of winter little Marie, and hundreds of other little girls, must go out from the super-heated steaming rooms into the bitter cold in just that condition. No wonder that such children are stunted and underdeveloped!"

This is a work of vital interest, a real contribution to the conscience literature of the hour. It will appeal to the reader's sober judgment and intelligence no less than to his sense of right and his humanitarian impulses. The hope of free institutions and the preservation of national greatness depend upon the furthering of the moral reforms which the apostles of social righteousness are striving to inaugurate; and as this work deals in a convincing way with one phase of this great democratic forward movement, it should be widely circulated.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.*

The Land of Enchantment. By Lilian Whiting. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 348. Price, \$2.50 net. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

FEW AMERICAN writers of to-day are so well qualified as is Lilian Whiting for the important task of adequately picturing the splendor and beauty, the mystery and the wonder, the latent resources and the possibili-

ties, of that part of our great Republic which our author has happily termed "the land of enchantment." She has traveled extensively in foreign countries and is intimately acquainted with the glories of Switzerland and with the combined attractions of natural splendor and beauty and storied interest that make Italy for artists and poets the Mecca of the Old World. Having dwelt in Florence until the Valley of the Arno and the historic city of the di Medici and Savonarola have become as a second home, and having felt the unique

* Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, Editorial Department, THE ARENA, Boston, Mass.

fascination of Venice and the witching spell which nature flings over the Neapolitan districts, she is exceptionally well-qualified to compare the wonders of the New World with the most attractive lands of Europe. But above and beyond this, she possesses the seeing eye of the poet and artist. All that is beautiful or sublime, all that is of special interest because unique or invested with mystery, legend and half-forgotten historic traditions, appeals to her with irresistible force. Moreover, she has the easy, flowing and somewhat florid style that is peculiarly pleasing in descriptive literature that deals with the wonders and glories of nature. She is preëminently an idealist, a believer in seeing all that is good and beautiful on this old planet. Furthermore, her long training as a journalist and editorial author enables her to write in a manner that appeals to the general reader, though this element of popularity, it must be confessed, takes somewhat from the value of the work as a finished literary creation of permanent value. We imagine, however, that the author's first purpose is to reach and interest the largest possible clientele and thus become helpful to tens of thousands of citizens in the enchanted lands, by teaching them to appreciate and enjoy the unmatched splendor of their home country, while also leading many of the East, who have the money and the disposition to travel, to turn their faces toward a section of the world unsurpassed in sublimity, beauty and wonder, and not devoid of historic interest. And if she succeeds even measurably in these directions the book will have been richly worth the while, quite apart from its interest and value for general readers; for to us nothing is more pitiable than the spectacle of tens of thousands of our people who, without possessing the culture and education to appreciate the historic and artistic worth of the chief centers of interest of Europe, annually flock to the Old World and pour out their wealth in foreign lands while being densely ignorant of the matchless attractions and incomparable natural splendor of our own great country.

While, however, Miss Whiting is particularly well-fitted to understand and intelligently picture the scenic beauty and historic and natural interest of the "land of enchantment," it must be said that she is less satisfactory when she describes the people and the social and political conditions of the land that has captured her imagination; for, as we have

observed, Miss Whiting is nothing if not an idealist. She has trained her mind to see the good and to dwell upon it, and just as the most pronounced realist dwells on evil conditions and social wrongs until his sense of proportion is distorted, so the extreme idealist errs in the opposite direction. Both these thinkers may be and usually are honest and earnest. They frequently tell the truth as they find it or see it, but they do not tell the whole truth; in fact, they do not as a rule search deeply for all facts or display anything like the activity in seeing the good or the evil, as the case may be, that they exhibit in searching out the facts that sustain their favorite view-point, and this fact prevents them from giving the full-orbed presentation of a question that is of vital importance to a historical survey or a comprehensive understanding of a political, social or economic condition. The historian or he who would present economic and political conditions from a democratic view-point must be fundamental in his investigations and fearlessly impartial in weighing and presenting all the facts as they exist. Any failure to do this impairs the work as a valuable contribution to historic or economic and social literature. And just here, it seems to us, is found the one weak point in Miss Whiting's otherwise charmingly instructive and valuable work.

Where there is so much space given to praise of the general living conditions—the social and economic conditions—as is found, for example, in her writings on Colorado, it is, we think, unfortunate that the defects should be dismissed with a few general observations, in view of the fact that in no state of the Union in recent years have there been more notoriously corrupt practices—ballot-box stuffing and various other kinds of evil practices that are destructive to free institutions, than have been brought to light time and again in Colorado; and in no state in the Union have the fundamental principles of free government been so recklessly trampled under foot by the governing power acting in the interests and for the enrichment of corporate wealth than in Denver and the Centennial State. And with these things so notoriously in evidence, it is, we think, extremely unfortunate that our author did not at least point out such facts as those about which there can be no difference of opinion and which are fatal to the cause of civic righteousness and the moral integrity of the people. But excepting this defect, which

comes from the author's point-of-view and her creed of daily living which she has followed for many years until it has become a working principle of life, the book is one that merits great praise for its double interest. It is as fascinating as a romance and it is crowded with facts that every intelligent person should know, but about which a large proportion of our people are for the most part ignorant. Few indeed are the writers who could present such a vast array of important information in a work without its becoming prosaic or didactic; yet here, from the opening page to the closing of the book, the reader is carried forward by a writer whose eye for beauty and soul for poetry enable her to throw a living interest over the vast array of geographical, historic and scientific facts which she presents.

The volume contains five extended chapters devoted to Colorado,—the glories of her matchless scenery, her immeasurably rich resources, her pioneers and her present population. From Colorado we pass to a consideration of "The Surprises of New Mexico" and "The Story of Santa Fé." These chapters alone would make a little volume of special value to all persons interested in archeological research and the early history of our land; for here are described at length and in a vivid and pleasing manner those strange monuments of a vanishing race—the homes of the cliff-dwellers, which may be aptly termed the American Sphinx, as up to the present time amid a bewildering mass of speculation, little of a positive or authentic character that throws light on these one-time inhabitants of the land is to be found.

More satisfactory are the remains of the monuments of the pioneer Spaniards who fared forth from Mexico in the early days and founded European settlements before the Pilgrim fathers planted the colonies on the Atlantic seaboard. The descriptions of the cliff-dwellers and the story of the early settlement of New Mexico by Europeans furnish some of the most pleasing and interesting pages of the work. As Colorado reminds the author of Italy rather than of Switzerland, so New Mexico strongly suggests Algiers.

Passing from New Mexico, ancient and modern, we enter another wonderland quite as strong in interest, yet entirely different in attractive features from either Colorado or New Mexico. Here the chief charm is found in natural phenomena, strange, unique, often-

times gorgeous in the extreme, but very unlike the splendor of nature in Colorado. In order that the reader may gain some idea of Miss Whiting's literary style, and also for the value of the general survey presented, we give a few paragraphs in which she epitomizes the general charms of Arizona. It should be remembered, however, that after these generalizations the author describes in detail the wonders of the land, and that she also dwells at length on its rich mineral resources, its products, its garden-spots, its people and its prospects.

"To the traveler sensitive to the spell of a strange, unearthly beauty, Arizona prefigures itself as the country God remembered rather than as 'the country God forgot.' It is at once the oldest and the newest of the states. Its authentic and historic past antedates the coming of the Mayflower to the rocky and desolate December shores of Massachusetts, while its future flashes before one like an electric panorama outspeeding wireless telegraphy. It is the Land of Magic and Mystery. The light is a perpetual radiance, as if proceeding from some alchemy of distilled sunshine. While Colorado is the Land of Perpetual Dawn, of an heroic and poetic achievement, Arizona is the region of brooding mystery, of strange surprises.

"Every incredible thing is possible in this miracle country, where purple mountain-peaks quiver in the shimmering golden light, where ruins of remote ages stand side by side with the primitive mechanism of pioneer living, where snow-capped mountain-peaks are watched from valleys that have the temperature and the productions of the tropics."

Of the flora of the land our author observes:

"There are few regions which so attract and reward the researches of the scientist as does Arizona. The geologist, the mineralogist, the ethnologist, the archaeologist, finds here the most amazing field for apparently unending investigation and study. Nor is the botanist excluded. The flora of Arizona offers the same strange and unique developments that characterize the region in so many other directions. The cacti flourish in riotous growth. The saguaro, a giant species, frequently attains a height of forty feet. A strange spectacle it is, with its pale green body, fluted like a Corinthian column, and its co-

lossal arms outstretched, covered with immense prickly thorns and bearing purple blossoms. The century plant flourishes in Arizona. There is a curious scarlet flower, blooming in clusters, at the top of straight, pole-like stumps ten to fifteen feet in height, which terminate in luxuriant masses of scarlet blossoms and green leaves, and grow in groups of from a dozen to fifty together, producing the most fascinating color effects in the landscape."

The chapter dealing with the petrified forests is of great interest but we have space for only a few descriptive lines:

"A June day in the Petrified Forests of Arizona is an experience that can never fade from memory.

"Of the three petrified forests, each separated by a mile or two, the first is reached by a drive of some six miles, while the third is twice as far. The second is the largest and most elaborate, and in the aggregate they cover an area of over two thousand acres. The ground is the high rolling mesas, and over it are scattered, 'thick as leaves in Vallombrosa,' the jewel-like fragments of mighty trees in deposits that are the wonder of the scientist. From the huge fallen tree-trunks, many of these being over two hundred feet in length and of similar proportions in diameter, to the mere chips and twigs, the forests are transmuted into agate and onyx and chalcedony. Numbers of these specimens contain perfect crystals. They are vivid and striking in color,—in rich Byzantine red, deep greens and purples and yellow, white and translucent, or dark in all color blendings. Great blocks of agate cover many parts of the forest. Hundreds of entire trees are seen. When cut transversely these logs show the bark, the inner fiber, and veining as perfectly as would a living tree. And over all these fallen monarchs of a prehistoric forest bends the wonderful turquoise sky of Arizona, and the air is all the liquid gold of the intense sunshine."

The pages devoted to the Meteoric Mountain are as interesting and valuable as those given to descriptions of the petrified forests, while the author's pen-picture of the Grand Cañon is a particularly vivid and fine piece of descriptive writing.

Los Angeles also engages our author's

attention in a manner that cannot fail to be satisfactory to the inhabitants of the growing metropolis of southern California.

The work as a whole is a contribution of real value that will prove a charmingly delightful book to all lovers of the beautiful in nature and who would know more of the wonders of our own great land.

Chants Communal. By Horace Traubel. Cloth. Pp. 194. Boston: Small, Maynard & Company.

A PROSE poem, strong, uplifting, prophetic, written by Walt. Whitman's most intimate friend and literary executor. Unconventional in style, it reminds of the good gray poet without being an imitation. In some respects it surpasses Whitman at his best. It is simple, straightforward, always to the point, intense and inspiring. It is realistic, paints true to life and yet is optimistic. It repeats, but only to make impressive.

What is it all about? We glance at the table of contents and find the volume to be divided into sections with such titles as these: "Forever First of All," "God Up There Somewhere Cries," "Said the Master of Men," "When the Enjoiner is Enjoined," "You, Civilization, Who Are So Very Big," "And the Heart of the Matter is Heart," "When I see How Slow You Are," "Way Off Somewhere," and "I am Going to Laugh."

What do such titles mean? We must read what is said under one of them and find out. We select "When the Enjoiner is Enjoined," and quote perhaps a third of it:

"The air is full of injunction. It is injunction simple, injunction complex. It is injunction monosyllabic and injunction polysyllabic. If you want to do a certain thing you are enjoined. If you do not want to do it you are enjoined.

"We could get along without punishing men for murder and robbery. But we could not get along without enjoining men from the pursuit of liberty. The courts save us from ourselves. Left to ourselves we might get justice too fast. So we submit our souls to the courts. The courts say: Go slow, very slow. The courts say: Do n't go at all. For liberty does not seem impossibly far ahead. And we seem dangerously near its protectorate. Liberty would be very perilous for somebody. The somebody with something that does not

belong to him. So we must not be allowed to get within hailing distance of liberty. So we cry to the courts: Save us from ourselves. And the courts save us. The courts enjoin.

"Yet the race is never saved but it gets lost again.

"He enjoins best who enjoins last. What can you do if injunction will not enjoin? If the injuncted will not be enjoined? What can you do if injunction is laughed in the face? The people are getting quarrelsome. They are laughing at your Niagara. They threaten to hurl your waters back over the crest of the cliff again. The enjoiner may enjoin.

"The people have risen. The courts are adjourned to the court. The court is the people. The people enjoin. Ten thousand injunctions are disposed of by one injunction. You have gone on supposing there was nothing above the courts. The courts were of final resort. But the people loomed above the courts. We alone are final, said the people. The injunction seems logical as long as the people sleep. But when the people awake the injunction sinks to chaos."

From this we infer that like Whitman's *Salut au Monde* it is a poem of *Democracy*. As we read it through we shall perhaps conclude that it is *the* poem of Democracy. It is so full of quotable passages that we find it hard to leave them out, but with the author's own final optimistic stanza we close this review. He has been speaking of the darker side of the world's civilization, starvation, squalor, slavery, chain-gangs, imperialism, official corruption, jails, hells below hells; and then he asks:

"Are we to stop here? Is this the end of the journey? Is the starved child the end of the journey? Is hate, rancor, fight, the end of the journey? Is thievery the end of the journey? Are sleepless nights and sleepy days the end of the journey? Is man the enemy the end of the journey? Are we to stop here? Stop with social wrong? Stop just where we are? Disappear in this trench? Cut down in the fury of economic assault? Is this where and how the journey is to end? Is this to be the best the dream of justice can do for man? God, no! This is but a beginning. This is a bad end making way for a

good beginning. This is the moment of the lapse of eras of force in eras of love. This is the bridgeroad. This is the mysterious archway of the rainbow. This is a juncture of promise and fulfilment. This is the darkest shadow meeting the brightest light. And it all amounts to this. The worst comes before the best comes."

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

Lincoln the Lawyer. By Frederick Trevor Hill. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 332. Price, \$2.00 net. New York: The Century Company.

THIS is an extremely interesting and well-written work, a contribution of real value to the already voluminous literature dealing with the life of the great Emancipator. There is one criticism which we think can be justly made. The author lays far too much stress and importance, in our judgment, on Lincoln's legal training and attributes a value to it out of all proportion to the proper relation it bears to the action of the great and single-hearted statesman. The moral idealism that dominated Lincoln, his absolute fidelity to the basic principles of fundamental democracy as he understood it, and his unswerving allegiance to the great humanitarian ideals and the cause of justice and right comprehended in the Declaration of Independence,—these more than all other things put together in our judgment enabled Lincoln to rise to the measure of the highest demands of statesmanship in the most crucial hour of the Republic's history. We do not wish to minify the value of Lincoln's legal training and experience. They doubtless were of great value to him, but they were by no means, we think, so important as our author imagines. This defect, which is perhaps not surprising in one who rivets his attention on one phase of the great man's life, is the chief criticism that can be fairly made against this otherwise valuable work.

It is well for the rising generation that the attention of our young men and women is being directed to the lives, thought and ideals of the two greatest fundamental democratic statesmen in the history of American life—Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln. They were both men of the people and true at all times to the broad demands of justice and democracy as enunciated in the Declaration of Independence, and the study of their

lives cannot fail to prove of importance to the young.

Mr. Hill's volume contains twenty-five chapters in which, as the title of the work indicates, the story of Lincoln the lawyer is dwelt upon at great length. The book is finely illustrated with a number of excellent portraits.

The Election of Senators. By George H. Haynes. Cloth. Pp. 295. Price, \$1.50 net. New York: Henry Holt & Company.

TIMELY, thorough and invaluable as a reference book is this work of Professor Haynes.

"It claims to be the first work to embrace the results of an exhaustive study of the highly important questions of the method of election of Senators. The opening chapters explain the reasons which guided the Convention of 1787 in its choice of the method of electing Senators by State legislatures, and those which led to the law of 1866. The author then shows what the results of this system of election have been: (1) on the Senate as a political institution; (2) on State and local government; and (3) on the personnel of the Senate. Next, he traces the growth of the movement for popular elections; and, finally, reviews in detail the arguments for and against a Constitutional amendment."

The subject is treated historically and the author's conclusions are clearly and convincingly stated as follows:

"If effective popular control over senatorial elections is to be won only by amending the Constitution so as to make possible the choice of Senators by direct vote of the people, would the gains from popular elections, thus secured, outweigh the losses? In the writer's opinion the answer must be yes.

"Few will be inclined to dispute that the Senate, as at present constituted, has become a seriously discredited body, and that many of its members show not a trace of any feeling of responsibility to the people. If, entirely aside from any experience with our Senate, the question could arise afresh as to the best method of electing the members of an upper house of the national legislature, in these early years of the twentieth century, no thoughtful man in the country would think of devolving

that duty upon the State legislatures. Many explanations may be set forth why this disposition was made of the election of 1787. It may be urged with force that many advantages are to be expected from an election by small bodies of picked men, and not a few objections may be advanced to amending the Constitution. Nevertheless, the man of to-day would feel instinctively that the state legislatures were unsuited to the performance of such a function, both by the conditions of their election and by the nature of their normal work of legislation. Or—to vary the hypothesis—if we had to-day a popularly elected Senate which proved subject to all evils which are predicted from popular elections, not one thoughtful man in a thousand would be found who would suggest that election by state legislatures would afford the needed remedy."

Not the least valuable feature of the book is an appendix giving a bibliography of the subject with references to all congressional actions and debates bearing upon the question of senatorial election. Those who wish to prepare themselves to fight the battles of democracy with intelligence should possess this book.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

The German Empire. By Burt Estes Howard, Ph.D. Cloth. Pp. 450. New York: The Macmillan Company.

THIS solid and scholarly work treats of the founding of the German Empire, the empire and the individual states, the Kaiser, the Bundersrat, the Reichstag, imperial legislation, the imperial chancellor, citizenship under the German constitution, the judicial organization of the empire, the armed forces of the empire, and several other subjects of interest. All these subjects are treated in a straightforward, simple, narrative style, and although the author deals with fundamental questions, he makes everything remarkably clear. In other words, his native American perspicacity survives and rises superior to the verbiology of German profundity. We have examined no better book for the American student of German institutions. The book is well indexed and is thus made available for ready reference.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

The Evolution of Immortality. By C. T. Stockwell. Fourth edition, revised and extended. Cloth. Pp. 190. Price, \$1.00 net. Boston: James H. West Company.

THIS book does not claim to demonstrate the truth of immortality but to give suggestions of it based upon our organic and life history, and its claim is thoroughly supported. It is a remarkable little book and worthy of the four editions into which it has passed.

There is no retrograde movement in nature. Everything is onward. What has been once attained is never lost. Out of the eternal hitherto have been evolved sentiency, consciousness, self-consciousness with no backward steps.

"All that is, at all,
Lasts ever, past recall;
Earth changes, but thy soul and God stand sure:
What entered into thee,
That was, is, and shall be:
Time's wheel runs back or stops: Potter and clay
endure."

So out into the illimitable hereafter go all the forces of the life that now is with more to be acquired. Among those things already acquired is the individual self-consciousness and therefore individual self-consciousness is eternal. That is, this is strongly suggested, though not demonstrated.

Again, there is no sense developed without some corresponding objective reality that calls it into action. The sight would never have been developed had there been no light, nor the hearing, without sound. The longing for immortality means that there is an immortality to call it into being.

All things are spiritual. Behind all nature there is a great all-pervasive intelligent force. This force is the one reality, the material is its manifestation. Within us all is a spark of this infinite energy. This is our real self. The material body is its clothing for the time being. The spiritual, emanating from God, is the eternal part. After leaving this body it goes out to organize a new body out of something finer and more subtle—perhaps out of the ether itself, or even something more refined than this. Thus life is an endless progression. These are some of the thoughts suggested by this unusual work. Those who wish to know the utmost that science can teach on its all-absorbing theme should read the book itself and ponder well its meaning.

Says the author: "The heart of man has

always claimed its right to a continuance of personal being; and his best and deepest intuitions have ever asserted the certainty and validity of that claim. And reason, searching long and rigidly, bids the heart to a hope and trust never so well and strongly founded as to-day."

And again: "It is assumed that our ideals are real forecasts and foreshadowings, the evidence and assurance that proclaim the evolution of the future."

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

Fellowship Songs. Arranged and compiled by Ralph Albertson. Boards. Pp. 102. Price, 25 cents. Westwood, Massachusetts: The Ariel Press.

SELDOM has it afforded us so much pleasure to notice a book as it does to write of *Fellowship Songs*, Mr. Ralph Albertson's new compilation of songs of democracy, justice, fellowship and love, not simply because the book is worthy of very high praise, but because there has been nothing that the great reform movement of our day stands more in need of than just such a popular song-book. Heretofore there have been several attempts to bring out a book of songs that should voice the spirit of progressive democracy and the larger and juster concepts of the new time, but they have been deplorable failures. Usually their very appearance suggested that they had come from a blacksmith's shop rather than from a well-equipped printing or musical publishing house. The selection of songs was sometimes fairly good but the music was as a rule of a character that would have predestined the most artistically gotten up work to oblivion.

Time and again have earnest friends expressed the desire for a really worthy compilation of songs of democracy, human progress and upliftment that should express the nobler spirit of the age, and at last this wish has been realized; for here, in a neat little volume, words and music harmonize, and the selections are exceptionally fine, embracing a large number of the finest verses adapted to music that have come from the great popular prophet-singers of the past century. Beginning with Ebenezer Elliott, Mr. Albertson comes down to Edwin Markham, gleaned such verses as will be an inspiration to all friends of progress and popular government.

To appreciate what a galaxy of stirring

songs Mr. Albertson has included in the book one has only to hastily glance through its pages. It opens with Edwin Markham's stirring song, "My America," so rich in fine poetic imagery that one loves to ponder over the poem and feel its power and meaning and appreciate the spirit of the creation. The compiler has set it to music in keeping with the high, fine thought expressed. The second song is the Rev. Minot J. Savage's "O, Star of Truth." Then come such verses as the famous "People's Advent," by Gerald Massey; "Friends of Freedom," by James Russell Lowell; "Our Hope and Purpose," by Clarence Mackay; "God Save the People," by Ebenezer Elliott; "The Brotherhood of Man," by J. A. Edgerton; "Rise, for the Day is Passing," by Adelaide A. Proctor; "Labor," by Henry van Dyke; "All Men are Equal," by Harriet Martineau; "The Muse of Labor," by Edwin Markham; "Onward, Brothers," by H. Havelock Ellis; "The World-Soul," by Ralph Waldo Emerson; "The Steady Gain of Man," by John Greenleaf Whittier; "Swing Inward, O Gates," by James G. Clark; "Choose Ye This Day," by James Russell Lowell; "The Faith of Brotherhood," by A. G. Swinburne; "The Day of the Lord," by Charles Kingsley; "Freedom," by Alfred Tennyson; "The People's Battle Hymn," by James G. Clark; and numbers of other songs which voice the finest sentiments and aspirations of earth's largest-visioned and clearest-sighted singers.

Surely never before have the friends of progressive democracy and fraternity had brought within the compass of a single book such a collection of poetic gems, instinct with the spirit of the Golden Rule, of democracy, brotherhood and the new age.

Happily, the excellent judgment displayed by Mr. Albertson in compiling the work, which has been a labor of love that has engrossed much thought and time, is also evinced in the music to which the words are set. True, some of these songs will require a little time to master the music, but when once mastered they will appeal in a compelling manner to heart and head, and in many cases the music is truly popular and can be easily caught by the audiences.

There is not a home in America, where there is a piano or any other musical instrument and any one to play it, and where the inmates are in sympathy with the spirit of advancing democracy, that should not be

supplied with this book; and a greatly needed and important work can be unostentatiously performed by young men and women of conscience and conviction, who are able to sing or play, if they will judiciously improve opportunities that are constantly afforded by singing some of the great truths taught in these poems and songs, into the hearts of their friends.

We sincerely hope and trust that every reader of *THE ARENA* will secure this new song-book and put it to use for the cause.

The Religion of the New Testament. By Professor D. Bernhard Weiss. Cloth. Pp. 440. Price, \$2.00 net. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

BECAUSE written by a German professor, this is supposed to be a very scholarly and valuable work. It does, indeed, show wide research and much painstaking toil of the true German type, but it is wholly unpractical and unnecessary. When one has read it through and is still in doubt as to what the religion of the New Testament really is, he may refresh his mind by turning to the Sermon on the Mount and the parable of the Good Samaritan.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

Saul of Tarsus. By Elizabeth Miller. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 442. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THOSE who were fortunate to read and enjoy Miss Miller's fine story, *The Yoke*, with its vivid pictures of Egyptian civilization and its deep human interest, will look forward with pleasure to the perusal of her new novel, *Saul of Tarsus*, and they will not be disappointed; for Miss Miller is not only a conscientious worker who studies the history of the times of which she writes until she is able to bring them before readers in the realistic manner of one who has actually seen and felt that which is described, but she also possesses the instinct for strong and dramatic situations, so that her stories hold the attention from cover to cover.

Saul of Tarsus is a story of the early Christians. The scenes are laid in Jerusalem, Damascus, Alexandria and Rome. Although Saul only appears but a few times, it is his spirit which dominates the book and influences the action of the principal characters. Mar-syas, the hero, is a young postulant of the

Essenes, a friend of Stephen and also of Saul. When Saul's zeal for Judaism leads him to bring about the death of Stephen, Marsyas turns against him and in the future directs all his efforts to bringing about his downfall. He meets Herod Agrippa, at that time a fugitive debtor in Jerusalem. Herod is in need of money, Marsyas is in need of the help which Herod will be able to render him if once his debts are paid. The two join forces, and a deep and true affection springs up between them. Marsyas is working to accomplish his revenge; Agrippa to attain the ambitious desire of his heart. The exciting and complicated events growing out of this condition of affairs form the groundwork for a strong and fascinating romance. There is a charming love-story running through the novel, in which the beautiful daughter of the Jewish alabarch of Alexandria and Marsyas are the principals, and which finally terminates happily after many vicissitudes.

Many readers will perhaps think that Miss Miller paints the character of Herod Agrippa in too rosy colors, and some will perhaps feel that she has at times sacrificed the dignity of the story by introducing incidents which savor of the melodramatic. Her description of Saul's crowning experience on the road to Damascus, it seems to us, takes from the strength of the story. Such an incident can only be successfully handled by a writer of surpassing genius. These defects, however, are not pronounced enough to seriously mar the work, which is one of the most interesting and well-written novels of the year.

One of the best pieces of character delineation in the book is the passage in which we catch our first glimpse of Saul the fanatic, later to become the great apostle to the Gentiles:

"Over his countenance was a fine assumption of humility curiously inconsistent with a consciousness of excellence which made an atmosphere that could be felt. Yet, holding first place over these conflicting attributes was the stamp of tremendous mental power, and a heart-whole sweetness that was irresistible. The union of these four characteristics was to produce a man that would hold fast to theory, though all fact arise and shouted it down; who would maintain form, though the spirit had in horror long since fled the shape. Thus, inflexibly fixed in his convictions, he was unlimited in his capacity for

maintaining them. In short, he was a leader of men, a zealot, a formalist and an inquisitor—one of great mentality dogmatized, of great spirit prejudiced, of immense capabilities perverted.

"Such was Saul of Tarsus."

AMY C. RICH.

The Spirit of the Orient. By George William Knox. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 312. Price, \$1.50 net. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Company.

PROFESSOR KNOX holds that since the discovery of America no one event has been so freighted with momentous meaning to the world as the present awakening of the East; and no people in the Occident should be more profoundly alive to the meaning of this awakening than the citizens of our Republic. Our vast Western seaboard with its rapidly growing commerce will ere long make our business relations and interests as commanding in importance in Asia as they are to-day in Europe. More than this:

"Already we face a situation of world-wide importance, for we are attempting a new experiment. European powers have established empires in the East repeatedly, ruling over vast populations by force. Some of these empires have been benevolent and some have been greedy and unscrupulous, but in all alike the fundamental principle has been government by a superior race through force.

"In our Asiatic possessions we are adopting a different course, as the principles of the American nation are government by the people and for the people. We proclaim these principles in our dependencies, and we are attempting to introduce universal education in preparation for their practical application. On every side we are told by experienced observers that this is an impossibility, for the people of the East must be governed, they cannot rule themselves, and that we are trying to graft our ideas upon a stock which cannot receive them. If this be so, not only will our present experiment be a failure, but our own political principles must be modified. Instead of asserting the government is of the people, we shall be obliged to add when the people are of Anglo-Saxon descent. At present, however, we are not convinced by the testimony of these experienced observers, but we are determined to persevere in our experiment."

The author of this work has spent years in the Orient studying in a broad and sympathetic manner the life, aspirations and view-point of the great civilizations of the Far East, and he indicates in a striking manner the great points of difference between the various peoples of the Orient,—the Mohammedans of the West, the Indians, the Chinese, the Japanese and other peoples who inhabit that vast continent which constitutes one-third of the solid surface of the globe. He wisely confines his study to the three great peoples,—the Indians, the Chinese and the Japanese. More than this, he recognizes that in the compass of his volume the most that he can do effectively is to note the spirit of the people. It is therefore a study of the heart or soul of the great civilizations of Eastern and Southern Asia, made by a brilliant and penetrating thinker, gifted with the judicial or impartial spirit to a degree rarely found in the present day. Moreover, Professor Knox possesses the philosophic temper which enables him to enter into sympathetic rapport with the different and divergent views of the various civilizations, races and peoples he is considering. He can understand the view-point of the Indian, the Chinaman and the Japanese no less than that of the great representative spirits of the Western nations; and finally, he is broad enough to be perfectly fair in presenting the view-points of all the representative Orientals,—something that has not often been done by Western scholars. These things alone would give the work a high place among the volumes that aim to present fair estimates of the Orientals and their ideals, or to helpfully inform the Western reader on the most vital and fundamental facts relating to the civilizations of Asia. But in addition to these things, our author possesses a style of exceptional charm, which, if the work were far less able and authoritative than it is, would still render it a most engaging volume.

In his treatment of the subject, Professor Knox presents "The American Point-of-View," and follows this by an equally comprehensive presentation of "The Asiatic Point-of-View." This clears the way for the more intelligent and detailed investigations and considerations of the subject which follow, and in which are discussed India, its people and customs, its spirit and problems; China, its people and customs, its spirit and problems; and Japan, its people and customs, its spirit and problems. The concluding chapter is

entitled, "The New World," and deals very thoughtfully with the significance of the victory of Japan over Russia and the probable result of the great awakening now in progress.

This work is, in our judgment, the best volume on the subject that has appeared and it is a book that all thinking Americans should read, for more than any other Occidental writer, Professor Knox, it seems to us, has given a luminous pen-picture of the vital points of contrast, the lights and shadows, or the strong and weak points, in the civilizations of India and China. The chapters on Japan, also, are most admirable. No one who wishes an intelligent grasp of the great Eastern problem should fail to read *The Spirit of the Orient*.

How to Speak in Public. By Grenville Kleiser. Cloth. Pp. 533. Price, \$1.25 net. Postage, 15 cents. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

It is a pleasure to recommend this invaluable volume to all persons interested in public reading and speaking, and to students in general who would improve the speaking voice. It is by far the most practical manual on oratory and public speaking in general we have seen. Most works that deal with elocution, oratory and dramatic expression are so given over to fine-spun theories and more or less abstract, not to say abstruse, expressions, that they confuse the mind and are of little practical use to the busy student with only a limited amount of time at his disposal. Not so with this volume. The author was formerly instructor in elocution in the Yale Divinity School, and is at present instructor in elocution in the Jewish Theological Seminary of America and in other well-known educational institutions.

The volume is divided into four parts, devoted to "The Mechanics of Elocution," "Mental Aspects," "Public Speaking," and "Selections for Practice."

In the first division, we have a luminous and readily comprehensible treatise on "Breathing and Vocal Hygiene," "Vocal Expression," "Voice Culture," "Modulation" and "Gesture." The second division is devoted to "Pausing," "Emphasis," "Inflection," "Picturing," "Concentration," "Spontaneity," "Conversation," "Simplicity," "Sincerity," "Aim and Purpose," "Confidence," "Earnestness," and "The Emotions." The discussions of these various divisions are followed by apt examples which illustrate and quickly

fix the important facts in the student's mind.

In the third division, which is devoted to "Public Speaking," the physical, mental and moral requisites are classified and discussed in a manner at once pleasing and convincing. The author at all times goes to the heart of the matter in hand, and presents his subject in so practical a way that the student must be dull indeed if he fails to quickly grasp and assimilate the really important and basic truths relating to oratory and reading or speaking in general. In the third department are found most admirable suggestions and rules for "Preparation of the Speech," "Divisions of the Speech," and "Delivery of the Speech."

Part four contains over sixty selections for practice, embracing master-pieces of oratory, ancient and modern, made with rare judgment and discrimination.

This work as a whole is so excellent we feel it would be difficult to overstate its value to serious students.

Golden-Rule Jones. By Ernest Crosby. With Frontispiece Portrait of the late Samuel Milton Jones. Cloth. Pp. 82. Price, 50 cents. Chicago: The Public Publishing Company.

THE MATTER contained in this little volume was originally published in *The Craftsman* and has since been revised by the author before being issued in its present form. It deals with different phases of the life of the late Samuel Milton Jones, the Golden-Rule Mayor of Toledo, and consists of seven brief chapters entitled "In Business," "In Politics," "On the Bench," "Letters of Love and Labor," "His Economics," "Poetry," and "His Death."

Mr. Crosby has brought us into close touch with this unique figure in modern business and political life. He has given us an intimate comprehensive picture of the ideals and achievements of Mr. Jones. The big-hearted employer who regarded all men as his brothers and who loved his workingmen as if they had been his children; the just and humane police magistrate who looked below the surface to find the underlying causes which brought the unfortunates before him; the clear-sighted economic thinker with his firm belief in the common people and their ability to govern themselves; the Mayor who insisted on ruling the city according to the ethics of the Golden Rule and not along the lines of party politics, are all brought clearly before the reader in

Mr. Crosby's simple and pleasing manner. It is a volume that all reformers will value.

AMY C. RICH.

Half a Rogue. By Harold MacGrath. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 449. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THE well-to-do young man of good family who enters politics to reform them has become a favorite character with popular novel-writers during the past year. In the present volume the hero, a successful playwright, attempts to run for mayor of his home city, in opposition to the forces of the boss of the community. He is however defeated by a small majority and we are left to infer that his political career is at an end. The situations are not particularly new or striking, and as a picture of present-day political conditions in American cities is not up to the level of many other recent novels dealing with the same subject, notably *The Romance of John Bainbridge*, *The District Attorney* and *The Common Lot*.

There is a pretty love-story which terminates happily and some of the characters are very well drawn, especially Patty Bennington, the heroine, John Bennington, her brother, and Mrs. Franklin-Haldene, a sort of second villain in the story.

As stated above, there is nothing new and striking about the story as a study of American life; while as a romance pure and simple it is far inferior to *The Man on the Box*.

AMY C. RICH.

Where the Rainbow Touches the Ground. By John Henderson Miller. Cloth. Pp. 256. Price, \$1.00. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

WE DO NOT share the high opinion of this story which the publishers seem to entertain nor can we agree with them that the author is a writer of exceptional power. The story is so wildly and absurdly impossible in many respects that the interest that it might otherwise inspire is lost for those who demand that the canons of probability be observed in fictional writing. The ethical tone of the work is good and the lessons of practical value, impressed or dwelt upon in the course of the story, in which we note the gradual unfoldment of the character of Bobbett Patterson, the reformed drunkard, are excellent. There is also a love romance which develops as the story proceeds.

SOME GOOD BOOKS FOR CHILDREN.

The Hunt of the White Elephant. By Edward S. Ellis. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 343. Price, \$1.00. Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Company.

MR. ELLIS is probably the most popular of that class of writers of tales for boys in which for many years Mr. Adams, better known as "Oliver Optic," enjoyed acknowledged preëminence. All of Mr. Ellis' tales possess the elements that appeal to the imagination of the young, while the ethical teachings which they inculcate are usually high and fine. Thus in a very positive manner they are of value in taking the place of the vicious, feverish and crime-breeding dime novels, detective libraries and other cheap literature that has long flooded the country. It is to be regretted, however, that the price of Mr. Ellis' stories is so high as to place them beyond the reach of many boys.

The story of *The Hunt of the White Elephant* is one of Ellis' very best tales, being written in a spirited manner and replete with exciting adventures so dear to the vivid and hungry imagination of the child. The hero and a Christian native start out to capture one of the sacred white elephants for which the King of Siam has offered an enormous price. There is a highly exciting hunt for a man-eating tiger, which is turned into a hunt on the part of the tiger for the hunters. This, however, is but one of numerous perils which are encountered by the lad, not only from wild beasts, but also from the reptiles and crocodiles. The white elephant is finally caught, but it is stolen by the natives and the search is renewed. Finally, however, the precious beast is retaken and subjugated.

Mag and the Others. By Harriet T. Comstock. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 150. Price, 75 cents. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Company.

THIS is a delightful little story-book for small girls. In it a lovable grandmother tells on a series of evenings a number of episodes in the life of a very human little girl and her boy companion, beginning with the little heroine when she makes her first successful attempt to walk, and ending—well, a long time later. The story turns out to be a series of episodes in the life of the grandmother and the boy who is none other than the loved grandfather. Seldom have we read a sweeter or

more natural and wholesome tale for little folks of from six to ten years of age than this charming story of *Mag and the Others*.

Joey at the Fair. By James Otis. Cloth. Pp. 190. Price, 75 cents. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Company.

THIS story and the others in T. Y. Crowell's admirable Juvenile Series are for readers much younger than those for whom Mr. Ellis writes. They are most admirable works for children of from six to ten. *Joey at the Fair* is a delightfully natural tale of a lad in an American farm-home where the hero, his father, mother and little sister all live the normal if rugged life of tillers of the soil. The boy is given a little heifer calf to raise, and by taking the greatest pains with the animal and treating it with a degree of love which only a child of fine nature can bestow upon a dumb animal, the young creature develops to be the finest calf in the district. Finally the boy conceives the plan of taking her to the fair, but before this great, and as it proves, proud, event of his life, many interesting things happen, especially after an aunt from the city and her son arrive for a visit. The tale is well told and cannot fail to be the source of much pleasure to young readers.

The Magic Wand. By Tudor Jenks. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 110. Price, 50 cents. Philadelphia: Henry Altemus Company.

WE KNOW of no modern writer of fairy tales and wonder stories for the little folks who can compare with Tudor Jenks, and in *The Magic Wand* are three stories that ought to find great favor with children who have revelled in *The Arabian Nights*. *The Magic Wand*, *The Sultan's Verse* and *The Boy and the Dragon* are exceedingly charming tales, very bright and at times rich in humor.

In the first story the wizard of the kingdom leaves his home to confer with the King, and forgets his Magic Wand. His little four-year-old child gets hold of it and works all manner of mischief and of wonder before he is relieved of the all-powerful mace.

The Sultan's Verse tells of how a child by being honest and truthful at the risk of his life wins the heart and favor of the Sultan and becomes Grand Chamberlain of the realm; while the third tale deals with a princess imprisoned by a steel-clad dragon, and how a lad rescued her.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

SPECIAL NOTICE: There are at the present time three great movements that relate to fundamental democracy, to pure government and to the securing to the producers and consumers of what are their rights but which have long been denied them through the extortions of trusts and corporations on the one hand and the wasteful old competitive system on the other. These movements are Direct-Legislation, Public-Ownership of Public Utilities, and Voluntary Coöperation. Naturally they are engaging more and more the attention of thinking men and women throughout the Republic, but nowhere are there to be found any publications which are monthly giving a full and complete digest of all the important news relating to these different fundamental constructive measures for popular government and the happiness and prosperity of all the people. We have for some time contemplated three departments in *THE ARENA* which should give each month an authoritative survey of the field covered by these important movements, so that all persons interested in them could be able to find in a short compass the salient facts relating to each; but we were not willing to announce our plans till we could perfect arrangements that would ensure the successful carrying out of the programme. Now, however, it affords us great pleasure to announce that we have perfected such arrangements and beginning with this issue we shall publish a monthly digest of the news of Direct-Legislation, prepared by Mr. RALPH ALBERTSON, Secretary of the National Federation for People's Rule and Secretary of the Massachusetts Referendum League. Mr. ALBERTSON, who is also Secretary of the Co-operative Association of America, will prepare the news relating to Coöperative movements in America which will monthly appear in *THE ARENA*. Beginning with the March number we shall present monthly a digest of the news of public-ownership of public utilities, compiled, edited and arranged expressly for *THE ARENA* by Professor FRANK PARSONS, Ph.D., one of the leading authorities on public-ownership in the English-speaking world. The positions occupied and the work accomplished by Professor PARSONS and Mr. ALBERTSON entitle them to be ranked as leading specialists in the fields of work in which they are thus engaged, and their relation to the great works of which they write enables them to secure data from all sections that it would be difficult for others to obtain. These departments will immensely enhance the value of *THE ARENA* for all students of progressive democracy and justice and fraternity in public, business and individual life.

David Graham Phillips' Brilliant Exposé of Secretary Root and the Uncovering of the Serpent in the Fair Egg the Secretary Presented in his Famous

Speech: In the Revolutionary war the patriot cause suffered most severely and at times was in deadly peril by reason of the Tories in our own land, who ever secretly worked in behalf of the British while frequently making the most effusive and fair-sounding protestations of loyalty to the patriot cause. So to-day the cause of free government or progressive and rational democracy has no greater foe to contend against than those persons who like Mr. Root have amassed fortunes in the defense of criminals and in the service of lawless corporations, but who from time to time appear to espouse the cause of the people. To-day a large majority of our most brilliant intellects of the land are in the employ of trusts, corporations and privileged classes whose interests are diametrically opposed to the interests of the nation and the people, and all the cunning wiles of the master-brains who are willing to subordinate the voice of conscience to the greed for gold, are being employed in behalf of the plutocracy. It is well for the Republic that there is coming to the front on every hand a band of well-educated, brilliant and trained young men—many of them journalists who have the keenness of mental penetration which marks the intellectual prostitutes who have grown old in the service of the enemies of the Republic, but who have not only intellectual brilliancy but also moral courage and that high order of patriotism that will not permit them to betray the people's cause or the principles of free government for any bribe that plutocracy can offer. Among this coterie whose members largely bear the fate of the Republic in their hands, we know of no one whose intellectual penetration is keener or whose moral courage is more pronounced than DAVID GRAHAM PHILLIPS, and never, we think, has his searching intellectual power been more clearly displayed than in his masterly paper contributed to this issue of *THE ARENA*.

Germany's Experience With Her Railways: In the December *ARENA* we opened the immensely valuable series of papers on *The Railways of Europe*, contributed to this review by Professor FRANK PARSONS after an exhaustive personal investigation of the railways, embracing two trips to Europe and covering many months of patient toil. Germany's experience, like Switzerland's, proves the great benefits to the nation and to the people derived from public-ownership. We earnestly urge all our readers to carefully peruse these important papers and then loan them to honest-minded friends. A great work can thus be accomplished by each citizen in hastening the day when the Republic shall be wrested from the greed-controlled corporations that are prostituting government, school and press for the enrichment of a small class at the expense

of national virtue and of the prosperity all the people.

Maxim Gorki on the American Billionaire: We give this month MAXIM GORKI's impression of the American billionaire, translated from the German expressly for THE ARENA by Mr. NEWELL DUNBAR. It is pregnant with suggestive thoughts that are timely at present when the claims of manhood are battling with the arrogant claims of the dollar-worshippers who seek to exalt profits above the rights of man, woman and child, even though in so doing they would destroy civilization and debauch humanity.

Photography: Its True Function and Its Limitation: We think our readers will take great pleasure in the beautiful selections from photographs that accompany our paper on photography. Especially will they prize the fine portraits of the poet MILLER, and of the eminent sculptor WILLIAM ORDWAY PARTRIDGE, both contributors to THE ARENA, and the fine portrait of SARGENT, the great painter, as well as the pictures of other distinguished personage. They will also enjoy the finely-executed photographs representing well-known paintings. In this article we have striven to present what we conceive to be the true function and the limitations of the photographic art.

Justice Clark on Constitutional Changes Demanded to Bulwark Democratic Government: Mr. DAVID GRAHAM PHILLIPS has shown in this issue how necessary it is to guard the Constitution against the assaults of those who have no right to ignore or seek to discredit that great instrument. It is of the utmost importance that every good citizen should strenuously oppose any unconstitutional act on the part of any citizen, be he President, judge, legislator or civilian, but it is equally clear that the great instrument calls for revision to meet the present demands of democratic government and to check the aggressions of an arrogant, corrupt and determined plutocracy which is striving to destroy the life of free institutions while preserving the shell of a republican government. These changes, however, must be made, as Justice CLARK points out, by the people, the source and fountain of all power in a democratic republic. The Constitution can only be revised or changed by the people, and any attempt by officials to discredit its provisions, until the people make such revision, is a blow dealt at the vitals of the Republic. But this fact, important as it is, must not blind us to the other imperative truth,—that the time has arrived when the great instrument should be thoroughly revised. Justice CLARK in one of the most masterly arguments that has been made clearly shows this important need. The changes he suggests are vitally important and would make for the advance of democracy, the purity of government and the happiness and prosperity of all the people; but in our judgment the great jurist has omitted the most important and

imperative demand—that of the Initiative, the Referendum and the Right of Recall. Add these to the list given by Judge CLARK, and we have a programme that we could triumphantly carry in almost every state in the Union, in spite of the united power, resources and wealth of the enemies of the Republic.

Spoils and the Civil Service: In this issue we publish the first part of FRANK VROOMAN's thoughtful discussion of *Spoils and the Civil Service*. A republican government should be a growing organism. It should be ever on the alert to detect the approach of deadly enemies and the stealthy advance of evils that hold the seeds of disease for the body politic. The failure of attempts at republican government in the past have been largely due to indifference on the part of the people and the neglect of the people's servants to meet changed conditions with measures that would check or destroy evils before they become more powerful than government. This is one of the lessons that should be burned into the consciousness of all our people at the present time of civic awakening. The civil service laws are excellent as far as they go, but they should be extended and severe penalties prescribed for any infraction of the laws.

Joaquin Miller in Boston: In our sketch of the Poet of the Sierras in Boston and in the thought-provoking conversation by Mr. MILLER on Boston and New York, we are able to give our readers a new picture of the brilliant and gifted poet and philosopher showing him exactly as he appears to-day. From his own words our friends will see that Mr. MILLER's thought was never more virile or suggestive than it is at present. Next month we shall give a conversation with the poet in which he gives a comprehensive outline of his great new poem, a romance of wedded life.

Paying Children to Attend School: Some months ago Mr. WILLARD FRENCH discussed in a very suggestive manner the subjects of pensioning the young and the old. In this month's ARENA Professor OSCAR CHESMAN, Ph.D., of Ohio University, writes in advocacy of paying children to attend school. There is a growing determination on the part of an ever-increasing number that the children shall be so guarded that they can live a natural life and receive the benefits and blessings of a good education, not only because it is the right of the child and for his good, but also because it is vitally important to the Republic of to-morrow that such provisions be made for every child reared within its borders. And there is also a growing sentiment that the man who has grown old in faithful service of society should be pensioned by society, that his declining years may be robbed of the terror of poverty, privation and want. New Zealand has led the way in pensioning her aged citizens, and England in all probability will soon follow the example of the New England of the Antipodes.



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ERNEST HOWARD CROSBY

"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."—HEINE.

The Arena

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OSCAR WILDE.

BY PROFESSOR ARCHIBALD HENDERSON, Ph.D.

I.

THE BIOGRAPHY of the soul of a decadent such as D'Annunzio, Verlaine, Dowson or Wilde, connotes the infinitely delicate and complex task of tracing that thin demarcative line which divides the famous from the infamous. Nor is the contemplation of the personal failure of a brilliant artist like Wilde—drifting derelict upon the tumultuous sea of passion—either congenial or edifying. There is no more tragic spectacle than that of a man of genius who is not a man of honor. And yet, until vaster and more definitive studies of the problems of homo-sexuality, of degeneracy, and of criminal pathology shall have been completed, Wilde will continue to be what Byron has been aptly termed: a "fascinating trouble." There is a sort of melancholy fascination inherent in the determination of the causes underlying discrepancy between purpose and performance, between ideal and reality, between Art and morality. The spirit warreth against the flesh, the flesh against the spirit. The selfsame soul which joyfully mounts to the shining summits of art cries forth its anguished *Mea Culpa* from the depths of life. In the heart of every man is lodged not only a Paridiso,

but a Purgatorio. As artist and man, Oscar Wilde might truly have said with Omar Khayyam: "I myself am Heaven and Hell."

There exists no more salient exemplification of the reality of the identity between destiny and human character than is to be discovered in the case of Oscar Wilde. The *crux* of his mania was blindness to the truth that the man who is the lackey of his passion can never be the master of his fate. The quintessential secret of his *débauche* is found in the fact that this leader in the ranks of individualism was not the captain of his own soul. "Not even the most insignificant actions," says one of Echegaray's characters in *El Gran Galeoto*, "are in themselves insignificant or lost for good or evil. For, concentrated by the mysterious influences of modern life, they may reach to immense effects." Wilde's life signally exemplifies, in Amiel's words, "the fatality of the consequences incident to human acts." It was his tragedy to drink to the dregs "the bitter tonic draught of experience" and to realize, in infinite wretchedness and isolation, the truth of George Eliot's dictum that consequences are unpitiful. In his own words, "I forgot that every little action

of the common day makes or unmakes character, and that therefore what one has done in the secret chamber one has some day to cry aloud on the housetop."

No one would deny to Wilde the title of a Prince of Paradoxers. And yet this acolyte of the obverse, to whom perversity was a passion, never created so puzzling a paradox as the profound paradox of his own life. He to whom humanity was always a disquieting problem has bequeathed himself as a far more disquieting problem to humanity. Irony incarnate, yet unconscious, lay in his reiterated injunction that it is not so much what we say, nor even what we do, but what we *are* that eternally matters. Like Domini Enfielden he yearned to live and to live more abundantly—"to be, to know, to feel, . . . to go through everything, to turn every page, to experience all that can be experienced upon the earth." He early confessed that he "wanted to eat of the fruit of all the trees in the garden of the world"; and he went forth into the world with that passion in his soul. But he ate only the bitter-sweet fruit of the trees of pleasure; and it turned to ashes upon his tongue. If he ate of the fruit of the tree of knowledge, it was a knowledge of evil, not of good. This master of the half-truth is condemned in the very phrase; it was the fate of his character not simply to know, but to wish to know, only the half of the truth, of the meaning of life.

"Virtue," says Bernard Shaw, "consists, not in abstaining from vice, but in not desiring it." Judged by the criterion of this post-Nietzschean valuation of virtue, Wilde was, constitutionally and congenitally, one of the most vicious of men. If Wilde could, by any stretch of the imagination, be termed virtuous in any sense, it was in no other than the professional sense. In his life as artist, it was his sincerity to be insincere. At times it seems as if he found reality in artificiality, sanctuary in a pose. The final verity about the man is that, through the refractory lens of his temperament,

all truth appeared encased in a paradox. Far from being universal or fundamental, truth to Wilde was so individual, so personal a thing that the moment it became the property of more than one person, it became a falsehood. If his art ever ceased to live for its own sake, it was because it lived for Wilde's sake. Indeed, Wilde was of his essence what the French call *personnel*; and a work of art, as he phrased it, is always the unique result of a unique temperament. To Ibsen, creation in art consists in holding judgment day over oneself; to Wilde, creation in art consisted in the celebration of a holiday of mentality. In the guise of interpreter of the modern spirit, he was always happening upon the discovery of a great, an unique truth; and this he flippantly and condescendingly consented to communicate to that boorish monster, the public. Art was an ivory tower in which dwelt the long-haired seraph of the sunflower; the drama was merely a platform for the *flair* of the *flaneur*; and all the world a stage for the wearer of the green carnation. It has ceased to be a paradox, perhaps, to attribute an exalted, if extravagant, sense of virtue, sanity and morality to Walt Whitman, to Elisée Reclus, to Bernard Shaw. Their notions of right, of justice, and of morality differ from those of the average man—Zola's *l'homme moyen sensuel*—in that they sharply diverge from, if not occasionally transcend, the conventional standards, the perfunctory concepts of right living and just conduct. If Wilde could be said to have any morals, it was a faith in the artistic validity of poetic justice. If he could be said to have any conscience, it was the professional conscience of the impeccable artist—of Poe, of Pater, of Sainte Beuve. If he could be said to have a sense of right, it was a sense of the right of the artist to live his own untrammelled life.

In speaking of Sainte Beuve, self-styled the "naturalist of the human heart," Emile Faguet once remarked that men are, without being entirely right, at least

not entirely wrong in ignoring many faults in the man who possesses the virtue proper to his own profession. Only through absolute dissociation of the merits of the artist from the demerits of the man is critical discussion of Wilde, the *littérateur*, in any sense justifiable. Never was there a more lamentable failure than the wrong-headed and ill-considered defence of Wilde, recently published. Its sentiment is unhealthy, its point-of-view myopic, and the general trend of the book is to sicken and alienate the reader; indeed, to defeat the very purpose for which it was designed. The publication of such a book puts us in possession of the facts of Wilde's life—the sinister aspects of his heredity, the pernicious influences of his environment, and the complicated coil of circumstance by which he was entangled in the fatal net of his own unconscious manufacture. But so numerous and so damaging are the enforced admissions of the biographer, so petty, nauseating and inhuman are the traits of his subject, that the general impression left upon the reader is a verification of the justice of his instinctive feeling and a validation of the decree which condemned Wilde to prison. The point of departure for an estimate of Wilde is to be found, neither in a wrong-headed sense of outrage against the verdict of society nor in a groping for hopeless excuse behind the imperfect researches of pathological criminology. The *raison d'être* of any future study of Wilde is to be found either in the palliative charm of his personality as friend and temperament as artist, or in the orchidaceous modernity and brilliant exoticism of his spoken and written art. There is nothing morbid or meretricious in a sympathetic search for the master-key to the secret of the charm of his temperament and of his art. But a justification of his life is a contradiction in terms. There can be no defence of the indefensible.

II.

One year before Arthur Pinero and two years before Bernard Shaw, Oscar

Fingal O'Flahertie Wills Wilde was born at No. 1 Merrion Square, Dublin, on October 16, 1854. His parents, both brilliant and distinguished figures, took a leading part in the life of their age; and certain of the distinguishing traits of both find striking reproduction in their unhappy son. Mr., afterwards Sir, William Wilde, Oscar's father, early distinguished himself in the field of letters; but the logical bent of his mind was toward medical study, which he pursued in London, Berlin and Vienna. He devoted his first year's fees as a physician, indeed, more, the first thousand pounds of his professional earnings, to the founding of St. Mark's Ophthalmic Hospital where the poor could be treated for eye and ear diseases; and his distinction as a physician won him the title of "the father of modern otology." He received many honors, including knighthood, during his lifetime; but it was Oscar Wilde's misfortune to inherit from his father, not his talents as a scientific specialist, but his vicious traits as immoralist and libertine.

Just as Bernard Shaw derived his musical bent from his mother, who was a rarely talented musician, so Oscar Wilde derived his literary sense, in great measure, from his brilliant mother—Jane Francesca Elgee. Signing her verses "Speranza" and her letters "John Fanshawe Ellis," this woman of genius, as Sir Charles Gavan Duffy called her, contributed frequently to *The Nation*, of Dublin, from 1847 on; and her celebrated Nationalist manifesto, *Jacta Alea Est*, inspired by Williams' *The Spirit of the Nation*, gave her a notoriety little short of treasonable. In *savoir faire*, in all the arts of the *salon*, Lady Wilde was unexcelled; and it was the testimony of all who met her that she was a personage. In her son are represented certain marked characteristics: indifference to practical affairs of life, brilliancy in the art of social converse, profound aversion to "the miasma of the commonplace," and a moral laxity of tone in conversation

which, in her case, found no counterpart in her actual life.

"Under 'direct inheritance' or 'transmission by blood,'" records Wilde's latest biographer, "may, perhaps, be classed his literary capacity, his gifts of poetry, languages, of ready mastery of difficult studies, his love of the beautiful, the sound common-sense of his normal periods, his family and personal pride, and his moral courage in the face of danger, but also an indifference to the dangers of alcoholism, an aversion from failure, physical, social and mental, an exaggerated esteem, on the other hand, for wealth, titles and social success, a tolerance for moral laxness."

As a very small lad, Oscar was spoken of by his mother as "wonderful," as a child of phenomenal versatility. His fondness for mystery and romance was born through his tours with his father in quest of archeological treasures; and his natural wit was sharpened by listening to Ireland's thought and wit in the *salon* of his mother. It was at his father's dinner-table and in his mother's drawing-room, as has been justly said, that the best of his early education was obtained; but he doubtless gained not a little from his schooling at the Portora Royal School. He had no aptitude for mathematics, nor was his talent for composition at this time in evidence; but he had a marvelous faculty of intellectual absorption, mastering the contents of a book in an incredibly short space of time. He kept aloof from his companions, practiced his wit in bestowing nicknames upon them, and enjoyed nothing more than leading his teachers into long discussions of some point which "intrigued his fancy." His brilliancy in reading and interpreting the classics was proven at the time of his entrance to Trinity College, Dublin—October, 1871. Like his great-uncle Ralph, Oscar won the Berkeley Gold Medal at Trinity, as well as a scholarship; but he never held his scholarship, preferring to seek better things at Oxford.

"I want to get to the point," Oscar

Wilde says in *De Profundis*, "where I shall be able to say quite simply, and without affectation, that the two great turning-points in my life were when my father sent me to Oxford and when society sent me to prison." Certain it is that at Oxford he first began to exhibit that devotion to art, that attachment to literature, and that passion for beauty which were the foundations for whatever of value is to be found in his writings. Here he sat under Ruskin; and there is little reason to doubt that the artistic and personal influence of Ruskin upon Wilde was far from inconsiderable. "The influence of Ruskin was so great," we read in a biographical notice of Wilde, "that Mr. Wilde, though holding games in abomination, and detesting violent exercise, might have been seen on gray November mornings breaking stones on the roadside—not unbribed, however; 'he had the honour of filling Mr. Ruskin's especial wheelbarrow,' and it was the great author of 'Modern Painters' himself who taught him how to trundle it." There is, however, little reason to believe, in spite of the evidence of *The Soul of Man Under Socialism*, that in Wilde's mind were sown any of the seeds of that "practical interest in social questions which is the 'Oxford Movement of to-day.'" Ruskin's influence upon Wilde is chiefly exhibited in the growth of the latter's artistic tastes; for Wilde's rooms at Oxford were noted for their beautiful decoration and for the display of collections of "objects of virtue." Recall his well-known remark: "Oh, would that I could live up to my blue china!" In his early Oxford days he began to contribute both prose and verse to magazines published in Dublin, notably to *Kottabos* and *The Irish Monthly*. About this time he visited Italy; and although inclined, through the spiritual element in art, to Roman Catholicism,—even writing notable poems such as "Rome Unvisited" which won high praise from Cardinal Newman,—his faltering faith lacked the strength of ultimate conviction.

Wilde's journey in Greece with the party which accompanied John Pentland Mahaffy was the profoundest determinative influence which had yet come into his life. And if it did not make of him a "healthy Pagan," certainly it was a confirmation of all his dreams and visions of beauty undreamed and unimaginable. In his own words, in regard to this experience, "the worship of sorrow gave place again to the worship of beauty." For a time he dreamed of the beauty of religion; for all time afterwards he devoted himself in art to the religion of beauty. It has been suggested that Wilde's classical studies at Oxford so familiarized him with certain pathological manifestations that he really failed to realize their horror; and the brilliant French symbolist, Henri de Regnier, does not hesitate to attribute his downfall to the fact that he had so steeped himself in the life of by-gone days that he did not realize the world in which he was actually living. Oscar Wilde believed that "he lived in Italy at the time of the Renaissance or in Greece at the time of Socrates. He was punished for a chronological error. . . ."

During his stay at Oxford, he acquitted himself very ably in his classes; and possibly through the happy chance that Ravenna, which he had recently visited, was announced as the topic for the Newdigate competition, he won the Newdigate Prize for English Verse in 1878. This poem exhibits a great advance on his previous work, and in many respects, despite its lack of a controlling central thought, deserves high praise. On leaving Oxford, he went up to London in the rôle of a "Professor of Æsthetics and Art critic," according to Foster's statement in the *Alumni Oxoniensis*. Now he began to assume that "affectation of singularity" which so distinctively marked the author of *Melmoth the Wanderer*—that eccentric genius, the toast of Baudelaire and Balzac—Oscar Wilde's great-uncle, Charles Maturin. Like Zola, like Shaw, Wilde realized that this is an age of push

and advertisement. He saw years of neglect at the hands of the public stretching out drearily before him if he did not force himself, by sensational methods, upon its attention. When the treasures of his mentality went for naught, he unhesitatingly focussed the public gaze upon the eccentricities of his personality. Like Thomas Griffiths Wainewright, he assumed the "dangerous and delightful distinction of being different from others." Prior to this time, his garb was characterized by no stigmata of affectation or preciosity; but he now hit upon the spectacular device of *outré* and *bizarro* costume. Celebrities often exhibit a harmless and pardonable penchant for peculiarity of dress—the scarlet waistcoat of Gautier, the monk's cowl of Balzac, the *vaquero* costume of Joaquin Miller, the khaki of Bernard Shaw. In his rôle of æsthete, Wilde wore a "velvet coat, knee-breeches, a loose shirt with a turn-down collar, and a floating tie of some unusual shade, fastened in a *Laval-lière* knot, and he not infrequently appeared in public carrying in his hand a lily or a sunflower, which he used to contemplate with an expression of the greatest admiration!" It was Wilde's pompous pose, as the high priest of Æstheticism, to plume himself upon the discovery of whatsoever of real beauty exists in nature and art; by inference, those whose eyes were not thus opened to the miracles of the common day were "hopelessly private persons"—termed Philistines. Wilde and his cult were shining marks for the wit, satire and caricature of Du Maurier and Burnand; W. S. Gilbert caricatured Wilde in "Patience," and *Punch* overflowed with cartoons and skits of which the following is a type example:

"Æsthete of Æsthetes!
What's in a name?
The poet is WILDE
But his poetry's tame."

Wilde's notoriety was enhanced by a pseudo social lionization; but in spite of a certain sort of superficial luster attaching to him, he was regarded with sus-

picion—a fear that at any time his lion's skin, as in the fable, might fall to the ground and reveal only a braying ass. Thus he began his career under the cloud of a not unjustifiable suspicion of *réclame*, quackery and imposture; and it is a suspicion that not only his life, but even his death, have been inadequate to allay. At any rate his notoriety, though won by questionable and unworthy means, enabled him to secure a publisher for his first volume of verse; and won him an invitation to lecture in the United States. He was encouraged to visit America not as the author of a book of poems which had been most widely read in America, but as the much-discussed leader of the "Æsthetic Movement and School." Some verses in the *World*, in which Wilde is labeled "Ego Upto Snuffibus Poeta," appeared just before his departure for New York; they sound the dominant note of public opinion:

"Albeit nurtured in democracy
And liking best that state Bohemian
Where each man borrows sixpence and no man
Has aught but paper collars; yet I see
Exactly where to take a liberty.
Better to be thought one, whom most abuse
For speech of donkey and for look of goose,
Than that the world should pass in silence by.
Wherefore I wear a sunflower in my coat,
Cover my shoulders with my flowing hair,
Tie verdant satin round my open throat,
Culture and love I cry, and ladies smile,
And seedy critics overflow with bile,
While with my Prince long Sykes's meal I share."

Wilde paid to the full the penalty for making himself a "motley to the view." Never afterwards was he allowed to forget that the way of the *blagueur* is hard.

In America he was greeted with amused incredulity, treated as a diverting sort of literary curiosity, ridiculed, satirized, caricatured. He was violently attacked in many quarters, and few cared to face the ridicule inevitably consequent to any defence of his theories and practice. Not a few personages of distinction nevertheless showed him courtesy and hospitality, among whom may be mentioned John Boyle O'Reilly, Julia Ward Howe, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Clara Morris, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Joaquin Miller,

General Grant and the Reverend Henry Ward Beecher. Although Wilde, as one of his friends records, suffered poignantly from the attacks directed against him, he cannot be absolved from the charge of occasionally provoking them. "I am not exactly pleased with the Atlantic. It is not so majestic as I expected," gave rise to an infinitude of humorous verse; and his oft-quoted remark about Niagara was nothing more nor less than a clever bait thrown out to the press: "I was disappointed with Niagara. Most people must be disappointed with Niagara. Every American bride is taken there, and the sight of the stupendous waterfall must be one of the earliest if not the keenest disappointments in American married life." Most people attended his lectures out of vulgar curiosity to see and to laugh at this licensed buffoon; it did not seem to occur to them, as we read in a contemporary review in the *Sun*, that his lecture was "not a performance so trifling as to insult the intelligence of the audience, but a carefully prepared essay which proves its author to be a man of cultivation, taste, imagination, education and refinement." One of his lectures, attended by an acquaintance, was described to me as a weak solution of Ruskin; and this is a fair indication of the contemporary valuation. The truth of the matter is that his lecture on "The English Renaissance" was a very artistic and capable, if somewhat paradoxical and precious, appreciation of the significance of that movement. And his "Decorative Art in America" was a simple and straightforward expression of many sane, practical truths which the utilitarian thrust of modern art has amply substantiated. Not by any means is it to be understood that Wilde originated all the ideas he gracefully presented; he simply gave concrete expression to much that was in the air in the art criticism of the day. "As a plea for the encouragement of the handicraftsman," writes Mr. Glaenzner in regard to "Decorative Art in America"; "for the rejection of the hideously natu-

ralistic tendency in house-furnishing; for the establishment of museums, enriched by the finest examples from the finest periods of decorative art; for beautiful surroundings for children, and for schools in which these children might develop their artistic proclivities under the guidance of artists and capable artisans—as a *plea* for all that is beautiful, noble and sane in art, this lecture falls little short of being a masterpiece.”

Now that his “apostolic task” was concluded, to his great relief, Wilde lightly disclaimed any intention of continued charlatanry. Of his connection with the *Æsthetic Movement*, he said in 1883: “That was the Oscar Wilde of the second period. I am now in my third period.” He settled in Paris in the Hotel Voltaire, and soon made himself known, through presentation copies of his *Poems*, to a number of the leading figures in the world of art and letters in Paris. Well received in many quarters, Wilde numbered among his acquaintances Victor Hugo, Edmond de Goncourt, Paul Bourget, Alphonse Daudet, Sarah Bernhardt, and many of the leaders of the impressionist school of painters. His success in Parisian circles would have been greater if he had only possessed the necessary reserve and tact. His desire to “astonish the natives,” to indulge in affectations and extravagances of dress, and to utter paradoxical *blague* about art and letters, rather rubbed the Parisians the wrong way. He took Balzac for his model, wore the Balzacian cowl whenever he was at work, and carried on the street a replica of that celebrated *Canne de Monsieur Balzac* perpetuated in the novel of Delphine Gay. In certain cases only is imitation the sincerest form of flattery; in this case, however, it seemed the insincerest form of absurdity. His imitation of Balzac took one good direction: he began to take infinite pains with his art, capacity for which, as Balzac strenuously maintained, indicates true genius. During this period Wilde wrote “The Duchess of Padua,” a fine play in

the Elizabethan style, yet scarcely *du théâtre*. Under the influence of Poe, through Baudelaire, whose “*Fleurs de Mal*” made a profound impression upon Wilde, he wrote the strangely pagan and sensual poem “The Sphinx”—an excellent type of the derivative poem, of the art which is not spontaneous. But all his diligent application temporarily went for naught. “The Duchess of Padua” was refused by Mary Anderson, for whom it was written; and the proceeds of the sale of Wilde’s property in Ireland could not long survive the onslaughts made upon it by Wilde’s extravagant mode of life; his literary work brought him nothing. And so, in the summer of 1883, he returned to London to try a hazard of new fortunes. There he was conspicuously dedicated to oblivion by a prominent journal in an article entitled “Exit Oscar.” To which Wilde buoyantly replied: “If it took Labouchere three columns to prove that I was forgotten, then there is no difference between fame and obscurity.”

During the years from 1883 to 1891, the output of Wilde was quite small—he gave himself up to the art of living rather than to the art of writing. For a time, at first, he was compelled once more to take the lecture platform, this time in England; but he resolutely refused to make capital out of the eccentricities of his personal appearance and costume. During one of his lecture tours, he met in Dublin the lovely Constance Lloyd, who became his wife on May 29, 1884. His wife’s dowry enabled the young couple to lease a house in Tite street, decorated under the direction of Whistler, who became a close acquaintance of Wilde. For several years Wilde wrote various signed and unsigned articles for the press, purely ephemeral in character, and a number of those beautiful modern fairy tales which combine a delicacy of fancy with a touch of social philosophy, rarely charming and arresting. But for Wilde *la lutte pour la vie* became increasingly difficult; and even Whistler—in

The Gentle Art of Making Enemies—took a hand in facilitating his downhill progress. When the Messrs. Cassell and Company offered him the editorship of *The Woman's World* in 1887, he was in no position to refuse; and his connection with that magazine lasted from October 1887 to September 1889. If he was not precisely a success as an editor, although he was conscientious and industrious at this period, it was because his taste was too refined, too artistic and subtle for the clientele of his magazine. Wilde himself once plaintively said: "I have put my genius into my life; into my books I have put my talents only"; and yet it is the verdict of his greatest admirers, especially among foreign critics, that the works which he wrote between the time of his marriage and the year 1892 entitle him to an exalted place in English literature, and to rank as a philosopher of acute penetration and delicate insight. There were *The Happy Prince* and *The House of Pomegranates*—fanciful *Märchen* shot through with a sensitive and beautiful social pity, like embroidered, jewelled fabrics firmly filiated with a crimson thread. There was *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, reminiscent of Balzac's *Peau de Chagrin*, rich in opulent fancy, in subtle mystery, and in the strangely ominous prevision of its author's own coming fate. And there, too, was *The Soul of Man Under Socialism*, that brilliant and paradoxical revelation of Wilde's *état d'âme*—a brochure which has gone triumphantly forth to the very ends of the earth. Last, and highest, was *Intentions*, that miraculous masterpiece of connected writings, with its inverted truisms and forthright paradoxes, its fanciful reasoning and reasonable fancy—quintessence of style, of form, of taste in art.

During the years from 1892 to 1895, Wilde attained to remarkable success as a playwright; and at last the rewards of literature flowed without cessation into the pockets of this lavish spendthrift. "Lady Windermere's Fan," "A Woman of No Importance," "An Ideal Husband,"

and "The Importance of Being Earnest" were phenomenal popular successes; and at one time three of Wilde's plays could have been witnessed on a single night in London. But in March, 1895, the *débacle* came; and the information for criminal libel which Wilde, in a state verging upon intoxication, laid against the Marquess of Queensberry, was the beginning of his undoing. The thin edge of the wedge went in; and Wilde at last was hoist by his own petard. The history of the two trials, Wilde's condemnation and disgrace, his two years of poignant anguish and physical suffering in prison, his subsequent piteous descent to disaster and death—the harrowing details may be learned elsewhere. Suffice it to say that his predisposition to vice through inheritance, the fearful effect upon him of intoxicants which seemed to lash his brain to madness, and the indulgence in ultra-stimulative food and drink in the two or three years immediately preceding his disgrace serve, in the eyes of the specialist in pathology and degeneracy, as indicative causes of his downfall and ruin. There survive from the days of imprisonment his greatest poem "The Ballad of Reading Gaol," and that soul autobiography *De Profundis*—morbid, pitiable, yet wonderful *mélange* of confession and palliation, penance and defiance, self-incrimination and exculpation. Wonderful document—true confession or disingenuous plea, soul creed or soul blasphemy!

There is no room for doubt that Oscar Wilde was, as Nordau classed him, a pervert and a degenerate. And yet his case warrants disbelief in the dictum of letters that an artist's work and life are fundamentally indissociable. Wilde was a man, not only of multiple personality, but of manifest and disparate achievement. The style is not always the man; and the history of art and literature reveals not a few geniuses whose private life could not justly be cited in condemnation of their pictures, their poetry, or their prose. If Wilde's life were to be cited as the sole criterion of his works,

then must they forever remain *res tacenda* in the republic of letters. It is indubitable that Wilde, with his frequently avowed doctrine of irresponsible individualism and Pagan insistence upon the untrammelled expansion of the Ego, gave suicidal counsel to the younger generation. He based his apostolate upon the paradox; and, as he himself asserts, the paradox is always dangerous. In his search for the elusive, the evanescent, the imaginative, he found certain exquisite truths; but they were only very partial and obscure truths, embedded in a mass of charmingly phrased, yet damnable perverse, falsehood. Much of his verse—flagrant output of what Robert Buchanan called the "Fleshly School of Poetry"—is a faithful reflex of his personality and feeling—with its morbid and sensuous day-dreams, its vain regrets of "barren gain and bitter loss," its unhealthy and myopic vision, its obsession with the wanton and the *macabre*. And yet, in spite not only of these things, but also of the persistent reminder of alien influences, certain of his poems are lit with the divine spark and fitfully flame out with startling and disturbing luster.

Walter Pater once said of Wilde that his books argued that he was a brilliant conversationalist. In this characterization there is far more than a germ of truth: it is the truth itself. Wilde was a master of the *causerie* and he passed his life in lavishly expending upon his friends the brilliant coinage of his thoughts' realm. His inventive faculty as a fictionist was inexhaustible; and for hours at a time he could recite poems in prose, indulge in a riot of paradox and epigram, or descant with miraculous and exquisite eloquence upon painting, literature, art, and—above all—upon life. Like the Japanese painters, Hokusai and Hokkei, Wilde was an artist in the little; and his art found room for expansion only in the microcosm. Thus his plays scintillated with brilliant characterizations of English society, acute observations upon life, unique and individual psychological comparisons. But their structure is in the

last degree conventional; and the technique is trite, time-worn and hackneyed. Only in "Salomé"—the marvel of Continental Europe—does Wilde betray genuine mastery of the dramatic form; yet so fleshly, so sensual and so horrifying is its atmospheric emanation that, despite its beauty of imagery and marvels of word-music, one feels that not inappositely was Aubrey Beardsley—strange, exotic flower of a decadent period—chosen for its pictorial representation.

As an artist in words, as *prosateur*, Wilde was possessed of rare gifts. The social ease, as it were, of his paradoxes, the opulence of his imaginative style, the union of simplicity and beauty of phraseology with vague and sometimes almost meaningless gradations and shades of thought, his insight into the real meaning of art, his understanding of the "thing as in itself it really is," and his rapt glimpses of art's holy of holies—all these things, at times and at intervals, were his. His faculty of imitation was caricature refined and polished to an infinite degree; and, with less real comprehension of *arcana* of art, Wilde might have been the author of a transcendent *Borrowed Plumes*. And if he himself did not actually masquerade in the literary garments of other men, certainly he possessed that rare faculty, now almost a lost art, of creeping into another's personality, temporarily shedding the husk of self, and looking out upon the world with new and alien eyes. There lies, it would seem, the secret of his genius—the faculty of creative and imaginative interpretation in its ultimate refinement. He was ever the critic as artist, never the creator in the fine frenzy of creation. It has been said of him that he knew everything; but in the last analysis his supreme deficiency as an artist was his arrogance and his overweening sense of superiority. Breaks down in Wilde's case—as does many another truism—the maxim: *Tout savoir c'est tout pardonner*.

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THE GROWTH OF THE SLUM IN OUR CITIES.

By ELINOR H. STOR.

THE RAPID growth of the slum in our cities becomes every year a more acute problem. It forces itself upon the minds of all thoughtful men and women. In it is to be seen a danger to democracy, a peril to our national life and destiny. When it is allowed to grow in our larger cities, what shall prevent it in our smaller cities and towns?

From the ever-increasing foreign population coming to us at the rate of a million a year, the slum is constantly being recruited, the mortality among the poor is frightful, yet the ranks fill up so quickly, the dead do not count. How are we going to solve this stupendous problem? What are we going to do about it?

The class of immigrants crowding in upon us are not of the same races as were the earlier settlers, nor are the conditions the same. In those days the Puritan, the Huguenot, the Scotch-Irish, and the Roman Catholic priests with their missions, who came, had what we recognize as noble purposes—the desire for religious and political freedom for themselves and their children who were to come after them. Equal dangers were shared, equal courage was shown in the hardships and perils incidental to pioneer life. Practically they were all of one language and one purpose.

On the other hand the vast hordes pouring in through New York harbor are alien to us, alien to one another in language, ability and interests—a motley crowd collected largely from the slums of the old countries, lured by false promises of steamship agencies whose only concern is their passage-money; ignorant, poor, often vicious and degraded, the slum conditions are thereby increased; the sweat-shop, child-labor system and social vice augmented; and life becomes a "tooth-and-nail" struggle for all. The

slum is very far away from all our ideals of democracy, brotherhood or united purpose for the common good.

Crowded into dark streets and narrow alleys, forced to live in filthy, unlighted rooms, men, women and children are herded together—as many as 1,158 persons to the acre, 290,000 to the square mile in one ward in New York!

One of the most terrible aspects of the tenement is the destruction of home-life. With the indiscriminate crowding of all sorts and conditions of humanity home-life is but a name. High rents and small wages force respectable working-men and women into the slums, and contact and familiarity with the depraved, the vicious and the lawless who make up this evil congestion, exert an influence which cannot but be downward. Three-fourths is a very large proportion when it stands for people who live in tenements or apartment houses—not homes! "Wash, and be clean" is evidently not a commandment; bath-tubs are almost unknown in the tenements. Even in New York and Boston until quite recently there were no public baths open the year round, and those now in use were only won after a hard fight; the school bath, too, is an innovation, not at all generally provided for the children. Heathen Japan does better than that for her people. There we find a bath-house on every corner—here we plant a saloon.

Two thousand years ago Rome was washing her population, but we seem to fear an outbreak of hydrophobia among the poor should adequate bathing-places be afforded them.

Two or three million children are at work in our cities and towns; countless others are loose upon the street, learning the lessons it has to teach, developing, as the records show, into thieves, burglars, thugs and murderers at seven, eight

and twelve. The lack of attractive home-life and proper places to play, and their energies turned into the wrong channels, make havoc with any growth of character, patriotism or respect for law and order. Their very play partakes of their environments. The girls unmoral and degraded, intimately acquainted with vice, while yet in their childhood, become mothers to another generation of thieves and murderers, passing on the torch of life to offspring doomed to disease and misery. How can it be otherwise while men, women and children, as many as fourteen sometimes, are living in one or two rooms, eating, sleeping and performing all the acts of life with never a thought of privacy? Under these conditions what chance to develop in the girls a sense of delicacy, decency or purity? Children in the slums are not so truly just born—they are damned into the world.

The question will not down: Who is responsible for the slum? The slum-dwellers? No; they are but the outcome. Then we must indict the landlord who rents those tenements at maximum price and minimum outlay. These houses, in many instances, are owned by men and women who stand high in church, social and business life. Some of these do not know; others do not care about these awful conditions, so long as the rents enable them to live in the ease and luxury of irresponsible wealth.

Another fact we have to face in solving this problem is this: The slum is in politics. The first thing an immigrant learns is his value as a voter; so he works his franchise for all it is worth. He may never master the language of his new country but he has a boss who tells him how to vote and pays him for it. Untrained and unfit for democracy, he is a most dangerous element to our national interests and institutions.

Let the reformer or better class of citizens try to pass laws for social or civic betterment, and right there the slum gives the command, "Keep off the grass!"

It understands its orders—"Vested rights over against human rights." With truth it has been said: "Money is the greatest linguist in the world; it talks in all languages." And it puts our life as a nation in jeopardy.

Our fathers having resolved that "All men are free and equal," we let in the immigrant without serious restrictions, and are filling our cities with a motley citizenship which increases our slums, obeys the behest of the boss and casts us into depths of corruption, out of which "That same kind Providence that takes care of the idiot, the drunkard and the United States" only can deliver us.

We find as an outcome of the slum a terrible phase of the competitive system, which forces little children into the industrial army, and women and young girls into factories and department stores, to work for wages that do not sustain life on a self-respecting basis. In some cities the average wage of women is \$4.83 a week; average living expenses \$5.24 a week! And we wonder why prostitution is on the increase. Men's shirts are made for 30 cents a dozen! Coats at 5 cents apiece! It is not always inclination or natural depravity, but actual starvation and bodily want that sends so many women to utter degradation. We spend millions to punish crime and vice, but how little provision is made or money spent to prevent it, or save self-respect before it is lost forever.

We lead the world in commerce and invention, but on our back streets and along the water-fronts flourish the brothels and saloons—miles of them—where the youth are debauched, and the tenement, sunless, filthy, disease-breeding, children are born, whose education is to be chiefly in vice and crime, whose existence is to be a menace to American ideals. If they live like pigs, how can they act like men? Liberty in the slum is a disgrace and a danger. Here flourishes the rule of politics; here is the mob-ready-made,—which puts "bosses" into power and keeps them there, looting the

public treasury of millions of dollars, upon which these traitors to the common good wax rich, thus are the children deprived of school-houses, parks and play-grounds, turned loose upon the street to meet its temptations—in short, robbed of their rights and subjected to degradation. How futile under these conditions are all efforts to make good citizens of them, when they have had no moral development! Babies are going out of life because they are denied sunshine, air and food. One of every five babies born in the slum dies in infancy, as foully murdered as were the infants in Herod's day. Men and women are deprived of home and home-life, the fierce struggle for a bare living, scarcity of work, are all factors in the growth of the slum, because it is in politics.

Under the sweating system, men, women and children are huddled in small rooms making ready-to-wear garments; some of these workers in the last stages of consumption, and sewing into this clothing which you and I may possibly wear, the seeds of this "white terror." One hundred and fifty thousand died of tuberculosis in the United States during the past year, and the disease is increasing. The tenements swarm with its germs. "No man liveth unto himself." Life is an endless chain. We are all linked together for better—for worse. Disease in the slum must spread, directly or indirectly, to the homes of the well-to-do. The body politic is an organism. Disease or diminished vitality in a part must affect the whole.

We let the slum into business; we opened the door wide; we said, "Come in" to unrestricted immigration, and we see now the consequences. This influx of the foreign poor has had a marked influence upon our character and population. In our largest cities four-fifths of the births are foreign, considerably surpassing the multiplying of the American stock.

I have in my mind a young boy of fifteen, who first opened his eyes in the

slums, whose play-ground was the street. Here he learned to lie, to steal and finally to murder. He himself expressed the truth: "I never had no bringing up." Bad books and bad associates had lent their influence to make him what he was. Was he responsible, though the law took his life? Where for him, was the influence of the home, the school, the church? He was a victim of our savage civilization—a product of the slum. The churches have generally moved away from the slums as the latter have grown up about them, and the saloon, so wonderfully adaptive, has moved in and not only dominates the neighborhood, but become a dictator on all public questions.

Every child who goes out of life because he has not been protected in his rights—and children die by thousands in the slums—who has lacked "bringing up," sunshine, shelter and opportunity, is a charge against the church, society and civilization. Every boy and girl whose life is crime-darkened, who is without education or training for useful citizenship, is evidence against us, when the charge shall be made: "Ye knew your duty and ye did it not." In the slum we see the offspring of national and municipal neglect and lack of true brotherliness, that which strives to help each in his place and according to his needs, that which devotes itself specially to the helping of the more helpless.

How shall we check the growth of the slum? With common-sense and the Golden Rule, I should say. What we do not want or would not do ourselves, let us not impose upon others. We do not want to live in crowded, dark, disease-breeding houses; we do not want our babies swept out of life, our boys and girls to grow up without the elements of decency and honesty. We do not want the sweat-shop system and child-labor perpetuated. We do not want the saloon to displace the home. We want the helping hand and a square deal for the slum, while it exists. Now, it is our enemy, to be fought to a finish, but it is

also our brother. It has its human side. I wish you could see it as I have seen it—the little kindnesses done in the spirit of friendliness and neighborliness: the slipping of little pieces of money into the hands emptier than those of the helper; the loan or gift of coat, shoes, or hat, and the proffer of a home to another who is without them; the readiness of a man who slept in a park that a woman and her children who had been evicted, might be sheltered in his poor room: "Sure, what else could I do?" All are in the same boat, and a fellow-feeling makes them wondrous kind.

Dr. Jane Robbins, called the "Good woman doctor," said that when her father died, the little scamps of the street were positively pathetic in their attempts to show their sympathy. One little chap offered to let her hold his top while it was spinning as proof of his affection. So there is love in the slum—even there "the soul is pestered with the thought of wings." A birthday party given to a woman who never in her life had had one, what a change it wrought! She had been slow to respond to overtures of friendliness; but who that saw her radiant face, when the birthday cake with the sixty bright candles gleaming upon it, was placed before her, can forget her joy, as she said: "What have I ever done that God should be so good to me?" Just a cake, a few bright candles, a few friends wishing her happy returns of the day, and, to her, God had reached out of Heaven and made her the special object of His love and care. A wealthy woman, childless, bereft, bitter, interested in a poor waif girl, catching at the suggestion, "Maybe I was not intended to be the mother of just one little girl, but maybe He wants me to be a mother to all girls," experienced thereupon a turning-point in her life. Ah, "Just the art of being kind, how much the sad world needs!"

"Down in the bottom of the social pit are millions of human beings rotting in squalor and vice, spreading a slow con-

tagion that is infecting the whole of civilization." The contagion of the slum—whose only cure is Brotherhood, Justice, Humanity, Freedom, those natural aspirations of everyone born into the world. This is the real meaning of "Thou shalt open thy hand wide to thy brother, to the poor and to the needy in thy land." This demands more school-houses open the year round, day and night, for social as well as educational purposes, more play-grounds, more public baths for the unwashed, gymnasia, kindergartens, small parks, every one of which is a nail in the coffin of the slum—breaking upon its darkness. Crime does not propagate so fast when we supplant it with organized work and play, self-respect and social interest. This has been proven by trial, even in a small way. Pictures, music, domestic science, manual training, the club, all these, it is well known, arouse interest and open new avenues of thought and conversation different from the usual introduction of one slum-child to another, meant to be polite: "Does your husband beat you?" and gives us visions of the city that shall be, "With room in the streets for the soul."

I would plead for one thing more: Convalescent homes for women who work, but who can make no provision against sickness, the inevitable lot of the very poor—places where proper food and care and kindness may be theirs, until, when really well and braced with courage, they are ready to take up the burden again. Many a woman would thus be saved from the street or the river. With uncertainty of employment, underpaid work, underfed bodies, penniless, weak, hopeless, after the hospital where shall she go but upon the street? Prostitution is on the increase, but to me the constant wonder is, not that so many fall, but that so many remain good. "Civilization so indifferent to men and boys, is cruel to women and girls." I read recently that somewhere a congregation had decided not to put a steeple on top of the church they were building. In-

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stead, they would make the roof a playground for the children of the street. The suggestion is pertinent—church-steeple might be converted into some things really useful and beneficial for the waifs and other derelicts of the cities, who now wander away in the slums.

Let me close with the story of a dream dreamt long ago by a little boy in the town of Bethlehem: "And he saw in his dream a world full of beauty. He heard sweetest strains of music, myriad bells pealing and little children clapping their hands and calling to each other to listen to the chimes—for Christ was born in Bethlehem! He saw beautiful temples aglow with lights and flowers, and homes for the sick and poor and old, and for the little children who had no homes but who were gathered in and cared for; he saw smiles and happy faces. Grievings, too, he saw; he saw into lonely rooms and saw people bowed under heavy burdens of sorrow, upon whom he looked with love; he gazed upon prisons grim and dark, and saw into poor dwelling-places"—the slums, I think—"and he saw the squalor and the pitifulness of it all; the sinful he saw, the despairing and the outcast, and upon these he looked most

lovingly of all. And as he dreamed on, he saw this change: into these faces came the uplooking and the light, because of one born in Bethlehem. He saw, as he looked backward through the years, a little baby lying in a manger, owning nothing in all the world but a pair of empty hands; then a boy with wistful eyes, looking out upon the world, with only a loving heart—empty-handed still; then the boy grown to be a man—empty-handed still, only for the nails that pierced them; then the man hanging upon the cross, naked and thorn-crowned; then the tomb; then the joyful uprising; then the time when the hands once a baby's, then a boy's, then a man's, were no longer empty, but filled with blessings for all the world. He saw the rich years move on and swing slowly into rhythm with God's loving purpose for the good of all men. The pain and the waiting and the patient work to be done day by day, which he saw as his share, he took up with joy, looking forward gladly to that divine event, the consummation of his desire, the realized Brotherhood of Humanity—his dream come true."

ELINOR H. STROY.

Oakland, Cal.

JUSTICE TO VICTIMS OF MISSIONARIES.

BY R. L. BRIDGMAN.

TO THE moral question of the right of the people of the United States to kill large numbers of Filipinos in order that the survivors may be better Christians, to the question whether it is right to conquer Africa by arms for the spread of the gospel, there promises to be added soon a discussion of the broad question of the right to hold the people of India by force of arms for the alleged benefit of civilization in general and of the people of India in particular. Until the right answer is given, this question

will recur for discussion. Though our national persistence in our Philippine policy, instead of its repudiation under the lead of the Protestant churches, still keeps us in the attitude of justifying slaughter for the benefit of the survivors, as far as the missionary argument is concerned, yet the recurrence of the issue elsewhere proves that it is still a practical matter of large importance.

Probably the question is never considered in missionary circles whether the subjects upon whom the missionary zeal

is to be exercised have any rights inherent in themselves against those who wish to convert them. Yet it is a fundamental question, entitled to full consideration before missionary activity begins. We must be just to all men before we make them the subjects of our benevolent activities. That seems to be an axiom. One of the leading Protestant ministers of this country, in the early enthusiasm for missionary activity for the Filipinos, said: "We 'll shoot the gospel into them with shot and shell." All the course of the missionary societies toward the Filipinos,—not one of them has raised a protest against the slaughter which was the preliminary of the missionary activity,—is in line with this spirit. Histories of Spanish conquests in North and South America, in the name of carrying the gospel to the natives, furnish striking illustrations of the same practice in earlier days.

Now justice demands that the rights of the proposed subjects of missionary activity be fully respected before a beginning is made to subject them to missionary methods. These weaker peoples are God's children to absolutely as large a degree, in every sense, as the stronger. Being so,—and Christianity affirms it,—they have as rightfully a place on the face of the earth as the stronger, and without asking the consent of the stronger, or the stronger's having any right to destroy that right. They have a title from God, as strong as any other people, to a country of their own where they may work out their own destiny. Forcible interference from without is not justifiable unless they are enemies of mankind, as when they are pirates or slave-traders or are committing other gross offenses against human welfare. The mere fact that they are backward in civilization, or lie at the mercy of a stronger power, or that the natural advantages of their country can be put to a more profitable use by a more civilized power, or that the stronger people can teach them more than they know at the time, or have a higher moral standard than they, does not weaken in the least their just claim

to a place on the earth where they can live by themselves. Around every weak people, as fully as around the strong, is the divine and awful arm of justice, defending them as children of God, and woe be to the stronger people who have the rashness and folly to break down that protection, for the penalty must surely be paid and no temporary success is proof that the aggressor's cause is just.

See what is the logical conclusion of our doctrine that the strong have a right to invade the territory of the weak in order to do them good, to Christianize them and to bring them up to a higher mental and moral condition. In the first place, putting this doctrine in practice, it is the strong people who make the decision. The weak have no voice regarding their own fate. If they resist the missionary activity of their powerful conquerors, then they are slaughtered till the remainder have no further power of resistance. Now, on the part of a Christian people it must be admitted, whatever be the practices tolerated by international law, that moral reasons must be supreme in international relations. Conquest by armed force is on the same plane as robbery and murder and is intolerable to true Christian thinking. Purchase of a weaker people from a stronger people who have conquered them is equally intolerable, for neither individual men nor entire peoples can rightfully be bought and sold. Neither can purchase combined with conquest give the transaction any moral standing, for where the moral element is wholly lacking in the two component parts when separate it cannot be found in them after they have been put together. Moral standards must be supreme. If missionary conquests are justifiable, they must be on moral grounds alone.

But moral standards never conflict with each other. Truth and right are always consistent with themselves. If, therefore, a stronger nation has a moral right to conquer a weaker nation for the good of that weaker nation, that it may become a Christian nation and share

Christianity's progress, then the right to slaughter those who resist conquest rests upon the ground that before the slaughter begins, by the fact of moral superiority inherent in the attacking people, the weaker people have no right to independent existence as against the stronger, but are rightfully subject to them. The stronger are merely enforcing rights which already exist, and the determination of the existence of these rights and the manner of enforcing them is wholly within the province of the stronger people, without any obligation to give the weaker any opportunity to be heard. In truth, the weaker are really rebels against the moral right of the stronger and deserve to be put to death for refusing to submit as soon as commanded, for, unless they already deserve death, it would be wrong to kill them. Indeed, it is the moral duty of the weaker to tender their submission before summoned to submit, for by this theory of the political relations of stronger and weaker peoples the latter have no right of independence of the former, but are subject in the divine order of things. The weaker have, morally, no right to a voice regarding their own rights.

But this doctrine requires us to go still further. Rights necessitate duties. If the stronger have a right to Christianize the weaker by force, it is their duty to do so. They are bound to use their power for the service of God and for the good of their fellowmen, and they alone are to be judges. Logically, therefore, by this theory of missionary activity, every nation which deems itself to be on a higher moral plane than certain others is under obligation to God to undertake by arms, amid the horrors of war if need be, the political subjugation of those nations which refuse to obey its summons to surrender in order that it may preach the gospel to them, or which refuse voluntary submission before being summoned. It is a further truth that each of the great nations believes conscientiously that, on the whole, it is morally in advance of all others, judging by

the criticisms of other nations and self-congratulations which are heard in turn from Germans, Frenchmen, Englishmen and citizens of the United States. Consistency, therefore, requires each nation to affirm that it is the head of mankind and is justified in killing all who resist its Christianizing rule. The same principle applies with equal conclusiveness to a Mohammedan or pagan nation, and China, when she becomes the foremost military power of the world, will, by our own standard, be justified in undertaking the political conquest of the world in order to bring all other nations under Confucianism. To such a conclusion does this theory logically lead.

One further point is worthy of consideration. Protestantism affirms the right of private judgment in religious matters, the supremacy and inviolability of the individual conscience, and that no earthly power has any right to coerce a person in religious belief. How far does the theory of political conquest for the spread of Christianity harmonize with this right? How much freedom does a member of a weak non-Christian nation, or of a non-Protestant Christian nation, enjoy when he knows that he will be killed unless he submits to the political power of a stronger nation of a different faith in order that religious influences in that nation may be exerted upon him?

All that is here emphasized is that undeniable human rights be held sacred against any religious, philanthropic or altruistic sentiments which would overstep them. A man's conscientious convictions regarding his duty to a weaker and less developed people have no standing whatever against the rights of those people, no matter how much those people might be benefited by accepting his views. Rights are sacred, and good intentions which would invade them cannot, in the very nature of things, be rightfully carried out, and any theory which presupposes the contrary leads to ridiculous and terrible absurdities.

R. L. BRIDGMAN.

Boston, Mass.



**VIEW OF PORT ANTONIO, SHOWING WEST HARBOR, EAST HARBOR AND
HOTEL TITCHFIELD.**



THE "BLUE HOLE," NEAR PORT ANTONIO.

JAMAICA, THE FAIR AND UNFORTUNATE.

BY WILLIAMSON BUCKMAN.

WITH PHOTOGRAPHS BY THE AUTHOR.

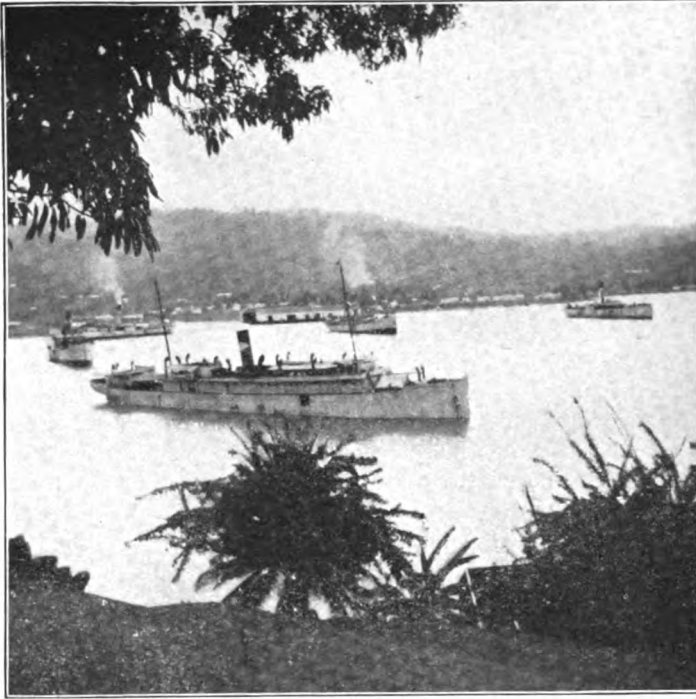
I. PORT ANTONIO AND ITS ENVIRONS.

THE NEWS of the recent earthquake in Kingston, Jamaica, with its appalling mortality and widespread devastation, came to me with far more of a shock than one feels at news of a great calamity that visits a land and people he has never seen or known; for less than a year had elapsed since I had spent some of the most pleasant weeks of my life on this fairy-like island with its ever-varying beauty, and the vivid and striking contrast it presents to the natural phenomena of the temperate zone gives it a peculiar charm for visitors who love nature in her multitudinous and ever-changing robes of glory.

In company with a few congenial friends we landed at Port Antonio and immediately repaired to the justly famous Hotel Titchfield, from whose wide piazzas one may enjoy the most beautiful scenes I have ever beheld, though I have visited many famed, and justly famed, haunts of beauty and grandeur in the Old World as well as the New. Here in the presence of ocean and mountain—those two grandest physical expressions of sublimity—one beholds on every side the glory of tropical vegetation; trees, shrubs and plants vying with each other in garments of beauty, presenting every shade of green and often decked with gorgeous blooms, the whole producing a color scheme rarely approached, and much enhanced by their peculiar setting, in which sea, mountain and tropical sky conspired to add to the general splendor. At our feet was the sea with its multitudinous aspects. At morning and evening the ocean takes on the splendor of the sky and reflects a brilliancy in its myriad iridescent tints that would be the despair of an artist. The sky, too, is a

never-ending source of delight, especially when the pink and purple of dawn flood land and sea; at flaming sunset, when the clouds in kaleidoscopic beauty defy man to imitate the Master Artist; and at night, when the sapphire sky is studded with brilliants, or when the moon rides high and the ocean croons its eternal lullaby to the palm-fringed shore. From the sea the island rises tier on tier. First there are ranges of hills, then mountainous hills, and finally mountain peaks which culminate in the crest of the Blue mountains that are the backbone of the island, extending from the east to the west. Their slopes are mantled in green of every tint and shade. As the eye wanders from the palms and bananas that fringe the shore to the mountains in the distance, the change in color is so gradual that one must turn abruptly from the vivid green of the bananas at his feet to the blue-mantled mountains, to realize how great is the transformation, due largely to the atmosphere.

We found it difficult to leave the Hotel Titchfield, the chief jewel of man's creation in the neighborhood of Port Antonio. Still, the quaint old town is not without its luring power, with its picturesque bits of the ancient fort built by the English in the rugged and perilous days when they first wrenched the island from Spanish control. I found the people, however, even more interesting than the houses and historic haunts; for here one meets with various races and men and women in almost every stage of advancement. The negroes, of course, here as everywhere in Jamaica, preponderate; but there are the coolies or East Indians, introduced into the island in 1840 to cultivate the fields; and there are some of the crimson-colored Maroons, the descendants of the aborigines, but with strains of white and



VIEW FROM HOTEL TITCHFIELD, WEST HARBOR.

negro blood coursing through their veins. Here also are Chinamen, with a few Caucasian residents, and many white visitors from various lands, sight-seers and searchers after health.

One day during our stay at Port Antonio we drove over to the Blue Hole, six miles from the town. It is an inlet almost entirely surrounded by land. Its banks are thickly set with dense growths of cocoanut palm, bananas and other tropical vegetation, and the water is a deep and brilliant sapphire blue, presenting at mid-day, when the sun shines full upon it, a wonderfully beautiful picture in vivid

coloring,—a veritable sapphire in a huge emerald setting.

II. JAMAICA IN RETROSPECT.

As I rode to Port Antonio along the roadway that hugs the shore, the slow-sailing vessels and crafts that were lazily floating on the tranquil sea suggested to my mind those far-away days when Christopher Columbus discovered this island. That was in 1494. The navigator, with his passion for honoring the saints, named the island Santiago, but the natives called it Xam-



"THE TEMPLE," IN HONOR OF RODNEY'S VICTORY, SPANISH TOWN.



THE CATHEDRAL, SPANISH TOWN.

which England was the responsible moral, or rather immoral, agent. Spain had early laid claims to the New World and refused to recognize the rights of the English explorers, discoverers, settlers or her hardy seamen, and she had mercilessly striven to stamp out all England's attempts to get a foothold in territory she claimed as her own. The English sailors were summarily treated as pirates when they fell into Spanish hands, and naturally enough this course brought about reprisal acts on the part of the British. The high seas also at this time were rendered dangerous by numerous bands of lawless, wild sea-rovers, dar-

ayca, or Jamaica, the isle of springs. It was not until 1509, however, that the Spanish settled Jamaica and began in earnest, with Bible and sword, their strenuous work of benevolent assimilation after the manner of militant Christians in every age. The natives were the most mild and docile of any of the aboriginal tribes, and so they rapidly disappeared under the rigorous rule of their masters, until when the British seized Jamaica in 1655, there were scarcely any of the full-blooded natives in existence.

The tragedy enacted by Christian Spain, in which a happy, free people were practically exterminated, was followed by another dark page in a tale of sordid shame, insatiable avarice and human savagery in

ing and desperate buccaneers who sailed under the black flag of the pirates and



THE BASKET MARKET, KINGSTON.



GOING TO MARKET, ON ROAD BETWEEN CONSTANT AND KINGSTON.

scoured the seas for the rich prizes of commerce. Now it occurred to the English Governor of Jamaica that if he commissioned these corsairs of the deep to annoy Spanish fleets, he would greatly weaken Spain's hold on the Western world, despoil her of riches that were making her dangerously powerful, and concentrate the pernicious activity of the pirates on England's greatest foe. He therefore commissioned the pirates to "annoy the Spanish fleets," issuing them letters of marque. The pirates were not slow to take advantage of the protection and the evidence of respectability granted by these commissions. Moreover, it gave them what they so greatly needed,—a rendezvous. Hence these desperadoes of the ocean, these daring outcasts and criminals from many lands, made haste to embrace the Governor's tempting offer.

Portuguese, Dutch and other foreigners, no less than English, figured among the pirate chieftains that made Jamaica their base and rendezvous in these halcyon days of the buccaneers. Among those whose

names struck terror to the merchant marines of the day were Brafiliano, Bartholomew, Mansvelt, John Davis, Lewis Scott, and, last but not least, Henry Morgan. These men were for the most part dominated by an insane greed for gold very like in character the mania that to-day affects our high financiers and law-defying captains of industry who have so mercilessly destroyed competitors by lawless and criminal practices.

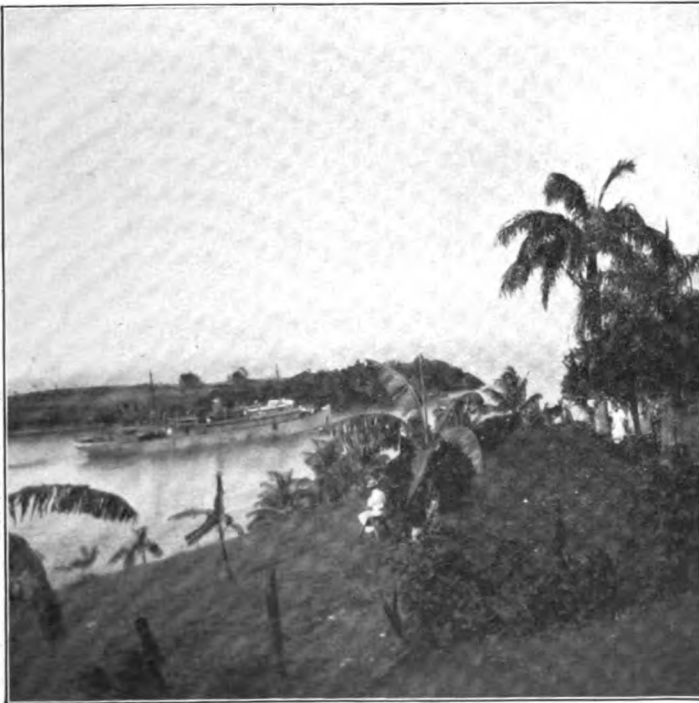
The buccaneers of the high seas, though only licensed by the Governor to annoy the Spanish fleets, ere long cast greedy eyes upon the prosperous Spanish settlements. It

is a peculiarity of moral pervers under the compulsion of gold madness, that when their avarice is stimulated they let few things stand in their way; so the pirates began to descend upon the Spanish settlements, leaving murder, rapine and desolation in their wake and usually retiring to their ships laden with rich booty. Mansvelt seized the island of St. Catherine and extorted an enormous ransom ere he would give it up. Davis scourged St. Augustine and Nicaragua, plundering and committing nameless deeds of infamy. But the most famous, or infamous, of all these corsairs of the seas was Henry Morgan. He was the master-spirit, the bravest and most daring of the fellowship; but because he ever sailed under commissions granted by the British officer and because of his more peaceful latter life, when he became a zealous upholder and representative of law and order, he has found many apologists. The story of his bloody career on the seas, however, seems to fully justify the verdict of one of the able historians of Jamaica, that his career as

a buccaneer was marked by almost incredible barbarities and cruelties. This man was the son of a Welshman. He had been sold into slavery and been made to feel all the barbarities of the slave-drivers' brutality on the Barbadoes. How much this experience had to do in deadening his moral sense cannot be guessed, but certain it is there was little of the milk of human kindness in evidence during his ill-famed career as a licensed pirate. In 1670 he descended on Panama, then one of the wealthiest Spanish towns in the New World. He ruthlessly plundered and sacked the place and his descent was so timed that he gained

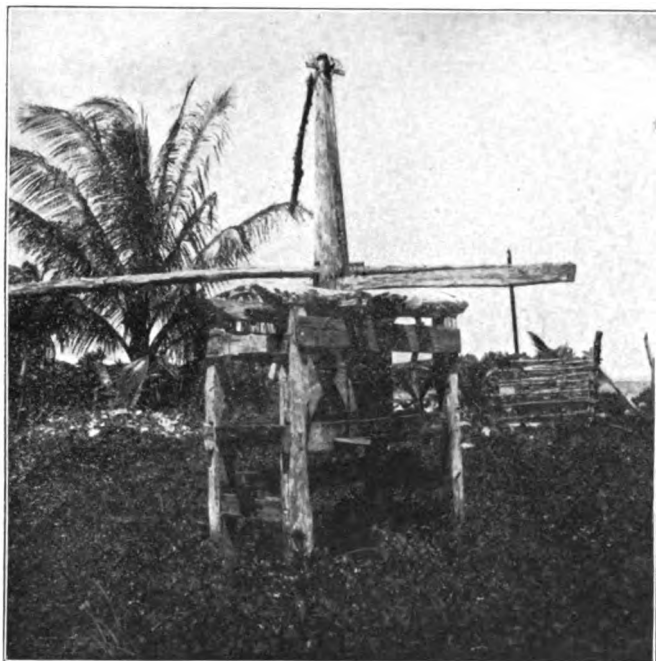


THE RIO COBRE HOTEL, SPANISH TOWN.



THE "ADMIRAL SCHLEY" LEAVING PORT ANTONIO HARBOR.

possession of an enormous treasure train of gold and silver which had just arrived for reshipment to the Old World. Of this amount Morgan appropriated so liberal a share to himself that he came very near falling a victim to his own avarice, as his men, feeling that they had been defrauded of their just share, planned his destruction. He escaped, however, and though the English Governor who granted the commissions was recalled for his act, Henry Morgan was knighted for his descent upon helpless Panama and appointed Lieutenant-



AN OLD SUGAR-CANE PRESS (ON THE WAY TO THE "BLUE HOLE.")

Governor of Jamaica. At length, however, public sentiment in England was so aroused that Governor Vaughan, who came after Sir Henry Morgan, put a stop to the scandal by hanging every pirate he caught.

In 1782 Jamaica faced a formidable peril when the combined forces of France and Spain, under de Grasse, just off Dominica sailed to subject the coveted isle of beauty and plenty; but the decisive victory won by Admiral Rodney saved the island from the horrors of invasion and the havoc of war.

In those days the principal city of Jamaica was Port Royal, a place which according to a chronicler

more enthusiastic than accurate, was "the finest town in the West Indies and the richest spot in the universe." It was the principal port of entry and one of the most flourishing towns of the West Indies until 1692, when it was visited by a terrible earthquake which destroyed more than three thousand lives. An eye-witness thus described the scene:

"Whole streets with their inhabitants were swallowed up by the opening of the earth, which when shut upon them squeezed the people to death, and in that manner several were left with their heads above ground. . . . It was a sad sight to see the harbor covered with dead bodies of



EARLY MORNING BUYERS, KINGSTON.

people of all conditions, floating up and down without burial, for the burying place was destroyed by the earthquake, which dashed to pieces tombs, and the sea washed the carcasses of those who had been buried out of their graves."

Eleven years later a great fire almost entirely destroyed the town, and in 1712 a hurricane almost swept away the homes that had quickly arisen from the ashes of old Port Royal. But it was not until 1722, or nineteen years after the great fire, that the town was practically destroyed by a terrific hurricane, during which many of the houses were swept into the sea



A BIT OF CONTRAST.

This series of calamities led to the rapid upbuilding of Kingston, a few miles distant, which in time became the capital of the province and the chief city of the island.



MARKET SCENE, PORT ANTONIO.

Jamaica has suffered much at various times from flames, floods, hurricanes and earthquakes. A record of the calamities that have come upon the inhabitants would lead one to imagine that the island was the sport of malignant elements. But that is only one side of the picture. Chroniclers are wont to dwell on calamities. Man remembers tragedies long after he has forgotten beautiful and pleasing happenings. And if Jamaica and her cities during the past few hundred years have at intervals suffered severely we must remember that during most of these hundreds of years nature

has smiled upon the island, making it a fairy-like garden-spot, rich in beauty and fruitfulness and with a climate that fosters health and makes living worth the while.

III. FROM PORT ANTONIO TO KINGSTON.

At length the day came for us to cross the island to Kingston, the capital of Jamaica. We took the train at about sunrise. For a time the railway follows the coast-line and the scenery is very beautiful, with the ocean on the one side and the mountains on the other, while here and there are magnificent groves of cocoanut trees and plantations of bananas. Before long we entered the mountain region and the engine toiled up steep grades. Here again the scenery was all that eye could desire. Indeed, the beauty of Jamaica lives in the memory, a haunting delight to all tourists who have eyes to see that which is lovely or sublime. The slopes of the mountains are clothed in verdure. Fine forests, containing many valuable woods, such

as mahogany, ebony, rosewood and satin-wood, are to be seen as one ascends from tier to tier toward the crest line of the Blue mountains that form the backbone of the island. Beautiful valleys lie between the tiers of ascending hills and in the mountain ravines are many strikingly magnificent cascades. Here, too, one beholds a wealth of luxuriant ferns such as is seldom seen.

One of the most pleasing and common sights when traversing the island are the little villages and hamlets in the valleys, embowered in tropical trees, shrubs and plants that are often gorgeous in splendid many-colored flowers.

At length we reached the highest point on the road and our descent was very swift. We arrived at Kingston at half-past ten—Kingston, the capital city of the island, with a population then of fifty thousand souls. This city has felt the triple fury of the elements. In 1880 it was severely injured by a hurricane; in 1882 a great fire destroyed a large proportion of the town; and now she lies a

wreck as the sport of the earthquake. When we visited the place it was a thriving city, there being more energy and bustle than one usually encounters in tropical towns. In architecture and in general appearance Kingston was rather striking, for it was part English and part Spanish. Here, as indeed elsewhere in Jamaica, one cannot fail to note the strong impress of two nations which in architecture and in domestic tastes, as in other things, are very unlike.

From Kingston we took the electric cars to Constant Springs Hotel, situated six miles from the capital city on one of the old-time estates, now out



THE ENCLOSURE BACK OF THE CATHEDRAL, SPANISH TOWN.

of cultivation, at the foot of a range of the Blue mountains. It is a delightful hostelry, and from here we visited many attractive spots in the vicinity, the chief point of interest being Spanish Town, thirteen miles from Kingston. It is an old place founded by the Spanish about 1523, who christened it Santiago de la Vega. In early times it was a place of wealth and fashion, but to-day it is little more than a country village, its principal attractions being its beautiful public square filled with tropical plants and flowers, its fine old Cathedral, one of the finest specimens of Spanish architecture on the island, and the temple

erected in honor of Admiral Rodney. In the cathedral are many handsome monuments and tablets, and under our feet were numerous slabs with curious records such as one often finds in old cemeteries. One of these especially attracted my attention, as after recording some facts relative to the deceased, it assured us that the sleeper "died amid much applause." Was he an actor who fell before the footlights, I wonder?

This slab reminds me of a still more remarkable inscription carved on the tomb of Lewis Galdy at Green Bay. This unfortunate, or rather fortunate, individual was, I believe, one of the lucky victims of the great Port Royal earthquake, for the epitaph tells us that he "was swallowed up by the earthquake, and by the Providence of God was by another shock thrown into the sea, and miraculously saved by swimming until a boat took him up. He lived many years after in great reputation, beloved by all who knew him and much lamented at his death."



ROYAL PALMS, SPANISH TOWN.

Just now people are wondering why men and women who could live elsewhere would dwell in a land of earthquakes and hurricanes, as if these things were everyday occurrences or happened frequently. As a matter of fact, life and death are companions in all lands and under all skies. If the yellow fever occasionally visits Jamaica, its ravages are insignificant compared with those of pneumonia or the white plague in our northern lands. If earthquakes and hurricanes sometimes devastate sections of Jamaica, do we not have our cyclones, floods and blizzards, our periods of cold, our losses by fire, and the needless waste of life by railway and other avoidable accidents? Yes, death walks by our side under every flag and in every clime. As for me, I can easily understand why occasional earthquakes or hurricanes do not drive from Jamaica many who, if they desired, could live in other lands.

WILLIAMSON BUCKMAN.

Trenton, N. J.

THE STATE-OWNED RAILWAYS OF GERMANY.

PART II. OF "THE RAILWAY EXPERIENCE OF GERMANY."

BY PROFESSOR FRANK PARSONS, PH.D.

THE POLITICAL dangers and abuses, so strenuously predicted by objectors to public railways, have not materialized in Germany. The spoils system is unknown. No member of Parliament can get a friend or constituent a place on the State railways through political influence. President Hadley says that political difficulties have not been experienced in the administration of the Prussian railways, which he thinks "is chiefly due to the superb organization of the Prussian Civil Service." There are no paid lobbyists, no subsidized newspapers, no publication bureaus, no rake-offs. Neither graft nor partisan politics have any place in the administration of the railways.

The Government railways effected large economies, partly by condensation and coördination of staffs and services, made possible by the unification of the railways, partly by lopping off the corporation cupolas from over-grown official salaries, and partly by improved methods of operation. The president of a Prussian railway division gets \$2,750 a year and the Minister of Public Works \$9,000 a year and the use of a house. Think what a saving could be made in our railways if the salaries of railway presidents were cut from \$25,000, \$50,000 and \$100,000 to the German figures, which cannot be considered as out of the question, since presidents of colleges often receive only \$3,000 to \$3,500, about the same as the Prussian railroad president, including the house-rent he has in addition to his salary; and the Secretary of State, Secretary of War, Postmaster General or other member of the President's Cabinet in this country only gets \$8,000 a year, which is considerably less than the pay of the Prussian Minister of Railways.

Further economies in the German railways, as compared to ours, result from the fact that they do not have to cover the expenses and emoluments of gentlemen engaged in manipulating conventions, electing railroad candidates and running legislative lobbies. They are also free from the wastes due to competing offices, circuitous routing, etc., from which our transportation system suffers.

In respect to safety the German railroads take very high rank. We kill more people on our roads each week than are killed on the German roads in a year. Taking the averages per million passengers over our railroads and those of Prussia, we find that the railways of the United States kill over six times as many and injure 25 times as many as the Prussian roads.

The service is not so good in some respects as ours, but is admittedly the best in Europe, far superior on the whole to that afforded by the French or English railway systems. No nation on the globe can equal America in what pertains to the development of mechanical civilization, but it is very clear that the secret of our superiority is not private-ownership, since the private roads of France and England as a whole are more inferior to ours than is the German system.

Both freight and passenger rates are lower in Germany than in England or the United States. The average passenger rate is less than 1 cent a mile, against 2 cents in the United States, and 2.25 cents in Great Britain. Liberal discounts from ordinary rates are made in favor of education and labor. School-children get 66 per cent. to 70 per cent. off on monthly tickets and 75 per cent. off on yearly tickets. Workingmen in

Prussia get a rate of about one-third of a cent a mile on journeys to and from work up to 31 miles, and for long distances, 30 working-men together can get 50 per cent. off the ordinary rate. On the Berlin elevated railways, which are owned and operated by the State in conjunction with the suburban roads as one system, the ordinary fares are 2 cents anywhere from 1 to 5 stations (about 15 miles) and 5 cents for any distance, the maximum being about 31 miles. By purchasing weekly or monthly tickets, workingmen can get rates considerably below these normal charges.

There is an impression that freight-rates in Germany are much higher than in the United States. This impression has resulted from the comparison of average rates without explanation of what the averages represent. The average merchandise rate in Prussia is 1.36 cents per ton-mile against .78 of a cent in this country. But the American rate does not include express, which pays very high rates, while the German rate does include express. It also includes large amounts of traffic which in this country is handled by fast freight and private-car lines, the earnings of which are not included in the reported railroad revenues. The American rate is cut down by including large amounts of freight carried for the companies themselves, for which no charge is made, while the German figure includes only freight actually paid for. The German roads carry an immense amount of mail and packages for the parcels-post, for which they get no pay, while American roads receive large sums for carrying the mails, and the packages for the most part go by express with us. The proportion of bulky, heavy, low-rate freight, such as coal, iron, ore, timber, etc., is very much larger here (where coal alone constitutes one-third of the total tonnage) than in Europe, where the bulk of such traffic is carried by water. The average haul in Germany is 78 miles, against 244 miles in the United States, over three times the Ger-

man haul, and this cuts down the average mile rate tremendously, so that on two roads run with equal efficiency and charging the same rates for equal service involving the same amount of labor and capital the road with the long average haul will show a much lower ton-mile rate. Our low ton-mile rate is partly due to carriage on circuitous routes and other unnecessary competitive transportation representing a waste of industrial force. And worse yet, our average tells the story of special rates and secret concessions to favored shippers. Our ton-mile rate does not represent the rates the public has to pay, but is brought below the actual public rate level by the rebates and concessions granted the trusts and combines and other big shippers. The German average represents the rates that all the people pay. Making allowance for express and mail, company freight and private-car line traffic, the German commissioners, recently in this country, conclude that a proper figure for our average freight rate would be 1.44 cents per ton-mile, while the figure for the Prussian roads would be .95 of a cent.

After studying German freight-rates on the ground and comparing them with American rates for similar distances and shipments, I found that the German ton-mile rates on local traffic are generally less than one-third of ours.* (For specific comparison see *The Railways, the Trusts, and the People*, page 338.) Taking direct comparison for longer distances into the calculation, we find that our rates on less than carload lots are 50 to 200 per cent. higher than the German rates. This is a much more accurate method of investigation than any comparison of general averages with the broadly differing content behind those averages in the two countries. On the private railroads of Great Britain the average ton-mile rate is over 80 per cent. higher than the average German rate, so

*See note at end of this article for statement in reference to the criticism of Professor Hugo R. Meyer.

in another way it is clear that some other cause than private-ownership is to be credited with our low average freight-rate in the United States. The German Government has been criticized for not making blanket-rates to develop long-distance traffic and especially for not making rates that would enable the railways to absorb the long-distance traffic which now goes by water. It is not clear, however, to one who is not a railroad lawyer or official why the railways should try to capture freight which can go at lower actual cost by water. If one big trust owned both the waterways and the railroads in this country, would the railroads take freight that could be sent by water at lower than actual cost? That is the situation in Germany where the big People's Trust owns both the railways and the waterways.

It must not be supposed that the German railway management is free from difficulty or beyond criticism. The conflict of sectional interests which exists in Germany not less than in the United States gives rise to many serious and difficult questions. The adjustments are not always what a disinterested observer might think best, but the methods of adjustment are beyond criticism. In Germany questions of sectional interest are decided by fair, open, earnest, exhaustive discussion of the representations of all the interests involved. In the United States questions of sectional interest are decided by secret conference and arbitrary action of a few powerful individuals acting with sole reference to their private profit. Under the German system, New England, Kansas, Colorado, etc., would have a full hearing and a vote in determining the railway policy. Under our system, the destinies of New England, Kansas, Denver, Spokane, etc., are determined by decree of Wall-street's railroad kings and trust magnates without a hearing and without consideration of anything but the profit of the railroad owners.

The profits of the German railways are

very large,¹ amounting to one-third of the total receipts. The gross profits of the Prussian roads are over \$150,000,000 and the net surplus after all expenses and interest charges are paid, including new equipment, extensions, and special funds, is over \$100,000,000.

The employes of the German railways are well cared for. The management takes every reasonable precaution against killing or maiming them; carefully avoids over-working them; pays them excellent wages according to the general wage-level in Germany—much higher wages than the English railways pay, although the general wage-level is higher in England than in Germany; pensions them when their working days are over; makes provision for their widows and orphans; and gives them a share in the management of the roads through their right to help elect the members of the Railway Councils and the members of Parliament, who finally determine the policy of the roads and the conditions of the service. It has been stated by an influential writer in this country that the German railway workers are disfranchised, but this is a mistake. They have the same right as any other citizen to vote, both in local and national elections and they exercise their right.

The crowning glory of the Prussian railway administration is the system of local and national Councils, composed of representatives chosen by chambers of commerce, laborers' organizations, farmers' unions, dairy associations, merchants' clubs, etc., to coöperate with the railway directories in the management of the roads. The law requires the railway officers constantly to advise with these Councils and to act upon their recommendations so far as reasonably possible, so that in Germany to-day, through the Councils and the Parliament, the railway system is practically in the hands of the people to manage and direct. The roads are actually operated in the interests of the people on one of the most democratic and coöperative

plans it would be possible to conceive.

Imagine our railway managers constantly subjected to cross-examination by the people's representatives, under conditions that would make it folly to tell anything but the absolute truth, with books and transactions always under the scrutiny of public auditors and inspectors, obliged to reveal all bargains, costs, rates, methods and agreements! Imagine our people having a share in the management of the railways through councils and standing committees composed of merchants, manufacturers, farmers, workmen, etc., elected by chambers of commerce, labor unions, agricultural associations, etc., under laws requiring the railway management to consult these people's councils continually as to rates, time-tables, etc., and conform to their decisions so far as reasonably possible, with appeal to a national council representing the business interests of all classes of people and constituting virtually a coördinate part of the national railway administration! Everyone free to make suggestions and complaints without fear of railway persecution or expensive litigation! Every petition sure of fair-minded consideration and every important question certain to be investigated with comprehensive thoroughness, not to ascertain how the most money can be made for a few railway managers and controlling owners, but to ascertain what is best for the interest of all concerned! What would become of the arbitrary power of Baer, Morgan, Rockefeller and Company? What would become of the whole congregation of railroad graft and chicanery, the whole congested slums of railroad politics and finance in this country?

As Charles Francis Adams long ago pointed out, the German railroad system is "practically a coöperative system, the Government being nothing more nor less than a trustee managing a vast industrial organization for the general public benefit," and in constant consultation with local and national bodies representing the interests of all classes of people.

Our railroads know how to coöperate with each other and with the trusts, sometimes for the public good—too often against it. May we not reasonably ask for a system that will give the people a fair share of influence in the management of the railways? Is it just that the sugar people, beef people, coal people, and oil people, should have a large share in rate-making, while most all of our 80,000,000 of people have no share? Especially, is it just when most of the 80,000,000 need a share in rate-making far more than the sugar-beef-coal-oil people *et al*?

Public sentiment in Germany is overwhelmingly with the State system. There are complaints, of course. Few things human are free from complaints and opposition, but the complaints and the opposition are relatively insignificant. Public opinion in the mass is with the railway system. This is not only my own conclusion after earnest efforts to get at public sentiment by talking with many people of various classes, but is the conclusion also of Professor Ely, Hon. B. H. Meyer, the American Consul at Berlin, and other American students of the German railway situation.

The Germans believe that whoever owns and operates a country's transportation system virtually owns the country; and that the public highway should be managed for the public benefit and not for private profit. This is the keynote of their railroad philosophy.

The regulation of private railways as in England, France and the United States, tends to secure the dominance of public interest for prevention, to some extent at least, of the positive abuses to which private railways in a state of liberty are prone to devote so much of their attention. But regulation cannot secure in any reasonable degree the dominance of public interest or a management actuated by public motives and devoting themselves earnestly and effectively to the public good.

The German system secures the dom-

inance of public interest both for prevention and for action. It secures the dominance of public interest for prevention much more completely and perfectly than the French or English system—as one might expect, since it is hardly possible by any amount of control to get as good results from the other fellow's servants as you can from your own—and it secures also the dominance of public interest for positive service. The management does not have to be coerced to act in accord with public interest; for those who have the actual possession and active management of the railways have also the fullest motives to act for the public benefit, are employed for that purpose, and have their success measured by that standard.

Other nations have attested the success of State-ownership in Germany by that best of all indorsements, sincere and earnest imitation. Switzerland, for example, has nationalized her railways, basing her argument partly on Germany's successful experience; Italy also has undertaken the operation of her roads, hoping she may attain some of the bene-

fits Germany has secured from her Government railways; and now Japan has decided on the policy of State management, influenced largely by Germany's example, though it would not be fair to forget that the success of the State roads of Belgium, Denmark, New Zealand and other countries has also contributed to the spread of the public system.

Meanwhile the German railway management (fully conscious that their system, fine as it is in many ways, is still capable of great improvement) are ransacking the world for new ideas and suggestions, and the people's representatives are constantly discussing what can be done to make the roads still more serviceable to the public. And when a change in the public interest is voted, the way is open to the execution of the plan, not only without resistance on the part of the railway managers, but with their cordial coöperation and earnest wish to make the railroads just what the public—the stockholders and owners of the roads—want them to be.*

FRANK PARSONS.

Boston, Mass.

*The reader will find a strenuous criticism of the Prussian railway and canal policy in a new book on *Government Regulation of Railway Rates*, by Hugo R. Meyer, an assistant professor in Chicago University. The book is a brief for the railroads against President Roosevelt's policy of rate regulation, and against State ownership, and the backbone of it is a rabid attack on the German system.

Professor Meyer has never been in Germany. That was not necessary. In fact, it might have made havoc with his argument and interfered with his purpose. For example, in this book, and in his testimony before the Senate Committee, May 5, 1905, he tells us that "one single firm [the firm of von Bolle, as we learn from p. 387 of the book,] is stabling to-day within the city limits of Berlin 14,000 cows. . . . And within the limits of Berlin one can count, and smell, upwards of 14,000 cows, kept there to supply the population with milk that the railroads are not allowed to bring from a distance." (P. 156.)

Now the great dairyman, C. Bole (not von Bolle), made a statement in the spring of 1905, when Mr. Meyer's testimony was called to his attention, saying that he had no cows at all in Berlin; that there was a large number of cows in the city, but that there was no causal connection between that fact and the railway rates on milk, and that of the 600,000 liters of milk required in Berlin daily, only about one-sixth is produced in Berlin and its suburbs.

Professor B. H. Meyer, who visited the Berlin

dairy within a few weeks of Professor Hugo's testimony and who brought out the facts in the *Journal of Political Economy* for February, 1906, also states that in the German article from which Professor Hugo garbled and misquoted the sentence out of which he constructed his cow-fiction—in that very same article on the development of the milk traffic in Germany, the writer shows that "the requirements of the agricultural and dairy interests have been met in a most satisfactory manner, and that an experience of twenty years has met all demands reasonably well." Very properly, Professor B. H. asks, "whether due respect for fair play and the truth should not have impelled him to give a hint of these things to his American readers, instead of garbling a single sentence from the article."

The same tendency to make fiction masquerade as railway economics—a tendency that has been discovered also in the returns of some of the private railways Professor Meyer admires so much—this same tendency to use imagination in place of reason marks the Chicago man's discussion of the German canal policy, and in fact his whole book.

He says the Prussian railways are at fault because they do not make rates to compete with the canals, but calmly let a lot of heavy traffic go by water; that the appropriation of millions proves the railway system a failure; that the crying need of Germany is long-distance traffic on the railways, etc.

This crying need is a figment of the Professor's fertile imagination. The German people control

THE REDEMPTION.

By BOLTON HALL.

MY COMPANION had been very silent, but as the camp-fire blazed again, he began:

"Well, sir, I do n't think it was a dream, and it could n't have been that I imagined it all, for you know I was born and brought up in Mexico, out on the plain, and I'd never heard that story about

Cain. It was the second day that I had been lost in the bare bad lands without water, or maybe it was the third. Nothing was moving now over the endless desert but the blazing sun and millions of little ants or grains of sand that scurried round my feet—and I sank down to die.

their railway rates, and if there were a crying need for more long-distance traffic in their judgment, the rates would be made so as to secure it. I may be mistaken, but I cannot help thinking that the German people are right in relying on their own judgment in this matter rather than on that of any economic professor of the Rockefeller University. The industrial progress of Germany in recent years is marvelous, as even Professor Meyer admits. Almost in the same breath we are told that the railways have paralyzed Germany, and that modern industrial Germany is the marvel of the world; that the German railways are merely feeders to canals, and that there has been "a huge increase in the volume of traffic" on the railways; that the German railway policy has caused excessive concentration of population, and that the German distance tariff prevents a high development of long-distance transportation.

The fact is that long-distance transportation is one of the prime causes of excessive concentration of population. The comparative statistics of urban and rural population in the United States and Prussia show a greater percentage of increase in this country than in Germany during the railway age.

If the appropriation of millions for canals proves the Prussian railways a failure, then I suppose the canal appropriation of \$120,000,000 by New York State, approved by popular vote, is convincing proof to Mr. Meyer of the inefficiency, incompetence and mismanagement of the New York Central.

What would we think of a German writer who should tell his readers that American railways had failed because the Government was still spending money on canals, or because the railways had not kept all traffic off the Great Lakes, the rivers and the oceans? If German traffic can go at less than rail cost from point to point by water, why should n't it? And in America, if freight can go at lower cost by the lakes, or round the cape to California, why should n't it? Why should our railroads cut long-distance rates to the bone to capture traffic that belongs on the water by the law of economics, and compel local traffic to pay not only its own fixed charges but part of all that belong to the cut-rate long-distance business?

The Chicago man is so saturated with the philosophy of the private railways that he can't see

anything but railway tonnage. His only question is: "Does it make money for the railways?" He never asks, "Is it just?" "Does it make for economy of industrial power?" "Does it tend to the diffusion of wealth and power?" "Does it make for good citizenship?"

He does not test the Prussian railway by any such standards; does n't seem to be aware that such standards exist; is entirely satisfied, apparently that the Standard Oil and the Beef-Trust should have better rate arrangements on our railways than other shippers; can't see anything the matter with our railways; says, "Discrimination is the secret of the efficiency of American railways"; has no word of condemnation for the payment of rebates, the free pass, terminal railroad and private car abuses, the watering and manipulation of stocks, the concentration of railroad power in the hands of a few men for their private benefit, the evil of railway corporation influence in politics, the bribery of legislators, the railroad lobbies, the packed conventions, the control of elections, and the legislation in private interests.

For excellent estimates of Meyer's work I refer the reader to the criticisms by H. C. Adams, B. H. Meyer and Ray Stannard Baker, in the *Yale Review* (February), *Journal of Political Economy* (February), and *McClure's* (March), 1906. Adams says that the writer's assumptions in respect to controverted questions relating to the tests to be applied in judging of railway managements "vitiates his entire treatise." B. H. Meyer speaks of "the unreliability of the references" given by Hugo Meyer, and says that Hugo Meyer misquotes and misrepresents German and French authorities cited by him, giving the reader to understand that their views are "diametrically opposed to the views they really hold." He also says that "bias is the unifying principle of the book." Ray Stannard Baker says: "The work throughout is marked by singular bias and prejudice. The *Railroad Gazette*, which is itself in possession of sufficient bias to make it hard for it to see the real weight of the wrongs our railroads are guilty of, nevertheless has fairness enough to say editorially of this book (December 1, 1905): 'We deeply regret that the learned professor should have approached his subject with such unmistakable evidences of partisanship and bias.'"

"As I touched the ground, I felt some quick blows on my boot, and the whir that had been in my ears so long seemed to grow louder. I looked at my leg and saw, without any interest, that as I fell I had pinned a big rattlesnake to the ground with the side of my boot, and he was striking again and again at the leather near his head.

"My stick was still in my hand, and I raised it—the snake was working forward under the boot: soon he would reach my knee—what matter! I must die; that death could be no worse than this, and he in his handsome vigor, he will live; he wants to live—I could see the muscles working under his skin. In a moment he struck my knee, and it felt like a burn. But I threw the stick away, and the snake stopped striking and slid away from under the weight of my foot, slid away—to nowhere. I give you my word—there was n't so much as a tuft of sage or a stone on all that plain, nor there was n't a hole but the little sun-cracks in the earth."

He paused, and the darkness about us was very still; then he went on:

"And a man stood beside me that came from nowhere; and he picked me up and carried me all that day out of the bad lands,—he was a big fellow,—until at night we came to a ranch on Gyp Creek. And he talked to me all that day; he said he was Cain, the son of Eve and of the Snake. And he told me how his brother was a sheep-man and he had killed him, the same as we kill the sheep-men here, and God had changed him back into his father's shape, and told him he must live

like that, and be against every man, and every man's hand against him,—until some man that he would wound, and that could kill him, should love him enough to spare him.

"For he said that the man that gives love always gives life, and that it was hate that made all the evil of the world. He said that love was the savior that would redeem the earth, and that before we can love, which is doing good, we must quit hating, which is doing wrong.

"He said that it was n't enough not to hurt anyone, nor even to help everyone; that to love truly, we must forgive everyone,—even those who would hurt us and who would treat us unjustly. We must even stop wishing that they would get their deserts. When we accept Nature, which is the kindness of God, and so get free of all bitterness, the real life begins, and happiness is then as natural as it is for a plant to grow in the light. Only that Love gives happiness which is the reward of Love.

"He said that if we love, though we be dead, yet shall we live again, and he told me a lot of other things that I can remember only in my heart—I am an ignorant man, Sir.

"Those ranchmen claim I drifted in about midnight, plum crazy, and with nothing but a bad bruise on my knee; but I know better. Well, sir, before that I had killed men, but since that day I've never killed a living thing, and I never will."

He stopped, and the silence closed in on us again.

BOLTON HALL.

New York City.

MR. BRYAN'S MISTAKE.

BY LINTON SATTERTHWAIT.

IF PRESIDENT Roosevelt may be regarded as the chief asset of the Republican party, Mr. Bryan is easily next in value to that organization. Without the able assistance of Mr. Bryan and the more influential of his followers, not even the popularity of Mr. Roosevelt could for long hold the Republican voters together as a political organization. It is the continued existence of the Democratic party as a political organization, associated in the minds of Republican voters with all of that party's past history, whether good or bad, that prevents the breach in party lines and the realignment of the voters, which present conditions plainly call for. Were that party to disband, the Republican party would speedily divide. The two leading factions would quickly become two antagonistic parties. As Mr. Blaine remarked, in speaking of the divisions in the old Republican-Democratic party, when the Federalist party disappeared from the scene: "No political organization can live without opposition." With the common enemy overthrown, or no longer in sight, internal dissensions inevitably lead to party disruption. Such is human nature. But so long as the organization which has been bitterly fought in past years stands before the eyes of the voters as the only haven of refuge, if they refuse to submit to the dominant influences in their own party, they are impelled by their prejudices and their pride to cling to their own organization and to hope for its redemption through some miraculous aid.

The present political condition naturally and normally should result in the abandonment of the Democratic organization, the consequent withdrawal of the more radical democratic element from the Republican party and the crystallization into a new truly democratic

organization—whatever its name—into which would be drawn by the law of political gravitation the democratic element of the country. The so-called conservative Democrats would naturally find their way into the Republican organization, making of that party the great so-called conservative party of the country, just as the pro-slavery Whigs found their way by easy stages into the old pro-slavery Democratic party. The issue between privilege and popular rights, between plutocracy and democracy, could then be joined with a reasonable hope that the real public sentiment would be expressed.

Mr. Bryan's mistake consists in his hugging the delusion that Republican voters will come to the Democratic organization so soon as they become convinced of the wisdom of the policies which it may espouse. True, some will do so. But where one voter will thus change his party affiliations, a dozen who feel much the same will refuse to do so because of prejudice and party vanity. Partisan prejudice is one of the strongest forces which control men's actions. Doubtless Mr. Bryan feels great pride in the historical Democratic party to which his father and grandfather belonged, but he should not forget that the perfect complement of this pride is the prejudice against affiliating with that same party entertained by the Republican whose views may be similar to Mr. Bryan's and whose father, and perhaps grandfather, were loyal Republicans. These two men may cherish the same sentiments, but the party-pride of the one and the party-prejudice of the other keeps them apart. They could meet on the common ground of a new organization, without humiliating the pride of the one or offending the prejudices of the other. It is far less difficult to induce a man to leave his

party to unite with a new organization than it is to induce him to join the organization against which he has fought with partisan zeal.

Mr. Bryan should adjust his political eye-glasses and view his grand old Democratic party as Republicans view it, and he might begin to understand why it is that while the Democratic party remains a minority party its policies are, after a time, being carried out, one by one, by the Republicans.

There is to-day a great unorganized party of democracy in this country. The individuals who compose it are to be found among those calling themselves Democrats, among those calling themselves Republicans, and among those styled Independents, or to state the situation in a different form, there are two actually antagonistic parties within the Republican party-lines, and practically the same two antagonistic parties within the Democratic lines. Normally there should be a dissolving and a re-crystallization, so that each of the two similar Republican and Democratic parties might coalesce, so that Republican plutocrat and Democratic plutocrat might join hands as their hearts are already joined, and Republican democrat and Democratic democrat might march under one banner proclaiming their common principles.

The actual situation is abnormal. Nothing would so greatly help to restore natural conditions as the retirement from the field of the Democratic organization. By keeping it alive, Mr. Bryan may start with the advantage of the party machinery and of the votes which will follow the party name, but to win success, the popular movement needs more than the votes which control of the Democratic machinery will give. It needs the votes of those who are repelled by the very fact that the cause they feel disposed to favor is identified with that same party machinery. There can be little doubt that by injecting some vitality into the Democratic organization Mr. Bryan is

rendering the greatest possible service to the Republican organization and the cause which it represents. He ignores human nature and, it would seem, disregards the teachings of our political history. Could the free-soil sentiment have captured the Whig party organization in the early fifties, the movement would have had the prestige of a party name, and the added strength due to the formal adherence of voters who would have cared little for the newly-espoused principles, but who would have blindly followed that party name. But could the rehabilitated Whig party have secured the confidence and won the support of free-soil Democrats, as did the newly-organized Republican party in the formation of which Democrats, Whigs and Free-Soilers alike took part? Manifestly not. The first poll might have been greater, but the growth of the movement would have been much less rapid. Why, in 1860, did the leaders of the young Republican party in doubtful states urge that, with Mr. Seward as the candidate, their states could not be carried by the Republicans? Was it not because Mr. Seward had been for years a leader among the Whigs and, as such, had incurred the hostility and excited the prejudices of the Democratic voters of free-soil proclivities, whose support it was necessary to win to the new party? Men hesitate to step out from among their neighbors and friends to join the organization which they, in common with those neighbors and friends, have been fighting. It is folly to ignore this obvious fact.

When a new issue of commanding importance arises, the natural thing is for one of the two chief existing parties to disband. It is almost certain that one or the other of the existing parties will be so under the control of the exponents of one side of that issue that its destiny is already determined. This party will almost necessarily be the dominant party at the time. Thus the Democratic organization was fated to become the champion of slave-extension in ante-bellum

days, and the Republican party of to-day—in spite of the Roosevelt episode—seems destined to wage the battle of the “interests” in the coming struggle.

The Democratic party of to-day, as the Whig party of the fifties, is the minority party, rent by the cleavage lines of the developing new issues, and the most signal public service that party could render would be to pass into history, as did the Whig party when the Kansas-Nebraska question gave birth to a new issue with a new party to espouse it. Had some Whig leader of free-soil principles and great personal popularity held the Whig party together, it is not at all likely that the free-soil sentiment would have carried the country in 1860.

The analogies of the situation now and in 1852-54 are by no means fanciful. The split in the then triumphant and all-powerful Democratic party could soon

be duplicated by a split in the present Republican party if the Democratic party of to-day would follow the example of the Whig party of that day and retire from the field, where its continued existence apparently serves only to supply Republicans who dislike their party's attitude with an excuse for remaining within the old party-fold.

It is no disrespect either to Mr. Bryan or to the Democratic party to say, that the best guarantee the Republicans have for success in the next and succeeding Presidential elections is the probability that he will be able to galvanize his party into sufficient life to keep active in Republican breasts all the old-time prejudice and distrust.

Mr. Bryan's position, it is repeated, is a mistake.

LINTON SATTERTHWAIT.

Trenton, N. J.

ERNEST HOWARD CROSBY: PROPHET OF PEACE AND APOSTLE OF SOCIAL RIGHTEOUSNESS.

By B. O. FLOWER.

I. THE MAN.

NOT SINCE the untimely death of Henry Demarest Lloyd has the cause of fundamental democracy and social justice experienced a greater loss than it received early in last January, when Ernest Howard Crosby was suddenly stricken down by pneumonia. Among all the leaders who are faithfully and with superb courage battling to bring civilization to a higher vantage ground, he, it seems to us, most perfectly embodied the spirit of the great Nazarene in life, deed and message; and this being the case, his life was a wonderful inspiration to all aspiring minds who came in touch with him, and his death is a serious loss to the cause of truth.

Mr. Crosby enjoyed the inestimable

blessing of being reared in a home where moral enthusiasm and broad spirituality permeated the lives of both parents. They were more than conscience-guided; they possessed that wisdom and enlightenment that enabled them to rear their son in such a way as to develop all the moral faculties or awaken life on its highest plane of expression. They were great enough and wise enough to know that fear is degrading in its influence and that attempts to make people good by coercion are far less effective than rational appeals to the divinity in the soul of man; and so Ernest Crosby received from his father, the distinguished clergyman Rev. Howard Crosby, and his mother only love and appeals to his reason and sense of justice.

Dr. Howard Crosby, as many of our

readers will remember, was a valued contributor to early issues of *THE ARENA*. He was long the popular minister of the Fourth Avenue Presbyterian Church of New York City. Though he held strongly to what he believed to be true, he was one of the most tolerant and charitable men in the religious world when it came to considering the views or convictions of others, and though the pastor of one of the richest churches in the metropolis he never allowed the possession or the lack of worldly goods to count a feather's weight with him, and he was absolutely fearless in denouncing the criminality, the slothfulness and the criminal selfishness and indifference of the rich. Many of our readers may remember the sensation created by Dr. Crosby's bold paper in *The North American Review* on "The Dangerous Classes," in which he showed that at the present time the rich were the most dangerous class in the Republic. And yet, though possessed of courage and moral strength, he was one of the most lovable of men.

With such a father and in a home made radiant with love, Ernest Crosby's mind received its moral bent. From his earliest childhood he was taught the supremely important fact that a sacred responsibility rested with him. He was made to feel that unless he consecrated life's best gifts to the service of civilization he would be recreant to the high trust imposed upon him. At this ideal fireside the youth imbibed that sturdy morality, that all-compelling love, that passion for justice and that reverence for duty that are so essential to leadership in conflicts of right against might.

He was prepared for college in the Mohegan Lake School and from thence entered the University of New York, from which he graduated in 1876. In 1878 he graduated from Columbia College Law School, after which he commenced the practice of his profession. In 1886 the corruption of New York politics was the subject of general agitation and some prominent newspapers

appealed to the educated sons of the rich and well-to-do to enter politics and cleanse it of its corruption. Among those who responded to this call was Ernest Crosby. He stood for representative to the State Legislature and in 1886 was elected on the Republican ticket. He served in the legislature in 1887, 1888, and 1889. During the last year he performed efficient service on the most important committee of the assembly, that on cities.

But it did not take him long to find that corrupt as was Tammany Hall, the Republican party was also in the hands of the grafters and corrupt interests and that the political machines were responsive to corporations and interests inimical to honest, pure or just government, and though at all times faithful to his ideals and fearless in his efforts to further what he conceived to be just and good government, he soon realized his own powerlessness in the presence of the sinister influences that have long dominated our legislative bodies. What he saw in the legislature at Albany of the power of monopolistic influences and the general corruption that permeated the law-making bodies sickened him of American politics, and when President Harrison in 1889 offered to nominate him for Judge of the Mixed Tribunal at Alexandria, Egypt, Mr. Crosby gladly signified his acceptance. The Khedive confirmed the nomination, which is a life position, and the young statesman set out for Alexandria. For more than four years Mr. Crosby presided as one of the judges whose duty it was to consider disputes between foreigners and between foreigners and natives. The decisions were all given in either French or Italian, and as Mr. Crosby was a master of both tongues, his rulings were given in either language that seemed best for the occasion.

In 1894 there came into his hands a book written by Count Tolstoi. He read it with profound interest. It took hold of him as had no book since he had

reached maturity. Indeed, its message came as a bugle-call to the young judge, awakening and arousing his conscience and impelling him to obey the imperative mandate of duty. It made him see things in a new light. Great truths which had been before but dimly perceived now became plain, and he saw the fundamental reason for things social and economic that had not before been clear to him. After reading this work, Judge Crosby found it impossible to longer remain in his comfortable and lucrative position in Alexandria. The Count had given a new meaning to life and had shown him where lay his duty. He forthwith resigned his post and set out for Russia, where he visited the Count, whose moral majesty still further aroused his spiritual nature.

Before Mr. Crosby left Russia, Count Tolstoi said to him:

"As an American, you of course have read the writings of Henry George?"

No, Mr. Crosby had not, nor had he ever met the author of *Progress and Poverty*.

"Mr. George is one of the greatest of the Americans," said the Count. "Be sure and make his acquaintance when you reach your native land."

The young American left the home of Count Tolstoi imbued as never before with the religion of humanity. Henceforth he could not be other than a democrat. More than this, Count Tolstoi had shown him the importance of thinking for himself instead of being content to take his views from others; and he now saw that the great end of education was not to attain intellectual culture and to become accomplished in the arts of the drawing-room, but that its first requisite in a civilized state should be the development of a true, fine character, the cultivation of those attributes that make a man above all a democrat and a lover of all his fellowmen. He knew now that fine and necessary as was intellectual training if it was balanced by moral development, of greater importance was

the schooling that makes men intellectually honest and courageous while at the same time being just, tolerant, loving and loyal to the high demands of freedom.

Arriving in America he soon made the acquaintance of Henry George and in time accepted the major demands of that great thinker's economic philosophy. But, naturally enough, the writings and thought of Count Tolstoi always exerted the greatest influence over his mind.

Thomas Wentworth Higginson in some verses addressed to Whittier in the poet's later years thus referred to the compelling power which the lines of the Quaker bard exerted over his mind just after he had left college:

"At dawn of manhood came a voice to me
That said to startled conscience, 'Sleep no more!'

If any good to me or from me came,
Through life, and if no influence less divine
Has quite usurped the place of duty's flame;
If aught rose worthy in this heart of mine,
Aught that, viewed backward, wears no shade of
shame;
Bless thee, old friend! for that high call was
thine."

These lines might with equal truth have been penned by Mr. Crosby in regard to Count Tolstoi and his writings; and the following beautiful characterization of the great Russian by Mr. Crosby well expresses the admiration he cherished for the man he always loved to consider as his spiritual awakener:

"Hail, Tolstoi, bold, archaic shape,
Rude pattern of the man to be,
From 'neath whose rugged traits escape
Hints of a manhood fair and free.

I read a meaning in your face,
A message wafted from above,
Prophetic of an equal race
Fused into one by robust love.

Like some quaint statue long concealed,
Deep buried in Mycenæ's mart,
Wherein we clearly see revealed
The promise of Hellenic art,

So stand you; while aloof and proud,
The world that scribbles, prates, and frets
Seems but a simpering, futile crowd
Of Dresden china statuettes.

Like John the Baptist, once more scan
The signs that mark the dawn of day.
Forerunner of the Perfect Man,
Make straight His path, prepare the way.

The desert too is your abode,
Your garb and fare of little worth;
Thus ever has the Spirit showed
The coming reign of heaven on earth.

Not in kings' houses may we greet
The prophets whom the world shall bless,
To lay my verses at your feet
I seek you in the wilderness."

In this connection it will not be inappropriate to give some observations made to us a few years ago in answer to our question:

"What would you say were the focusing points of Count Tolstoi's social theories, or upon what chief foundation truths does his philosophy of life in its larger relations rest?"

"Tolstoi's great discovery and central theory," replied Mr. Crosby, "is the old, old truth that *love* is the natural spiritual energy of man, and that all circumstances, laws and institutions must bend before this prime function of his soul. In short, he takes Christianity at its word, not because 'it is written' but because he has found its truth attested in his deeper experience. All of his apparent eccentricities become intelligible, or even necessary, when we trace them back to this paramount obligation of loving. While he is not a constructive philosopher, his spirit must underlie any sound piece of construction. 'Except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it.' Tolstoi's great importance in the bringing in of a new day is his dramatic value. Himself a great dramatist, he has always seen things dramatically, and he has at last become a dramatic representation of the need of the age. Scenes, pictures and events have always impressed him more than arguments and books. The freezing of his coachman at Kazan, while he was dancing at a ball, first called his attention to the grievances of the working-classes. An execution by guillotine, which he attended at Paris, first shook his faith in government. It was his own experience in the Crimean war that first revealed the horrors of wholesale murder to him. The contrast between himself and a peasant, as they both

dropped a coin in a beggar's hat, opened his eyes to the defects of a rich man's charity. His dramatic instinct made him a great novelist and dramatist, and made him understand the Gospels as few men have understood them. As he explains them you see the events as if they occurred in the streets to-day, and you comprehend why the Pharisees speak thus and the disciples answer so. And now unwittingly, but by an unerring instinct, he has become the protagonist in a great drama. Like the Roman knight he has plunged into the abyss yawning between class and class, and in his own person is endeavoring to realize the reconciliation of a world divided against itself. Tolstoi has written many great works, but his greatest work is his simple, pathetic, inevitable life. If he could have helped it, we might criticize his *rôle*; but it has been as much the work of destiny as Mont Blanc or the Atlantic."

II. THE PROPHET OF PEACE.

Count Tolstoi's hatred of war was heartily shared by Mr. Crosby. Many of his strongest poems and most ringing utterances were against this relic of barbarism that speaks as perhaps does nothing else of the failure of Christianity to bring men and nations that are nominally Christian under the compulsion of Jesus' message. Mr. Crosby since his awakening in 1894 in regard to war and the employment of brute force, has reflected more perfectly than any other leader of the new time the teachings and acts of that One of whom it was written, "A bruised reed shall he not break, and the smoking flax shall he not quench," and who voiced His views on force and war-like acts when he said, "Put up again thy sword into his place; for all they that take the sword shall perish by the sword."

In a notable protest against the action of the church in upholding war, made before the Episcopalian Church Congress in Providence, Rhode Island, November 15, 1900, Mr. Crosby said:

"War is hell, as General Sherman long ago told us; but he did not go on to tell us why. There is only one possible reason. Hell is not a geographical term; it is merely the expression of the spiritual condition of its inhabitants. War is hell because it transforms men into devils. . . . War is hate. Christianity is love. On which side should the Church be ranged? War is hell. The Church is, or ought to be, the Kingdom of Heaven. What possible truce can there be between them? And yet it is a fact that the Church favors war. Can you recall a single sermon condemning war, or even severely critical of it?

"A great movement has been going on in England during the last two years. I find among its leaders Frederick Harrison, the positivist, Herbert Spencer, the agnostic, and John Morley, the atheist, but the whole bench of bishops has been on the side of bloodshed. In France the Church has given its unanimous support to the military conspiracy against Dreyfus, and left it to the free-thinking Zola to show 'what Jesus would do.' In Germany and Russia the Church is the mainstay of military despotism. Is it true that things are so very different in this country? . . .

"Is it strange, then, that outsiders should criticize us? A Japanese writer, Matsumura Kaiseki, uses this language in a recent article: 'To the Oriental Christian there seems to be something absolutely contradictory in the gospel preached by the missionaries and the action of their governments.' And the eminent Jew, Max Nordau, is surprised to find that 'the Church does not seem to see that it is blasphemy to ask of the God of love to look with favor upon murder and destruction.' May we not have something to learn from Jew and Gentile?

"This backwardness of the Church to do the work of Christ, while those beyond the pale are endeavoring to accomplish it, has a precise analogy in the history of the anti-slavery movement. It

was such 'infidels' as Garrison and Phillips that were fulfilling the obligations of the Church fifty years ago, while she was searching the Scriptures to find authority for a sin which the world had outgrown. War is going to be condemned by the conscience of the world just as surely as slavery was condemned. I do not say that wars will cease. Murder and theft have not ceased, though they are condemned by mankind. But I do say that war will be adjudged a crime, like other murders and robberies, and that those who take part in it will know that they are doing wrong. The only question is, What instrument will God use in bringing this about? Shall we allow Him to use the Church, or shall we ask Him to look for other agents? It is because I believe the Church may still be persuaded to volunteer for this great task that I am here to-night.

"We condemn arson, adultery, murder, burglary, lying, and theft. War includes them all, and in a form more exaggerated, more self-evidently wrong, than any one of them taken alone. War repeals the Ten Commandments and explicitly places a portion of the human race outside the universal obligation of Christian love.

"Every age has had its barbarisms. We wonder now at slavery, at the hanging of boys for stealing a shilling, at imprisonment for debt, at the torture of witnesses, at the rack and thumbscrew and stake. All these things were supported by Christians and the Church. Are we to suppose that our age is the first without sanctified barbarisms? And if not, what barbarism of the day is so conspicuous as war? No, it is an awful hallucination, a fatal delusion, that war can be Christian. Let us fill our hearts with love and look forth upon our enemies, if we have enemies, with that love, and we shall see clearly that a Christian war is as impossible as a Christian murder."

Ernest Crosby believed in following Jesus' teachings rather than in pretend-

ing to do so while denying the Master at every turn; and the hypocrisy of those who at once claimed to be Christians and yet championed war was so offensive that it called forth the following protest which it would be well for militant Christians seriously to consider:

"Talk, if you will, of hero deed,
Of clash of arms and battle wonders;
But prate not of your Christian creed
Preached by the cannon's murderous thunders.

And if your courage needs a test,
Copy the pagan's fierce behavior;
Revel in bloodshed East and West,
But speak not of it with the Savior.

The Turk may wage a righteous war
In honor of his martial Allah;
But Thor and Odin live no more—
Dead are the gods in our Valhalla.

Be what you will, entire and free,
Christian or warrior—each can please us;
But not the rank hypocrisy
Of warlike followers of Jesus."

Mr. Crosby was nothing if not fundamental in his reasoning. He ever strove to direct men's thoughts from the symbol to the thing symbolized; from the outward seeming to the soul or real essence within. In this respect again he was traveling in the footsteps of the Great Nazarene. To him justice was of more moment than a law born of corrupt practices and embodying injustice; and the flag of our nation was something glorious only when it symbolized the ideals embodied in the Declaration of Independence. When, on the other hand, that flag was used in the cause of oppression, injustice and wars of aggression, the great fundamental principles of freedom, justice and fraternity—the bed-rock of democracy—loomed up as the things really worth while, and the flag lost the glory that it radiated while it symbolized them. On this point and in answer to the shallow demagogues in state and press who strove to justify the inhuman water-cure torture and other outrages practiced by American soldiers in the Philippines, our lost leader penned these lines entitled "The Flag":

"Who has hauled down the flag?"

"Is it the men who still uphold
The principles for which it stood,
Who claim that ever as of old
Freedom is universal good?

Or is it those who spurn the way
That Washington and Lincoln trod;
Who seek to make the world obey,
And long to wield the master's rod?

Who boast of freedom, but prepare
Shackles and chains for distant shores,
Who make the flag the emblem there
Of all that Liberty abhors?

"These have hauled down the flag!"

Many of Mr. Crosby's poems were written in the style employed by Walt Whitman. On one occasion we asked him if he did not think his thought would be more effective if he conformed to the conventional rules of versification. "No," he replied, "it would be less effective. The requirements of rhyme and conventional versification often work as fetters on the thought which should be presented briefly and forcibly."

He felt he could better drive home the truths he wanted to impress and more effectively create a series of striking pictures before the mental retina of the reader by writing as Whitman wrote than by employing conventional methods. The following lines embodying the old dream of the upholders of force, imperialism and war and the new dream of enlightened democracy afford an excellent specimen of Mr. Crosby's Whitmanesque verse:

"The old, old dream of empire—
The dream of Alexander and Caesar, of Tamerlane
and Genghis Khan—
The dream of subject peoples carrying out our
sovereign will through fear—
The dream of a universe forced to converge upon
us—
The dream of pride and loftiness justified by
strength of arms—
The dream of our arbitrary 'Yea' overcoming all
'Nays' whatsoever—
The dream of a cold, stern, hated machine of an
empire!

But there is a more enticing dream:
The dream of wise freedom made contagious—
The dream of gratitude rising from broken fetters—
The dream of coercion laid prostrate once for all—

The dream of nations in love with each other without a thought of a common hatred or danger—
 The dream of tyrants stripped of their tyrannies and oppressors spoiled of their prey—
 The dream of a warm, throbbing, one-hearted empire of brothers!

And will such a life be insipid when war has ceased forever?
 Be not afraid.
 Do lovers find life insipid?
 Is there no hero-stuff in lovers?"

We close the notice of our subject as a prophet of peace with the following beautiful stanzas:

"Peace, O Peace, when will the nation
 Lift its eyes and understand
 How thou holdest all creation
 In the hollow of thy hand?

Thine the strength that stays the ocean
 Hypnotized within its bed;
 Thine the power that keeps in motion
 Constellations overhead.

Thine the orb of love afire,
 Lighting up the heavens profound;
 Thine the suns that never tire
 Swinging planets round and round.

Thine the strength, serene, unshaken,
 Which can master self alone,
 Quelling passions when they waken
 From thy calm, eternal throne.

Teach us, while the battle rages,
 What we never understood:
 This the mystery of the ages—
 Evil overcome by good.

Far above the storms and thunders,
 Far above the war and strife,
 Far above our sins and blunders,
 At the source of strength and life—

There I see thy hand commanding
 With the olive branch for rod,
 Peace, that passest understanding!
 Spirit of Almighty God!"

III. THE APOSTLE OF SOCIAL RIGHT- EOUSNESS.

Mr. Crosby was too broad-visioned and too clear a reasoner to imagine that the rise of the spirit of militarism was unrelated to other disquieting and sinister facts in our national life. He was too much a follower of the Nazarene to fail to see the need and hear the cry of the men, women and little children who are under the wheel of the Juggernaut of commercialism, and his voice was ever

raised, clear, insistent and imperative, in a demand for the spirit of Christ to be exercised by the Church in the presence of the poor and the unfortunate, and for the ideals of the Declaration of Independence to again become the dominant note in our government, instead of the practices that place class privileges and special interests before the common weal and the interests of the masses. He understood as did few reform leaders how men were bound by words and sentences. He saw Justice prostituted in the halls of legislation. He saw laws bought and paid for by criminal interests—laws that robbed and exploited the people—exalted to the throne of justice, and men everywhere commanded and expected to respect and obey these issues of bribery and corruption as much as they would were they the children of justice. He knew from what he had personally seen when in the Legislature, no less than from the facts that were constantly brought to his attention from various authoritative sources, that the great public-service corporations, the trusts, monopolies and other privileged interests, were systematically corrupting the government and defeating the interests of the people by their pernicious activity in framing or modifying legislation so as to enrich the few at the expense of the many; and in one of his most biting satirical poems he thus unmasks the traitors who betray the people, and their corrupt masters, while striving to show that laws are to be revered when they embody justice, but that bought or corrupt legislation should be mercilessly exposed, to the end that justice and civic righteousness may prevail:

"Up to the State-House wend their way
 Some score of thieves elect;
 For one great recompense they pray:
 'May we grow rich from day to day,
 Although the State be wrecked.'

Up to the State-House climb with stealth
 Another pilgrim band,—
 The thieves who have acquired their wealth,
 And, careless of their country's health,
 Now bleed their native land.

And soon the yearly sale is made
Of privilege and law;
The poor thieves by the rich are paid
Across the counter, and a trade
More brisk you never saw.

And we, whose rights are bought and sold,
With reason curse and swear;
Such acts are frightful to behold,
Nor has the truth been ever told
Of half the evil there.

At last the worthless set adjourn;
We sigh with deep relief.
Then from the statute-book we learn
The record of each theft in turn,
The bills of every thief.

Now at a shameful scene pray look;
For we who cursed and swore,
Before this base-born statute-book,
Whose poisoned source we ne'er mistook,
Both worship and adore.

'For law is law,' we loud assert,
And think ourselves astute;
Yet quite forgetful, to our hurt,
That fraud is fraud, and dirt is dirt,
And like must be their fruit.

We laugh at heathen who revere
The gods they make of stone,
And yet we never ask, I fear,
As we bow down from year to year,
How we have made our own.

We all deny the right of kings
To speak for their Creator;
May we not wonder, then, whence springs
The right divine to order things
Of any legislator?"

The prophet is at times disquieting. He raises the interrogation point. He asks why things are accepted unquestioningly that obviously do not rest on the granite of justice. He points out the fact that it is not the Infinite Father or the great natural laws that are responsible for the pitiful misery of the poor, for the slavery of the children, and for the suffering of the multitudes who are under the wheel. Yet in America there are millions of men, women and children who are not receiving sufficient nourishment to maintain them in a state of efficiency. There are hundreds of thousands of children that are so poorly fed that their bodies invite disease and their brains are unable to properly appropriate the knowledge they should acquire in the public schools; and there is also a vast army of little ones condemned to virtual slavery in mine, mill and factory.

The slums of the great cities are yearly enlarging their borders, and thousands of native-born Americans are year by year being pushed over the precipice of self-respecting manhood into the abyss where exist the exiles of society. And there are tens and hundreds of thousands that by the inexorable pressure of present business, social and political conditions are being brought nearer and nearer the brink of the awful abyss. The prophet sees that in this land of almost boundless natural wealth only fifteen per cent. of the families own unencumbered homes, and more than fifty per cent. of all the families are merely tenants or renters. Now, seeing all these things he wishes to make the slow-thinking people awaken from the moral lethargy into which conventionalism has lulled them; and he does this by showing them that neither God nor the laws of the universe are responsible for the evil conditions that flourish in Christian society to-day. We know of no writer among our prophets of progress who has better impressed this lesson than has Mr. Crosby in the lines entitled "Not the Lord":

I.

"Praise ye the Lord,
For he hath given to his poor a world stored with
all riches:
Stone in the mountain, brick in the field, timber
in the forest to build them their houses;
Wool and cotton to make them clothing;
Corn and fruit and every manner of plant for their
food.
Who hath shut them out from the fullest enjoy-
ment of all these things which they themselves
produce?
It is not God. Praise ye the Lord.

II.

Praise ye the Lord,
For he hath given to his poor brains, and eyes and
ears of the best,
So that they might know the beauty of the land-
scape,
So that they might acknowledge the sway of the
old masters of art,
And feel the thrill of the noblest music,
And take to their bosom the greatest poets,
And love their books as themselves,
Who hath shut them out from all this fruition?
It is not God. Praise ye the Lord.

III.

Praise ye the Lord,
For he hath given to his poor hearts to love their
fellows,

So that they might have the key to the kingdom of heaven.

Who is it that taketh away the key and shutteth up the kingdom against them?

That neither goeth in himself nor suffereth them that are entering to go in?

It is not God. Praise ye the Lord."

A very powerful piece of writing that reveals the recreancy of the Church in the presence of the corruption and triumphant greed of the present-day plutocracy is found in these lines:

"I passed the plate in church.

There was little silver, but the crisp bank-notes heaped themselves up high before me;

And ever as the pile grew, the plate became warmer and warmer, until it fairly burned my fingers, and a smell of scorching flesh rose from it, and I perceived that some of the notes were beginning to smolder and curl, half-browned, at the edges.

And then I saw through the smoke into the very substance of the money, and I beheld what it really was:

I saw the stolen earnings of the poor, the wide margin of wages pared down to starvation;

I saw the underpaid factory girl eking out her living on the street, and the overworked child, and the suicide of the discharged miner;

I saw poisonous gases from great manufactories spreading disease and death;

I saw despair and drudgery filling the dram-shop;

I saw rents screwed out of brother men for permission to live on God's land;

I saw men shut out from the bosom of the earth and begging for the poor privilege to work in vain, and becoming tramps and paupers and drunkards and lunatics, and crowding into almshouses, insane asylums, and prisons;

I saw ignorance and vice and crime growing rank in stifling, filthy slums;

I saw usury, springing from usury, itself again born of unjust monopoly and purchased laws and legalized violence;

I saw shoddy cloth and adulterated food and lying goods of all kinds, cheapening men and women and vulgarizing the world;

I saw hideousness extending itself from coal-mine and foundry over forest and river and field;

I saw money grabbed from fellow-grabbers and swindled from fellow-swindlers, and underneath them the workman forever spinning it out of his vitals;

I saw all the laboring world, thin and pale and bent and careworn and driven, pouring out this tribute from its toil and sweat into the laps of the richly dressed men and women in the pews, who only glanced at them to shrink from them with disgust;

I saw money worshiped as a god, and given grudgingly from hoards so great that it could not be missed, as a bribe from superstition to a dishonest judge in the expectation of escaping hell.

I saw all this, and the plate burned my fingers so that I had to hold it first in one hand and then in the other; and I was glad when the parson

in his white robes took the smoking pile from me on the chancel steps and, turning about, lifted it up and laid it on the altar.

It was an old-time altar indeed, for it bore a burnt offering of flesh and blood—a sweet savor unto the Moloch whom these people worship with their daily round of human sacrifices.

The shambles are in the temples as of yore, and the tables of the money-changers waiting to be overturned."

Child-slavery is only one phase of the child-problem that is pressing for solution on the conscience of the best minds of the New World, but it is a question of very grave import, a question that we cannot ignore and be quit of responsibility for the blighting of the army of little lives or the weakening of the Republic of tomorrow by handing on an army of morally, mentally and physically inefficient ones. Mr. Crosby has emphasized the iniquity of child-labor in two of his stirring Whitmanesque poems, which we reproduce as tending to further arouse the conscience of men and women who think:

"Br-r-r-r-r-r-r-r!

What are the machines saying—a hundred of them in one long room?

They must be talking to themselves, for I see no one else for them to talk to.

But yes, there is a boy's red head bending over one of them, and beyond I see a pale face fringed with brown curly locks.

There are only five boys in all on this floor, half hidden by the clattering machines, for one bright lad can manage twenty-five of them.

Each machine makes one cheap, stout sock in five minutes, without seam, complete from toe to ankle, cutting the thread at the end and beginning another of its own accord.

The boys have nothing to do but to clean and burnish and oil the steel rods and replace the spools of yarn.

But how rapidly and nervously they do it—the slower hands straining to accomplish as much as the fastest!

Working at high tension for ten hours a day in the close, greasy air and endless whirr—

Boys who ought to be out playing ball in the fields or taking a swim in the river this fine summer afternoon.

And in these good times the machines go all night, and other shifts of boys are kept from their beds to watch them.

The young girls in the mending and finishing rooms down stairs are not so strong as the boys.

They have an unaccountable way of fainting and collapsing in the noise and smell, and then they are of no use for the rest of the day.

The kind stockholders have had to provide a room

for collapsed girls and to employ a doctor,
who finds it expedient not to understand this
strange new disease.

Perhaps their children will be more stalwart in
the next generation.

Yet this factory is one of the triumphs of our civ-
ilization.

With only twenty-five boys at a time at the ma-
chines in all the rooms it produces five thou-
sand dozen pairs of socks in twenty-four
hours for the toilers of the land.

It would take an army of fifty thousand hand knit-
ters to do what these small boys perform.

Br-r-r-r-r-r-r!

What are the machines saying?

They are saying: 'We are hungry.

We have eaten up the men and women (there is
no longer a market for men and women, they
come too high)—

We have eaten up the men and women, and now
we are devouring the boys and girls.

How good they taste as we suck the blood from
their rounded cheeks and forms, and cast
them aside sallow and thin and care-worn,
and then call for more!

The devil has somehow got into the machines.

They came like the good gnomes and fairies of old,
to be our willing slaves and make our lives
easy.

Now that, by their help, one man can do the work
of a score, why have we not plenty for all,
with only enough work to keep us happy?

Who could have foreseen all the ills of our factory
workers and of those who are displaced and
cast aside by factory work?

The good wood and iron elves came to bless us all,
but some of us have succeeded in bewitching
them to our own ends and turning them
against the rest of mankind.

We must break the sinister charm and win over
the docile, tireless machines until they refuse
to shut out a single human being from their
benefits.

We must cast the devil out of the machines."

Here is the second poem dealing with
this shame of present-day civilization:

"Ogre dread!

Slavery raised from the dead!

I see you—not in the fields as of yore—

But stalking the factory floor,

Cracking your whip overhead,

While pale-faced children droop in the rumbling
roar,

With tiny fingers twining the hateful thread,
And dreaming of bed.

Half gone is the night.

To left and right

An acre or more of dim-lit whirr extends.

For six dull hours' interminable length

These babies have strained their strength;—

Another six must wear away

Before, at break of day,

Their torment ends.

What is that piercing cry?

Only another thumb and finger crushed;
Another little hand awry.

The cry is hushed.

The girl has fainted, but the surgeon comes;

How skilfully he cuts and binds and sews.

Fingers to sever, and thumbs,

How well he knows!

Carelessness maims and kills,

And children will be careless in the mills.

Now he leads her out, never to climb

Those stairs again to earn her nightly dime.

Yes, in this dismal hall

Broods the angel of death.

Many his shapes.

He lurks in their very breath—

In the cloud of cotton-dust that hangs like a pall,
Over all.

Strange that a child escapes,

For dropsy, the wasting sickness, the fatal cough,
Crouch, ready to carry them off.

In a dozen years from to-day

Half of these infant slaves

Will sleep in forgotten graves,

More happy there than those who stay,

Still bound to the wheel of the mill,

And racked and tortured still.

Will a monument ever rise to attest

How they fell at the Ogre's behest?

Yes, far away in the North

Will a Herod's palace set forth

Why they labored and died;

For its splendors will hardly hide

Its foundation laid on their tombs,

And the walls of its sumptuous rooms

Cemented with children's blood, where lingers

The trace of bruised and wearied flesh and muti-
lated fingers.

Murder will out;

And the palace will tell

How its corner-stone stands firm in hell

With a shout!

And, who knows? our Herod may build

With the gold of the killed

A church to his devilish god—his Moloch, who,
from his throne

Gave him the world, as he thinks, for his own.

And asylum, and hospital, too,

May spring from the bleaching bones

Of these innocent ones,

Crying to heaven the truth

Of their massacred youth,

And the story of Herod anew

In an epitaph true.

These be thy triumphs, O Trade!

Triumphs of peace, do they say?—nay, of war.

At the cannon's foul mouth afar,

Sore afraid,

Brown men, and yellow and black,

Buy what they never would lack

When the Ogre says 'Buy!'

And with white lands as well it is war that we wage.

Let them die!

Their trade must be shattered to naught in this age

Of the dollar supreme.

We must conquer. Our dream

Is a beggared world at our feet.
 So we draw up the armies of trade
 And invade,
 With the children in front, to fall first, as is meet—
 Children of mill and of sweat shop and mine—
 And behind them the women stand,
 Jaded and wan, in line;
 Then come the hosts of the diggers and builders,
 artisans, craftsmen and all.
 It is fine!
 It is grand!
 Let them fall!
 We are safe in the rear, with the loot in our hand.

And you, makers of laws!
 Who are true to the gold-bag's cause—
 Who will not interfere—
 To whom commerce alone is dear,
 And who pay any price—
 Child's life, or woman's, or man's—
 For its plans—
 Makers of devil's laws, breakers of God's,
 Open your eyes!
 See what it means to succeed!
 Confess once for all that you worship the Ogre of Greed.
 And then
 Turn again!
 For know, there are scorpions' rods
 Of remorse, and dishonor, and shame,
 In the wake of his name.
 Ogre dread!
 Send him and his slavery back to the dead!"

In "Broadcast," Mr. Crosby's latest book of poems, appear a number of timely and suggestive lines pregnant with serious import and well calculated to stimulate and arouse thought, as will be seen from the following examples which appear under the general title of "Democracy":

"I saw laws and customs and creeds and Bibles
 rising like emanations from men and women.

I saw the men and women bowing down and worshipping these cloudy shapes, and I saw the shapes turn upon them and rend them.

Nay, but men and women are the supreme facts!

How rarely have men revered the truly reverend,
 and respected the truly respectable!

How much of reverence has been, and still is,
 mere fetish-worship!

Reverence for Moloch and Juggernaut, who shall
 count its victims?

Respect for tyrants and despots, for lying priests
 and blind teachers, how it has darkened the
 pages of history!

There is only one true respect, the respect for the
 conscious life that fulfils its true function.

Revere humanity wherever you find it, in the judge
 or in the farm hand, but do not revere any
 institution or office or writing.

As soon as anything outside of divine humanity is
 revered and respected, it becomes dangerous,—
 And every step forward in the annals of man has

been over the prostrate corpse of some ancient unmasked reverence.

The lists are open; the combat is on.

The brute-man of the past and the God-man of the future must fight it out while heaven and earth look on expectant.

You can easily distinguish them by their weapons.
 The brute-man fights with claws and teeth, with spear and sword, with bayonet and cannon and bomb.

The God-man has for his artillery naught but the naked truth and undissembled love.

Yet the brute-man blanches with the sure presentiment of his speedy overthrow, and winces as the God-man gazes upon him with infinite compassion.

Would you make brothers of the poor by giving to them?

Try it, and learn that in a world of injustice it is the most unbrotherly of acts.

There is no gulf between men so wide as the almsgift.

There is no wall so impassable as money given and taken.

There is nothing so unfraternal as the dollar,—it is the very symbol of division and discord.

Make brothers of the poor if you will, but do it by ceasing to steal from them;

For charity separates and only justice unites.

Peace between capital and labor, is that all that you ask?

Is peace then the only thing needful?

There was peace enough in Southern slavery.

There is a peace of life and another peace of death.
 It is well to rise above violence.

It is well to rise superior to anger.

But if peace means final acquiescence in wrong,—
 if your aim is less than justice and peace,
 forever one—then your peace is a crime.

I am homesick,—

Homesick for the home that I have never seen,—
 For the land where I shall look horizontally into
 the eyes of my fellows,—

The land where men rise only to lift,—

The land where equality leaves men free to differ
 as they will,—

The land where freedom is breathed in the air and
 courses in the blood,—

Where there is nothing over a man between him
 and the sky,—

Where the obligations of love are sought for as
 prizes and where they vary with the moon.

That land is my true country. I am here by some
 sad cosmic mistake,—and I am homesick."

As we think of our lost leader who has passed from view in the prime and glory of a splendid manhood, and remember his message; his superb moral courage in unmasking the traitors to the high trust which democracy imposes on Columbia, and the betrayers of the masses;

his love for the people, and his tender concern for the weak, the oppressed and all victims of injustice; his intellectual hospitality and his fidelity to the fundamental principles of free government,—when we remember how tirelessly he labored to scatter the seeds of knowledge and how persistently and patiently he strove to awaken the sense of moral responsibility, of justice and right in the hearts of the people, we are reminded of Victor Hugo's splendid lines descriptive of what the poet-prophet beheld and how he rose to meet the crying need:

"These burdened ones are silent; they know nothing, they can do nothing, they think nothing: they simply endure. They are hungry and cold. Their indelicate flesh appears through their tatters. Who makes those tatters? The purple. The nakedness of virgins comes from the nudity of odalisques. From the twisted rags of the daughters of the people fall pearls for the Fontanges and the Chateauroux. It is famine that gilds Versailles. The whole of this living and dying shadow moves; these spectral forms are in the pangs of death; the mother's breast is dry, the father has no work, the brain has no light. . . .

"The group of the little ones is wan. This whole mass expires and creeps, not having even the power to love; and perhaps unknown to them, while they bow and submit, from all that vast unconsciousness in which Right dwells, from the inarticulate murmur of those wretched breaths mingled together proceeds an indescribable, confused voice, a mysterious fog of expression, succeeding, syllable by syllable in the darkness, in uttering wonderful words: Future, Humanity, Liberty, Equality, Progress. And the poet listens, and he hears; and he looks, and he sees; and he bends lower and lower, and he weeps; and then, growing with a strange growth, drawing from all that darkness his own transfiguration, he stands erect, terrible

and tender, above all those wretched ones—those of high place as well as those of low—with flaming eyes.

"And with a loud voice he demands a reckoning. And he says, Here is the effect! And he says, Here is the cause! Light is the remedy. He is like a great vase full of humanity shaken by the hand within the cloud, from which should fall to earth great drops,—fire for the oppressors, dew for the oppressed. Ah! you deem that an evil? Well, we, for our part, approve it. It seems to us right that someone should speak when all are suffering. The ignorant who enjoy and the ignorant who suffer have equal need of instruction. The law of fraternity is derived from the law of labor. The practice of killing one another has had its day; the hour has come for loving one another. It is to promulgate these truths that the poet is good."

Ernest Crosby saw and felt the hour's august demand and he consecrated heart and brain to the service of civilization, to the enfranchisement of the enslaved and to the ennoblement of man. He was a sower of the light, a son of democracy, an uncompromising foe of all forms of despotism and injustice, a lover and un-failing friend of the weak and all in need. To such a man death is but an incident, a promotion, an emancipation; and that he felt this may be gathered from the following apostrophe to death:

"Hail, cleansing, purifying Death!

I see you as a pretty red-cheeked housemaid, with neat white cap and apron,

Cheerily singing at your work, as you dust and clean and scrub the good old house of Life; Sweeping together the rubbish, and quietly putting it out at the door,

Where it will find new surroundings, and be no longer filth.

What could we do without you, poor, dirt-excreting, disease-breeding mortals that we are?

What would become of us if we did not at last fall under your grateful ministrations?

And who can tell how often we may have need of them?

I wait for you, dear sister, confidently, fearlessly; I seem to recognize you.

I am half persuaded that I have met you before.

When you come toward me with your pail and soap and water, may your song be of the merriest.

I will not turn away from you.

You will lay hold of me firmly, but tenderly, too, I am sure.

Who knows? Perhaps you may even kiss me on the forehead.

And in the hereafter how shall we look back at you, sister?

Will it not be as at a kindly, bustling, gossipy midwife,

Who ushered us into life, and was proud of our weight, and gave us our first bath, and put on the new clothes that were waiting for us?"

B. O. FLOWER.

Boston, Mass.

THE POET OF THE SIERRAS ON HIS PROBLEM-POEM DEALING WITH LOVE AFTER MARRIAGE: A CONVERSATION.

BY JOAQUIN MILLER.

ONE MORNING during his recent visit to Boston, Joaquin Miller entered the office of THE ARENA. "Well," he said, "now my business is off my hands I can play. I have just closed arrangements for the bringing out of my latest and, I think, greatest poem."

"And that reminds me," I ventured to suggest, "that you have promised to give us an outline of your poem, which, from what you have hinted, must be rather unique and decidedly unconventional."

"I began this book," said the poet as he seated himself, "more than twenty years ago. I have worked on it pretty steadily at home on my Heights; for I had around me all manner and form of beauty,—flowers of the fields and flowers of flesh and fine air, and more than this, I had, as I thought, a new motive. You can ask any married man the happiest hours of his life, and he will tell you they were the hours of courtship. I have lived alone all my life in a measure, and it seemed to me that the truest happiness should begin after marriage. I felt there was something entirely wrong in the present world-idea; otherwise we should not see everywhere that supreme social tragedy—the wreckage and drift and crash which come when a man gets familiar with his wife, when he forgets the great attention and respect he paid her

before marriage. Among my friends I noticed after the honeymoon they were different people. They came back worn out, weary people,—weary of one another, weary of the world. They had been intoxicated, but not with the intoxication of friendship which Emerson describes. They had forgotten St. Paul's injunction; they were not temperate in all things. No, they had not been temperate in anything. This wretched spectacle I have seen in Europe as well as in America. I have seen it everywhere, and so I have written this book with a serious purpose, although I hope the purpose is not too apparent, because the moral motive should not be obtrusive in a picture or in a poem."

"So your poem deals with ideal love, which should be the practical realization of every marriage,—the life union marked by the charm and uncloyed pleasure of a perpetual courtship?"

"Yes, that is the underlying ethical motive. But this story is as full of movement and color as I could make it, and if I have ever written any poetry it is in this book."

"Now the story deals with two lovers in California. They are of that great race of people who crossed the continent and became great from contact with great things. They belong to the second generation, and I have taken pride in

trying to make them great and good and fearless and free.

"When the story opens they are above the Golden Gate. The sea lions are roaring in the sea and an hundred thousand sea doves, all mated and happy, are flying about. The young woman is lying on her back, and she is very pretty—just as pretty as I could make her. Her limbs, form and features are all beautiful. I think the time has come when we can treat the limbs and grace of form something as the Greeks did,—as graceful and beautiful, and I have tried to do that—to put aside the folly of too many clothes in a climate like that of California. By the side of the beautiful woman is the man—the lover. They are watching the sun go down. I think I have woven some poetry into this description. The clouds, the golden sheep of the Western sky, are descending into the corral while God counts and distributes them. Then there are great banks of gold in the sunset such as are seen nowhere else.

"The splendor of the scene stirs the man and sets him thinking of gold, the possession of which he yearns for, while the woman cares more for God's gold of the sky and of the poppy fields. Then the lover says:

"What banker keeps this gold? Is there no place? There must be some place."

"She replies:

"There is gold enough. The world has plenty of it."

"And they, too, have all they want. But he is angry and impatient that she is always seeing gold in everything, for he has not lifted his face to the finer things of life. She is pulling flowers and throwing them at him, playing and thoroughly unconscious of her beauty and her attractiveness. And then he says:

"Yes, the gold! I must up and lead the firing line to the Klondike, under the triple North Star."

"At this she becomes very angry and

impatient. She rises up and there is a lovers' quarrel at once, because he wants to go and lead as his fathers led when they came from the East, and she wishes him to stay.

"The scene shifts, and night steals on. They are standing on her high porch which looks out over the sea, and he is taking his leave, saying:

"Bide, wait. An hundred thousand Didos sat by the sea bank and waited for their lovers to come back. Wait as Penelope waited."

"And she replies:

"Of all fool tales that is the foolishhest. No, I am not a Penelope."

"But with 'Good-bye!' he is gone.

"Then he comes to the Klondike, and here I have given a poetic picture of the Chilcoot Pass, with all the color and vividness of description possible. I have tried to tell what he saw and felt. The man tries to go out down the Yukon, and suddenly the whole world turns to ice, and the sun goes down to rise no more for a long half year, and he turns back in the snow, back, back. The Indians help him back and he is blind and dying in the Indian camp. Then one night he feels some one at his side; he feels some one there in the Indian lodge, and a soft hand is laid on his eyes. She has come; the wonderful woman of love is there, and she nurses him back to life. Then the spring comes and they take a boat and go down the Yukon and away to Japan.

"Next I try to picture the color of the Japanese Sea and the strange and wonderful scenes in that most wonderful land. I picture the people, their temples and their worship, their coming and going. This is the background to some strong love scenes. The man is passionate, virile, and far too ardent. He lacks the self-possession that speaks of the greatest strength—the power to control or hold in reserve or in leash the emotional, imaginative or impulsive tides of being. Again the woman is pulling poppies, and the lover is mightily moved

by her beauty and her charm. He is terribly tempted, but looking up she sees something evil in his eye. She springs up, as the old Greek shepherd king when Hercules wrestled with him, and she hurls this man as Hercules was hurled, with a voltage that is terrible, and she bids him go his way, for he has forgotten himself.

"Then the scene shifts to the seas again; the lovers are in Honolulu. The woman points to a little church up on a steep hillside, and says:

"There is the true light—the light of Christ. These are pretty stories you have told me; you are a true lover. Here the roads divide. Will you go with me?"

"I will go with you," he replies.

"And so she gives him her hand, her all.

"Now he has wed her, but he has not won her. Now she begins to talk and to tell him the little truths of life; about his place and her place; about his privileges and her privileges. Thus the grand motive of the poem is unfolded, and the lover begins his life wooing. I think I have gotten it pretty. I have gotten it tender. I think it must be true, because finally he wins her. The love scenes are new, the ground is new and the situations are new.

"At last I plead with men how to be great, how to be happy. The glorious thing is the awaking and finding a maiden at your side, the woman you have wooed, the woman you still woo, the one fair woman.

"Then comes the garden scene. She is in a silken hammock in Hawaii. He sees something in her face and he feels he is winning her. The peacocks are flying about. He throws her into the hammock, and then he is terrified at his own audacity and trembles and shakes. This is under the cherry trees. He shakes the trees till the flowers cover her, and he prays, 'What shall I do?' And she says, 'Shake the trees again.'

"Then finally he goes back to his horses and his hounds.

"Come back, come back early," she says.

"And all day he looks at his cruel watch, and then he comes back and she is at the door, pretending to try and keep him out, and he kisses her for the first time.

"By and by, one moonlight night, a mellow night such as is only found in Honolulu, he goes with the moon, he is led by the moon that points out her place, her bed-chamber, her bed. The moon points it out with her silver finger, and then turns aside and leaves her as bridesmaids leave the bride. He has finally won her.

"All the privilege that a man should get of the preacher or of the civil authorities is the privilege to woo that one woman for the remainder of his life."

"In *The Building of the City Beautiful*," I ventured to say as the poet paused, "you propounded great ethical lessons in regard to social conditions—the larger social conditions, as they relate to the life of to-day. In this poem you propound the most fundamental of all questions—the most important of questions—that of the love that will redeem the world, the love that will make a new race. The other deals with the externals, the social conditions that will transform the world, working from the outside—just conditions, as Miriam moulded them in her environment and as the man failed to mould them in his environment. In each romance I note that you have made woman the heroine. It is woman who wins the victory; only in your poem you deal with the most intimate and sacred things of life—the heart of life."

"Yes," said the poet, "this new poem, my latest, strongest and best, is meant as a sort of spiritual companion to my last and best bit of prose, *The Building of the City Beautiful*. The poem deals with a sacred subject, and I may have failed; but I have tried to do a big thing and a very important thing. I worked slowly and worked over and over. I know my ground. I take the risk. I stake on this what place I have won in the world, and I stake it fearlessly."

WHY I AM NOT A SOCIALIST.

BY GEORGE D. JONES.

I AM NOT a Socialist for the following categorical reasons:

1. The word Socialism, in our country, seems to imply a definite and determined political movement looking toward the radical reorganization, if not the practical abandonment of our present constitutional system of government. This effort is premature and, as it seems to me, is based on a fundamental misconception of the meaning of the word as defined and used by those best qualified to speak, scientifically, on the subject. Abroad where the matter is better understood and defined and where the scheme is more applicable than to our state of society, the idea is that Socialism represents a great social movement looking toward a vast enlargement of the scope of human life with reference to collective and individual morals, the principles of justice and science as applied to all the institutions of organized society, toward culture with reference to a better conception of the relations and rights of man in a more orderly state, and toward a deliverance from the ferment and chaos which now envelopes the body politic, in other words a propaganda, rather than a political party. The difficulty of applying this lofty conception to the simple purpose of the organization of a political party, as is proposed by the so-called socialists of our country, to bring about through practical politics, a more even division of the product of labor and of the property of the country, seems so apparent that even one, who, like myself, is thoroughly impressed with the fact of the need of a remedy for bad industrial and economic conditions, cannot look with the greatest favor on it. There is a great lack of definiteness in both the purpose and the plan.

2. Philosophic Socialism, which must ultimately dominate the whole Socialistic

world, if the idea is to have any dynamic force in society, runs counter to one of the most national and firmly established institutions of modern society, the family. It is regarded and openly declared that, the first consideration in point of time and importance is the State, and that what is assumed as the old, "barbaric" idea of the family and the home, as an exclusive institution for the propagation and education of children, must be abandoned. It is assumed that the home even under ideal conditions is no aid to the State. It is difficult to understand how the best fundamental conception of a family, or a home, when realized along sane and human lines, could militate against the State. The best government is the highest realization of the ideas of the most mentally and morally enlightened citizens. The strongest influences toward the development of the highest civic character must ultimately be found in the family, the home. And this we maintain to be true under any general state of society which can prevail. The liberty of the street and the hustings may tend toward the development of individual strength in some direction, yet those faculties and ambitions, upon which the safety of society must chiefly rely, will be found to develop best under the wholesome admonitions and restraints of the wisely organized and conducted home. No popular government will ever, in its moral elevation, exceed that of its average citizen. The great Citizen first and the great State afterward. The sound moral and mental culture of the home first and the great citizen afterward.

3. The form and theory of our government, being founded on the principle of the sovereignty of the citizen, must, in justice, if it fulfills its mission, guarantee and preserve to every citizen the largest

possible measure of political liberty, including free thought, free speech, free press, freedom of action, the right of petition, of civil process, the elective franchise, and what is perhaps greater than all else the right to acquire, control and enjoy, exclusively, property of all kinds. Socialism, as we know it, accedes to all these rights except the latter. The individual initiative, it is claimed, must not apply to the matter of property and property rights. The right to acquire and to control and enjoy property is a purely political right. Socialism affirms that in the matter of property, liberty and the rights of individualism must be denied. Can this be done in a constitutional state which is politically free? How can the individual initiative be maintained as to every other political right and denied as to the right of property which is the greatest of them all? Socialism claims to be the highest democracy but how can this claim be maintained in view of the facts? As to matters of property which are purely personal, and in no way involve public considerations, how can the individual initiative be denied, even in the name of Socialism, without seriously curtailing the political liberty guaranteed by our constitution?

4. As to the matter of public utilities which should be owned and operated by

and for the people, their ownership and operation by the government is perfectly consistent with the political liberty of the individual under our fundamental and statutory law, because they are maintained and established by the power and authority of the State and are properly ancillary thereto. Through and by a well-regulated system of public-ownership and control of all public utilities, out of the abuse of which, in countless forms by private owners, takes rise many if not most of the great industrial and economic wrongs of which Socialists partly complain, can be greatly palliated if not ultimately overcome. Is it wise to abandon a system of political liberty which we now have, and is fixed and staple in form, and yet so flexible in its application if properly used as to subserve so great a purpose as we have indicated, and set out on an unknown sea of political adventure, as our American Socialist proposes, without the aid of experience or precedent and without as yet so much as a formula to guide us? A more courageous and intelligent use of the ballot under our present system, with all its defects, will accomplish substantially all that Socialism demands and will involve none of its dangers.

GEORGE D. JONES.

Columbus, Ohio.

THE PRESENT STATUS OF OUR CIVIL SERVICE.

BY FRANK VROOMAN.

ONE OF the most undemocratic of our institutions, the spoils system, is builded on the most undemocratic of our foundations, in the undreamed of arbitrary power given the President in his appointive power, and as well the arbitrary power of removal from office. It early laid the foundations for not only a vicious privileged class but a class of vicious privileges.

The first Congress and the Constitution laid the foundation for the degradation of the American civil service and the debauchery of American politics by the decision that the sole power of removal was vested in the President, placing practically every civil position at the mercy of a President's whim or pleasure. This has been one of the fatal elements in the civil service, considered as a career, and

must ever be until this objection is wholly removed. There is no possibility of a career without tenure, or when officially a man can be hanged first and tried afterward, so to speak, or indeed not tried at all.

President Madison, one of the framers of the Constitution, places the mode of appointing to and *removal from office* with the right of suffrage and the rule apportioning representation, alongside, as fundamental in a free government, and he says they "ought to be fixed by the Constitution."

By this he plainly meant that not more than the right of suffrage should the appointing to, and removing from office, be in the power or whim of any one man. This has been one of the rocks, submerged and out of sight, on which our nation early struck and nearly split, *viz.*, in the undemocratic and un-American possibilities or tyranny and public debauchery placed in the autocratic hands of one man, and in the fact that the federal civil service offered not an honorable career, but a political job for political jobbers. There can be no career without tenure—*certainly* of tenure—during good behavior and competent service. In the military and naval service, no one can be removed without court-martial. A career is offered to even the common soldier and marine. The civil service of the United States, while infinitely improved, offers no certainty of tenure during good behavior and faithful stewardship to this day. Every man and woman who passes his examination under the stars and stripes and enlists in the civil service of a free country is entitled, on the broad grounds that every man deserves a fair chance, to a hearing and a defense, before he is dispossessed of a livelihood. The civil-service law was a blow to star-chamber proceedings, which are undemocratic and un-American. They can not prevail in a free country—for then the country is no longer free—either in arbitrary removal without

a hearing from an office a man has sacrificed all other possible careers for, or in another star-chamber institution which is a national infamy, the refuge of the blackmailer and the last resort of an irresponsible and devious hate—*viz.*, the grand jury.

In 1820 Secretary Crawford secured the passage of the four-year law for the Treasury Department. It was a hard blow dealt the principle of tenure in the civil service. It opened the door wider for the "spoils system," which was organized nationally by Andrew Jackson in 1829; *viz.*, in the inauguration of the system of paying private debts with "public trusts." It is well that Jackson's fame does not rest wholly on his being the one who first crystallized the most gigantic system of political corruption in modern history. But if he was the rock on which the early waves of secession and rebellion broke, and were forced back until the North was ready to stem the tide; if he preserved the Union, it was he, also, who crystallized a political idea, which, if left unchecked for another fifty years, would have destroyed the nation.

Andrew Jackson came to the Presidency as did other Presidents later, a pledged advocate of the security of the civil service. Had he not twelve years before urged Monroe to exterminate the monster called party-spirit, to select characters most conspicuous for probity, virtue, firmness and capacity, without regard to party?

"The chief magistrate of a great and powerful nation should never indulge in party feelings," said Jackson. And yet, when elected to office, he removed in a year, to make place for his political friends, about twenty times as many office-holders as had been removed by all the Presidents preceding him in all the forty years of the national history. Washington, in eight years, removed nine officials, all for definite cause. John Adams removed nine. Jefferson removed twenty-nine. The next three

Presidents removed sixteen in twenty years. Then Jackson conceived the "clean sweep" and removed 2,000.

It is perhaps not too much to say that Theodore Roosevelt is the only President since Jackson's predecessors, who, in his whole official career, including the Presidency, has been a fearless and uncompromising friend of the reform and rehabilitation of the civil service. There never was a more effective Civil Service Commissioner, and his policy has not been changed by accession to high office.

It is interesting to note here a circumstance in the career of a mere advocate of civil-service reform, Grover Cleveland. Out of 2,359 post-officers known as presidential, Mr. Cleveland removed 2,000; out of 52,699 lower post-office clerks, about 40,000 were swept out. He removed 100 out of 111 collectors of customs; all the surveyors of customs; all the surveyors-general, all the post-office inspectors in charge; eleven out of thirteen superintendents of mints; 84 out of 85 collectors of internal revenue; 65 out of 70 district-attorneys; nearly 100,000 out of 125,000 were removed by this civil-service reformer, who then wanted to preserve the *status quo*. In 1899, even President McKinley issued an order taking 10,000 from the classified service.

The civil-service law is one both parties openly espouse, and many of their leaders secretly combat. It was a law forced on the politicians by public opinion, and forced upon public opinion by a few patriotic, far-sighted men. It was in no sense a party-measure. It did not emanate from Congress. As Goldwin Smith has said: "It was wrested from them [the parties] at a juncture when one of them, being on the point of laying down power, was very willing to diminish the prospective spoils of its opponent's success, while the other with its feet upon the steps of office did not dare show itself indisposed to reform."

General Grant, who was himself one of the greatest sufferers from the spoils system, made an appeal in 1870, which

was followed by a law in March, 1871, under which a civil-service commission was appointed. He said in his message: "The present system does not secure the best men, and often not fit men for the public places. The elevation and purification of the civil service of the government will be hailed with approval by the whole people of the United States."

Two years after the commission was appointed, with George William Curtis on the commission, Congress refused to make further appropriations. President Grant's recommendations for examinations were not supported financially by Congress, and they were consequently suspended. President Hayes endeavored to put an end to the "spoils system," but Congress refused the funds.

The Civil-Service Law, or Pendleton Act, of 1883 relates to those offices filled by executive appointment without consent of the Senate. The power of appointment is vested in the President by the Constitution, so that Congress is not able to pass any act prescribing the manner of appointment of such officials, which the President can not accept or reject as he chooses. The Civil Service Commission, therefore, chosen by the President, not all from one political party, is a commission of the President's advisers, and while, as a matter of fact, their rules are their own, and their acts are practically final, theoretically and potentially they are subject to acceptance or rejection by the Chief Executive.

The aim of the civil-service law is "to regulate and improve the civil service of the United States," as declared in its title. It provides for this end in the appointment of a commission of three, composed now of General John C. Black, of Illinois, president; and Colonel Henry F. Greene, of Minnesota, and Hon. Alford Warriner Cooley, of New York.

This commission aids the President, as he may request, in preparing such rules as may best carry the act into effect. These rules, however, shall provide a test of fitness for the classified service in

competitive examinations; the apportionment of appointments in the Departments at Washington among the States and Territories on the basis of population; a period of probation; and a prohibition of use of official authority to influence political action, and, under penalty of fine or imprisonment, or both, the solicitation by any person in the service of the United States of contributions, to be used for political purposes, from persons in such service or the collection of such contributions by any person in a Government building.

Our civil service, a modern and highly differentiated function of State, is composed of the entire body of public officials charged with the duty of conducting the civil administration of the affairs of the United States. It excludes elective officers, the army and navy, but includes others from the Cabinet down. The classified civil service only comes under the jurisdiction of the Commission and refers to appointments of the President without consent of the Senate.

The Civil Service Commission eliminates the material by process of competitive examination, and all who pass these examinations with averages of seventy per cent. or upwards are placed on the lists of eligibles.

A vacancy is called for in the civil service from among three of the sex called for, standing highest on the appropriate register. The names do not appear until the rating is completed, and the examiners do not know the writer of one paper until all the papers are averaged. Persons who have served in the naval or military service of the United States, and who have been discharged by reason of disabilities resulting from wounds or sickness while on duty, and who receive a rating of at least 65, are certified first for appointment.

There were six hundred and fifty kinds of examinations last year. During the year 1904, there was a total number of examinations of 133,069; in 1905, 148,730. In 1904, 103,718 passed and 50,-

830 were appointed. In 1905, 116,019 passed and 39,427 were appointed.

These figures show an increase of 15,661 in the number examined, an increase of 12,301 in the number who passed and a decrease of 9,907 in the number appointed during the year, as compared with the previous year. This decrease was almost wholly in two classes of positions, there having been 4,180 fewer appointments of rural carriers and 5,708 appointments of mechanics under navy-yard regulations.

During the past year the number of competitive positions increased from 154,093 to 171,807, a gain of about nine per cent., resulting from extensions of the rules and natural growth. The entire executive civil service has increased within the same period from about 282,620 to 300,615 positions, or six per cent. Since July 1, 1904, 3,626 positions have been included in the competitive service.

The recent report of the Chief Examiner, Mr. Frank M. Kiggins, says: "The positions under the government are considered desirable, and it is generally supposed that the commission has little difficulty in filling vacancies as they occur. This, however, is not always the case. While sufficient applicants enter the general examinations, there are numerous declinations of appointments when tendered, especially to positions in Washington."

It appears that since January, 1905, 137 appointments were made from the clerk register. Before these could be made, 91 eligibles, who were tendered appointments, declined; from the book-keeper register, 91 appointments were made since December 19, 1904, but 52 eligibles declined before the positions were filled; from the stenographer and typewriter register, 285 appointments were made since October 21, 1904, and 186 eligibles declined before the vacancies were filled. The report says: "These figures indicate that the salaries offered are, in many cases, not a sufficient inducement for the best eligibles

on the registers. If larger salaries could be offered by the Government for the more important positions, more applicants of a higher grade would enter the examinations and there would be fewer declinations by the highest eligibles on the register when they are tendered appointment. The government would as a result be the gainer."

The educational inspiration of this great work is one of its most important features. Out of the common-school and business college, out of the colleges of the sciences and the arts, out of the universities and higher technical institutions, from the man who can dig a ditch to the man who can weigh the stars in their courses, there is a vast army of American youth getting ready every year to take his examinations under the stars and stripes to enlist in the civil service of his country.

The Civil Service Commission is the head of perhaps the largest educational inspiration in the world. While in no sense a university, yet following the plan of the European universities, it says practically to its students: "*Get your training where you like. We will test you for results.*" Perhaps a half-million students are working in the schools and colleges from Maine to the Philippines to fill the 171,807 classified positions, or about 40,000 to 50,000 annual appointments under the executive civil service, subject to competitive examinations, the prizes aggregating upwards of \$175,000,000 a year.

While possibly the best test in sight, the competitive examination is an over-worked idol. It is only better than the irresponsible power of partisan appointment to which no one but a spoilsman would return. The competitive examination is a register of too much of the memorizer and too little of the man. No one who has ever seen advanced standing given in college not to the ablest men but the men with the most fatal facility for chattering their "polly-wants-a-cracker," forwards and backwards and sideways,

and for bamboozling "exam." inquisitors into sheer admiration for their ability to cram, can fail to see one of the pitfalls of the competitive examination system. Never was any number of men gathered together for any purpose where the personal equation did not count. The more the work wants to be machine-work, the more the memory avails, and the less the man.

Sufficient latitude should be left outside and over and above examination papers to give due weight to personal fitnesses, not measured by ability to answer cut-and-dried questions on paper that any clever school-boy or school-girl could answer, but for accomplishing the required work. A certain college president said a few years ago that scarcely three college presidents in the United States could pass the entrance examinations to the freshman class. That did not prevent this gentleman from becoming a college president. And perhaps he is a better college president than some one who could pass even the sophomore examinations. Nothing certainly is better established than that there is no relation between the college rating of men on the basis of their examinations, and the world's rating of them later on. Few men have won the prizes of the universities and the prizes of life as well. The government of China is a vast system of competitive examinations. There the system is reduced to its lowest terms.

Almost nothing in the educational side of a competitive examination counts for standing but the fact that the candidate remembers so much of what he has been taught. It registers almost nothing of ability to think, to act, to do, only to remember. If the competitive examinations were framed to register a minimum knowledge of a subject—a *sine qua non* required for the federal service, and some better test, possibly in the direction of probation, were found for final fitness, would not the service be improved?

The Civil Service Commission aims faithfully within the limitations set by

the Federal Statute to get the best man for the place. Its examinations are not mere academic tests, nor measures of scholastic ability. When it is remembered how many thousand places are filled by the Commission each year, one wonders that the service has been so wonderfully improved. The real value of the system lies in the fact that it has curtailed the undemocratic power of the Chief Executive, which three decades ago was a menace to the Republic.

It has been said, with a characteristic American perversion of the idea of politics, that the civil-service law is "an attempt to take the civil service out of politics." It is anything but that. It is an attempt to take the civil service from the market-place and restore it to politics—politics in the dignified sense in which Plato and Aristotle and a few moderns have conceived it, as existing for the best life of mankind.

To-day the United States Civil Service Commission, standing between the people and the political spoilsmen, occupies the strategic position in the war on political incompetency and dishonesty. In it and in its work lies the hope of the nation. It is not too much to say that upon the final success or failure of our civil-service law, rests the final success or failure of popular government and democratic institutions in the United States. The Commission stands for a principle which has opposed the reign of graft in all its forms, wherever human liberty has found standing-room in the world in its long struggle with favoritism and tyranny. It has accomplished several important things.

Every assessment of office-holders under the civil service is absolutely prohibited, although voluntary contributions are allowed. But the government in power no longer calls upon them. Under the old *régime*, office-holders were mercilessly assessed for election expenses. With the small salaries, large assessments, and uncertainty of tenure, an office in the federal service was not generally

profitable, unless it became the pathway to some perquisites or considerations on the side. Yet these secondary adornments of public office were so important that, to save this vast number of paltry offices overburdened with taxation, fraud and violence were resorted to so often as to stain the good name of the nation. This it was, more than anything else, that fostered the fanatical devotion to party, which so often stifled the issues and throttled our free institutions at the ballot-box.

It is no longer possible for a ward-heeler to force his congressman to insist on his appointment to public office, which the congressman, who may be a good man, must do at the cost of his being dragged down to defeat on next election. This kind of political parasitism has been practically destroyed. Most of the scandals that have arisen in the service have not been developed among those appointed under the Civil Service Commission. They have been among the men, almost wholly, who have been appointed without the intervention of civil-service rules.

The mechanical execution of the public service has been immeasurably improved. A man is no longer turned into the public crib. To hold office is something higher than a consideration of business. A man secures a place in the public service because he is the best available man for that place; not because some one else can pay off a private debt in giving him the place. The Commission does not exist for the individual, nor to protect the rights of an individual to hold office. Of all the individuals who have the right, the Civil Service Commission selects the one who can best serve the nation.

As far as possible the Civil Service Commission exists to select those who shall hold the executive offices of the United States—that is to say, those who shall execute the civil business of the United States, not because they are bribers, heelers, sluggers, or electioneering engineers, but because they are the best men available for the

vacant places. The good of the service is the only concern of the Civil Service Commission.

The Civil Service Commission is doing all it can under the law, and is doing that well. The civil-service law, however, can be improved.

Let the United States Government offer salaries, so that a man without an independent income can afford to serve his country in the peaceful service of the stars and stripes.

Let us furnish an education for the higher branches of civil service as good as that given to the naval and military branches of the federal service.

This seems to be a fundamental necessity for the professional improvement of the service. Perhaps in this direction lies the path of future civil-service reform. Washington saw the need of trained officers for the army. West Point was the result, and Annapolis followed. In his eighth annual message, he advised the creation of a National University, "a primary object of which should be the education of our youth in the science of government." This has not come yet.

While a few of our universities are offering some work in this direction, our higher educational institutions are pitifully weak. Perhaps some day under the Civil Service Commission will be a

great political university, equipped as only a nation can equip it. A national university, devoted to the teaching and investigation of the science and philosophy of politics and political ethics, seems to be a national necessity, for over and above the mere servants of the State to be educated are the masses landing on our shores at Castle Garden, coming faster than they are assimilated by American institutions and ideals. Our nation is rapidly changing—and not for the better.

As in the army and navy, let our Government provide for the declining years of the veterans of the civil service, unless we say bluntly, we wish to Oslerize them, or turn them out to grass on the poor-farm. It is our shame if we can not provide for those who have given their lives to their country as well as for their country. We are the only civilized nation in the world without a civil-service pension. The United States can afford first-class men and can afford to treat them in a first-class way. The nation can not afford anything else. It should guarantee those who serve her, such security of tenure and sufficiency of stipend and protection in old age as shall offer its civil patriots a career and not a job.

FRANK VROOMAN.

Washington, D. C.

SOME ASPECTS OF POE'S POETRY.

BY H. HOLLAND CARTER.

IN WRITING of Edgar Allan Poe's personality and literary genius, one finds a subject of unusual interest. His life and work were so full of contradictions, and so many queries about the man arise as you read him that no paper of ordinary length could adequately cover these. And even by limiting the subject to the one phase of his poetry, for which he is probably less remembered than for his prose tales, many questions suggest themselves to one into which he feels he

cannot enter. In the following article, it shall not be our purpose to discuss the various interesting opinions of critics as to his habits of life, how far his genius was affected by circumstances and hereditary tendencies, or what his work might have been had his manner of life been different. Nor yet shall we be much concerned with comparative values, in attempting to assign Poe to his place among his contemporary writers and the great ones of history. It shall rather be

our aim to give a few impressions from the poetry itself, citing only enough comments of critics to elucidate these impressions or to create new ones which the reading itself did not suggest.

First of all, a prospective reader of Poe's poetry should bear one or two things in mind before he condemns the writer as unworthy of a place in his library of classics. He must not expect to be uplifted "above the Ionian heights" by any Miltonic epic, nor fascinated by the nobility of any Homeric verse nor charmed by the subtle suggestiveness of any Shakespearian or Tennysonian lyric. He must rather be willing to submit himself to the "haunting spell" of a wild, strange music. Henry James denounced Poe's verse as valueless. And, as another has put it, "It must always appear so if we ask from it more than it can give."

What, then, is Poe's idea of the province of poetry? This we probably find best expressed in his "Poetic Principle." He declares that a long poem, by its very nature, can not exist. Again he maintains that the didactic has absolutely no place in the art of poetry. Listen to his own words. "I would define in brief the Poetry of words as the rhythmical creation of Beauty. Its sole arbiter is Taste. With the intellect or with the conscience it has only collateral relations. Unless incidentally it has no concern whatever either with Duty or with Truth." This sounds like strong language but it is somewhat tempered later in the essay by these words: "It by no means follows however that the incitements of Passion or the precepts of Duty or even the lessons of Truth may not be introduced into a poem and with advantage, for they may subserve incidentally in various ways the general purpose of the work, but the true artist will always contrive to tone them down into perfect subjection to that Beauty which is the atmosphere and real essence of the poem."

We need but recall the barest outlines of Poe's life. How born in Baltimore in the year 1811 of semi-Celtic parents who followed the acting profession, he

was early made an orphan and was adopted by one Mr. Allan; how his school and college days were marked by dissipation and how this same dissipation caused his expulsion from college and the academy at West Point, the estrangement from his foster father, the loss of several literary positions and finally wrecked his life and caused his death. His whole life of thirty-eight years was one great struggle. He tried to be industrious. He tried to be master of himself. He knew he was worth saving but the odds seemed too strong.

Just how Poe secures his weird effects in his verse is hard to explain. He must have been a conscious artist, often stopping, I fancy, to read his work aloud. The proper names which he uses are fantastic and musical. Lenore, Ulalame, Lalage, Weir, Yaanek, Delormie, Auber, Eulalie. They are strange, you do not meet them elsewhere. Sometimes he uses a word which seems devoid of meaning in its context, yet phonetically exactly the word for the place. Such a one is "immemorial" in "Ulalame." One critic writes of this word, "It would puzzle the most adroit student of words to attach a distinct, usual sense authenticated by lexicons to 'immemorial.' And yet no one with an ear can fail to see that it is emphatically the right word and supplies the necessary note of suggestion." And indeed one feels the very breath of October through the poem.

"The skies they were ashen and sober;
The leaves they were crisped and sere—
The leaves they were withering and sere;
It was night in the lonesome October
Of my most immemorial year."

Then there are words which if not meaningless seem in queer connections except as they please the ear. Such is the word "universal" in "The Sleeper" where a "dewy vapor vapor comes softly dripping, drop by drop, upon the quiet mountain top,

And steals drowsily and musically
Into the universal valley."

One wonders just what this "universal valley" is unless he means by it all the earth.

The use of the word "unusual" in "Israfel" is singularly suggestive. This is the song of "Israfel whose heart strings are a lute and who has the sweetest voice of all God's creatures."

They say "that Israfel's fire

Is owing to that lyre
By which he sits and sings—
The trembling living wire,
Of those unusual strings."

All are familiar with the strange fantasy found in "The Raven," the "very genius of Night's Plutonian Shore." It is popularly called the greatest of Poe's works, but this point seems much open to question. Quite as imaginative, if not more so, are "The Haunted Palace," "The Conqueror Worm," and "The City in the Sea." This imaginative element often leads to incoherency as anyone who has read the "Al Aaraaf" and tried to picture clearly to himself its symbolism has discovered. But we must be constantly bearing in mind the fact that whatever seems lacking, Poe's ear is the principal and sometimes apparently the only criterion of his work. Probably one of the best examples of his poems written for the sake of sound merely is "The Bells."

"Hear the sledges with the bells—
Silver bells!

What a world of merriment their melody foretells!
How they tinkle, tinkle, tinkle,
In the icy air of night!
While the stars, that oversprinkle
All the heavens, seem to twinkle
With a crystalline delight;
Keeping time, time, time,
In a sort of Runic rhyme,
To the tintinnabulation that so musically wells
From the bells, bells, bells, bells,
Bells, bells, bells—
From the jingling and the tinkling of the bells."

Surely there is not great food for thought here, but we hear the bells, which is probably all the author desired.

There are a few elemental themes about which the muse of Poe turns constantly. There is ever the love of some pure, exalted maiden and almost as surely coupled with this sorrow, sorrow for his love departed. When we consider the excesses of Poe's life, the passion and degradation to which his evil nature car-

ried him we must be impressed by his unflinching deification of woman. She occupies a place far above the world of his struggles and dissipation. Stedman says, "There is not an unchaste suggestion in the whole course of his writings." Those who knew him best bear witness to this. Mrs. Osgood writes, "To a sensitive and delicately nurtured woman there was a peculiar and irresistible charm in the chivalric, graceful, and almost tender reverence with which he invariably approached all women who won his respect." We are interested in knowing that the subject of his "Annabel Lee" was his wife and we learn that the tender affection which he always displayed toward her was one of the beautiful sides of his best nature. This little poem is one of the simplest of his melodies and easily catches the popular ear. The music is pleasing and the sentiment suggestive. The sadness is not so morbid as sometimes and more child-like. We must feel sorry for the man for whom,

"The wind came out of the cloud by night
Chilling and killing his Annabel Lee,
So that her highborn kinsman came
And bore her away from him,
To shut her up in a sepulchre
In that kingdom by the sea."

Yet we feel that he has risen above his grief as he writes,

"But our love it was stronger by far than the love
Of those who were older than we—
Of many far wiser than we—
And neither the angels in heaven above,
Nor the demons down under the sea,
Can ever dissever my soul from the soul
Of the beautiful Annabel Lee."

We like to hear him say to "One in Paradise,"

"Thou wast all that to me, love,
For which my soul did pine—
A green isle in the sea love,
A fountain and a shrine,
All wreathed with fairy fruits and flowers,
And all the flowers were mine."

We must admit that Poe's verse does not always direct our thoughts into the most healthy channels, but when he surrenders himself up solely to the simple spell of his love we are not only led in

pleasant ways, but the suggestion is good.
So here,

"Of all who hail thy presence as the morning—
Of all to whom thine absence is the night—

Of all who owe thee most—whose gratitude
Nearest resembles worship—oh, remember,
The truest—the most fervently devoted
And think that these weak lines are written by him—
By him who, as he pens them, thrills to think
His spirit is communing with an angel's."

One of the loveliest of these delicate tributes and a great favorite with critics are his lines "To Helen." This shows how to Poe's mind beauty crystallizes into something vital and becomes a direct factor in his life.

"Helen, thy beauty is to me,
Like those Niccan barks of yore,
That gently o'er a perfumed sea,
The weary wayworn wanderer bore
To his own native shore.

On desperate seas long wont to roam,
Thy hyacinth hair, thy classic face,
Thy Naiad airs have brought me home
To the glory that was Greece,
And the grandeur that was Rome.

Lo, in yon brilliant window niche
How statue-like I see thee stand,
The agate lamp within my hand!
Oh, Psyche, from the regions which
Are Holy Land!"

Poe says that a certain taint of sadness is inseparably connected with all the higher manifestations of beauty. It is significant, then, that in shaping all his poetry to the end of beauty there is nearly always a melancholy strain present. This contemplation of death seems almost the key-note of his imagination. But his sorrow is not like that of a Burns. When Burns weeps for his "Highland Mary," you feel the sorrow of a passionate man at his life's center. Yet you can think of him as happy, one thinks of him now on the heights and now in the depths. But Poe's grief is of the brooding, morbid kind. He dwells ever in the dim light of tombs. He is ever weeping for Lenore, "for the rare and radiant maiden whom the angels name Lenore." He is introspective, stopping in the very midst of his sorrow to analyze his own feelings and philosophize upon his grief. Listen to his "Lenore," there is a melancholy delight in it, almost a Bacchic joy in the death:

"Come! let the burial rite be read—
The funeral song be sung!—
An anthem for the queenliest dead that ever died
so young—
A dirge for her the doubly dead in that she died so
young."

And again,

"The sweet Lenore hath 'gone before' with
Hope that flew beside,
Leaving thee wild for the dear child that should
have been thy bride—
For her, the fair and debonair, that now so lowly
lies,
The life upon her yellow hair, but not within her
eyes—
The life still there, upon her hair—the death upon
her eyes."

One is not sure how far he would care to probe into Poe's philosophy of life and death and still less sure how far this would be possible since that same dualism which we found in his personality elsewhere is even more marked here. Listen to a passage from "Politian," Poe's unpublished drama. Politian has just declared his love for Lalage and receives this response:

Lal. "Alas! proud Earl,
Thou dost forget thyself, remembering me!
How in thy father's hall among the maidens
Pure and reproachless of thy princely line,
Could the dishonored Lalage abide?
Thy wife and with a tainted memory,—
My seared and blighted name, how would it
tally

With the ancestral honors of thy house
And with thy glory?"

Pol. "Speak not to me of glory! I hate,—I loathe
the name,
I do abhor the unsatisfactory and ideal thing.
Art thou not Lalage and I Politian?
Do I not love—art thou not beautiful—
What need we more? Ha! glory! now
speak not of it.

What matters it—What matters it, my fairest
and my best,
That we go down unhonored and forgotten
Unto the dust—so we descend together.
Descend together—and then—and then per-
chance—

Lal. "Why dost thou pause, Politian?"

Pol. "And then, perchance,
Arise together, Lalage, and roam
The starry and quiet dwellings of the blest."

Nothing could be more peaceful, nothing could be more hopeful than this.

"And then arise together Lalage, and roam
The starry and quiet dwellings of the blest."

Yet contrast with these lines from "The Sleeper." His lady love lies dead, "strange in her all solemn silence."

"The lady sleeps! Oh may her sleep,
Which is enduring, so be deep!
This chamber changed for one more holy,
This bed for one more melancholy.
I pray to God that she may lie
Forever with unopened eye,
While the dim sheeted ghosts go by."

The very best that he can hope for his love is oblivion and this no pantheistic oblivion in a great primal essence.

"My love she sleeps! Oh may her sleep
As it is lasting, so be deep!
Soft may the worms about her creep!
Far in the forest, dim and old,
For her may some tall vault unfold,"

and so it runs. Perhaps these examples are as characteristic as any. Yet it does seem that the pessimism must really have been in the ascendancy and that one who could write the tale of the "tragedy Man and its hero the conqueror Worm," one who could write the "Haunted Palace" with that almost ghastly change from its "troops of echoes whose sweet duty was but to sing who came flowing, flowing through the fair palace door to the hideous throng of fantastically moving forms who laughed but smiled no more," that one whose mind was ever coming face to face with the tomb of some lost Ullame, that such a one could have been very hopeful for the future.

One of the notable things about Poe is that he was always primarily a man of letters. He believed in his poetical gift. As he said in "Israfel,"

"If I could dwell
Where Israfel
Hath dwelt and he where I,
He might not sing so wildly well
A mortal melody

While a bolder note than this might swell
From my lyre to the sky."

We have not wished to unduly exalt Poe and perhaps have laid more emphasis upon his merits since his deficiencies are so often spoken of. One does not care to dwell too long in the dim light and weird atmosphere of Poe's verse. This is due probably to its limitations in breadth and content. We sought for a "wild, strange music." This we found, but little else. As one has phrased it, "His viol had but a single string and the frame-work was fashioned out of a dead woman's breast-bone. His verse is morbidly sweet and mournful, and all touched on that single string, which thrills to a dead and immortal affection." As we have intimated before, we can not expect to find great soul upliftment here nor our keenest intellectual enjoyment. Yet it is pleasant now and then to study Poe's features and see the intelligent sadness pictured there and listen to the melancholy sweetness of his voice. Perhaps rather than to try to bring to publicity all the imperfections of his life and work, it is kindest to let the benediction of silence rest upon him whose own life fits so well the words of "Tamerlane."

"Boyhood is a summer sun
Whose waning is the dreariest one—
For all we live to know is known
And all we seek to keep hath flown—
Let life, then, as the day flower, fall
With the noonday beauty—which is all."

H. HOLLAND CARTER.

Oberlin, Ohio.

THE SEA-CHILD.

BY ALMENA B. WILLIAMS.

ONE EVENING, centuries ago, standing where the sea should have met the coast of a wild north country, a maiden dared to taunt the Man with Iron Arms. If the girl did not realize the sensitiveness her lover's great strength concealed, she certainly noticed

that his beard tangled treacherously like crested waves meeting shore at different angles.

"I *your* bride?" scoffed the maiden, in laughing defiance; "what could you give me? whither would you take me? Ah, should you win me, at the fair sun-

rise you might hide your deformity from me, but upon the cruel midnight, your hideous arms, said to be blacker than death, more powerful than life, would crush me in their embrace—At last I have made you as angry as the sea!"

She paused. Somewhere ice-crags snapped and parted, but the man made neither moan nor answer. A wave of phosphorous, curling over not far from shore, seemed to become a part of the figure now expanding and heightening before her. Did its voice or the distant thunder threaten?

"I am proud of my might that is centuries old, but am wroth that you ridicule Man's Infirmity! I did not will that my arms should be kept in ceaseless motion."

Awed, the girl increased the mockery of her words and laughter.

"You cannot make me cower, and six days hence I wed with Thorendorf, smooth of limb, ruler of all this land bordering the ocean."

Sea and thunder raged about her.

"You speak truly. Go marry your pink-armed scion of a decaying race, but henceforth I hold a claim upon your line. I shall give to it a child who shall be fairer and greater than you. Just when life smiles upon her, I will snatch her unto myself: for there is only one power mightier than I—I who am not of one generation, but of the ages."

With head pertly uplifted, the girl walked toward the marshes, then started suddenly. Her marriage was approaching. This Gray Strength might some day tear a babe from her arms, but as she hastily retraced her steps to appease him, the Man with the Arms of Iron merged into the gloom of the sea.

One morning, not a quarter of a century ago, upon the Long Island shore, the ocean came sweeping in almost to the foot of the dunes, on the other side of which a sand-stretch crossed a road that led to the Graham cottage. In its green garden a boy sketched in front of an easel. A tiny girl stood close to his

seat, thumping it and making him generally uncomfortable.

Ignoring her, the youthful artist exclaimed:

"If I could only get the simple blue and gray of the sand-hills and ocean on my canvas!"

"Why do you try to? Why are n't they good 'nough there where God put 'em?"

Sutton Harding stared at small Tilda Graham, who continued unabashed:

"I know what you mean. I asked nurse why the bu-ti-ful sea went there and I came here, and she said that it was always there, but,"—the child caught her breath, shook back shining curls and spoke more rapidly,—“but she said one morning when the sand was all shells and gold, the waves washed me right up into my mother's arms!"

Tilda stepped back to see the effect this wonderful fact would have upon Sutton, but he merely answered indifferently:

"Did she?"

"Yes she 'did-she,' and I do n't think you're a very po-lite big boy. This is my mother's garden you're trying to paint in."

With an air of patronage Sutton offered amends.

"Moth-er's made me a beautiful doll out of a white silk skirt and cut off some of my curls and sewed onto its head, but the poor thing has n't any face 'cause mother can't draw. Can you paint faces any better than sea-shore?" persisted Tilda.

"Confound the kid!" muttered Sutton, doubly exasperated.

He resented the fact that the changing purple of the child-eyes matched the sea-shades better than did his colors, and aloud he asked:

"See here! If I draw a face on your doll, will you take it away, oh anywhere in the sun, while the paint dries?"

Soft little arms were flung about his neck, while an awe-inspiring marine-view was turned over, smeared and lost

to the world forever. The boy received the rag-doll in sulky silence.

Tilda filled in time as best she might, going to the kitchen for hot cookies and to her mother to impart the joyous news.

Afterwards in studio-days at Paris, if Sutton sometimes remembered with a pang that innocent child-arms were once about him, he oftener laughed at what followed.

Tilda returning with eager expectation gave once glance at the doll, then flew at him with true savagery, pounding him with her little fists.

"Moth-er, moth-er, your best friend's son has painted an old wom-an's face on my bu-ti-ful dolly and she's smoking a nasty old pipe!"

Late that night, Mrs. Graham was awakened by a seeming sudden cold breath from the sea. Intuitively she entered her child's room. The freak doll lay upon the otherwise empty bed. Calling her husband they rushed into the hall. Seeing that below an outside door was open, they hastily passed through it.

Ahead a white speck moved toward the dunes. Quickly overtaking, softly stealing behind Tilda, the mother asked gently:

"What is it, darling? What has frightened our little girl?"

The small lips could frame no words, the large eyes glowed with unearthly light.

"It's sleep-walking or nightmare." The father spoke reassuringly. "I saw that her brain was too excited over the trick that young scamp played upon her doll."

Mrs. Graham cautiously grasped Tilda, who, when calmer, between little gasps, said:

"Your arms are so soft and kind, mother, but those others that pulled me from bed were hard and black!"

The father and mother exchanged one look.

"She has never heard the legend," whispered the one.

"And never shall," answered the other.

When they reached home Tilda pleaded:

"The pi-a-no, moth-er!"

"Hush, darling; not to-night."

"But I must!"

Mrs. Graham humored her. The baby fingers brought forth no discords. Single notes sounded a simple, wild harmony.

In her room the mother rocked the child, whom nothing would soothe, until the woman's voice broke into a lullaby. After a verse or two, Graham whispered to his wife:

"Was not the legend current before any branch of the family came here to America?"

"Yes," answered the mother, softly, with head pressed against Tilda's, "and this is the first appearance of the Iron Man."

A shock passed through Tilda, the voice quivered:

"Keep singing, moth-er. If you stop, they'll catch me!"

The father put his arm about mother and child, as if to hold and protect them from forces unseen. Gradually the sobs ceased, as sheltered in the arms of the living and loving, the little one fell asleep.

One wintry afternoon, several years later, Tilda and her mother were in town attending an exhibition of famous pictures.

The girl stood before an old Norse painting. With pale face and voice strangely impassioned:

"Oh mother, to paint one picture, to sing one song and then to die, if need be!"

At a little distance, a man of aristocratic bearing, overhearing her words, felt that this was the most valued of all the praise bestowed by two continents upon his work and puzzling over the girl, wondered where he had seen such features, then suddenly remembered the fury of a little child. Sutton Harding, fresh from Paris and deserved success, edged a way toward the two women and made himself known.

"And this is little Tilda?"

Conscious that she looked unusually tall in her severely plain tailor-suit, the girl laughingly answered:

"And is this the artist who painted one of his noted character studies upon my doll?"

Harding spoke more earnestly:

"You must forgive me, for at your suggestion I gave up painting things so far beyond me and owe my good-fortune to that same doll."

Shortly after this meeting Mrs. Graham and Tilda returned to their shore-home. Soon Harding followed them. Putting up at old Dave Smith's, who cooked far better than he kept the village post-office.

One evening at the Graham cottage, Harding lounging on a rug-covered couch near a driftwood-fire, listening to Tilda's music, as she broke off abruptly, asked:

"Where did you find that music?"

The girl turned with a scrutinizing look, then, as if promising to honor him by answering the simple question, replied:

"I will tell you sometime, but not to-night."

Throughout the season in town, the more Harding was pursued by girls in opera-boxes and motor-cars, the oftener he slipped down to the shore.

"To work, you know," he told them at the club; "a man must have quiet and solitude in order to do his best."

Attracted at first by Tilda's indifference, he was afterwards piqued and lastly annoyed by it. But of one thing he became certain; the listlessness was not affected, nor the silent thoughtfulness a pose. Rather the shadow, if not the substance of a mystery hung about her, while the sea perceptibly influenced and imparted its moods to her. Not that the laugh could be more spontaneous, nor the brighter moments more gay, but she soon lapsed into a dreaminess from which Harding determined to rouse her. He felt this with an added keenness one day as he coolly studied the girl before him. Certainly if unusual looking, she was very lovely. In Paris he knew a woman or two into whose hair professional beau-

tifiers tried to put those red gold lights; even dauntless repairers of deficiencies, however, never attempted to curve eyelids until they closed half-indolently over purple eyes, and seldom succeeded in molding a figure into such exquisite long lines.

Tilda, apparently unconscious of the man's scrutiny, listened to the roar of the surf, the smell of its brine coming in through the open window. Sutton felt that old ocean was helping him. Now he knew what to suggest:

"Let's take Dave's old nag and see how near we can get to the beach."

So in the threatening northeaster Tilda and Harding persuaded Dave to harness the beloved but decrepit steed. A waterproof covering hung down on both sides. The wind blowing under, lifted and spread it until it looked like two dark wings from beneath which the head, legs and braided tail of the horse flew out in distracted confusion. The man and girl did not care that their Pegasus was black, if it but carried them to see the ocean in the wildness of the fast-coming storm. When they reached the dunes it was not necessary to tie the horse, it was really very far gone.

Tilda, standing so near the water that the waves dashed their spray about her, cried excitedly:

"Is n't it glorious?"

"You are glorious!"

Wrapped in mist she seemed unreal, and Harding added:

"Are you Tilda, or actually a part of the sea?"

"Why did you ask that?" she said, sharply, sobering instantly and quickly going nearer him. "I want to go home; I must describe this storm in music, Sutton."

Harding took her firmly by the shoulders, gently turned her face toward him, saying impressively:

"Ah, is that what you do? You are not going home to bury yourself in playing. Shall I tell you, girl, what you are going to do?"

Was the roar of surf awakening Tilda? She liked the mastery of Harding's voice

and action. Feeling this, he continued deliberately:

"You are going to make your music give way to that greater thing called love!"

The girl withdrew her face a little proudly from his holding, but steadily returned his earnest look.

"You see, Tilda, you love me, although you do not know it, perhaps. And I—I love you with the might of those waves surging inland and with the strength of the shore withstanding them."

Reverently, fervently, he drew her nearer him.

"It is imperative that I run over to Paris, dear, so we are going to be quietly married, oh, very soon, then sail away together."

After a short moment, while Tilda still seemed like one within reach of paradise, the old dread overpowered her.

"No, no, Sutton; I cannot go."

Saying this, she hastily retreated with face toward the ocean, as if fearing that it would follow.

"I must stay, finish my life of the sea, for that is my only salvation."

"And if I never return?" His face was stern and set.

"But you will!" Tilda pleaded.

"How can I, if you prefer your music to me? Listen, dear. I am not so unreasonable as to want you to give it up; but let your Life of the Sea—of the unknowable—alone for the present, live and love your own existence, for that's what such an adorable woman as you were created for, Tilda."

Then he added more gaily: "There are times when I would like to shake you, until you wake up alive and human."

He did not know that the girl standing there in the sweep of wave, coast and storm was waging a battle that no earthly army could conquer. He was annoyed, however, that she insisted.

"I cannot leave my music! Oh, I thought that perhaps you could understand!"

But because he did not, the man grew impatient.

"If you mean that a painter should

know that you would place your music above all else, I do not agree. Art at its best is a reflection of real, throbbing life. How can you bring out the best in your music, if you are going to warp it, by denying yourself love, all sweet experiences, that might ennoble it?"

"Oh, Sutton," she repeated, "I thought you would understand; yet," then, mournfully, "how could you?"

Harding's well-cut features were under excellent control as he looked at her inquiringly, and Tilda, about to explain, sent a swift glance seaward, then turned abruptly toward the dunes.

Late that night, after Harding's leave-taking, Tilda took scores from a secretary. Child notes of long ago formed the motif of the harmony she played now, but those sounds were glorified.

"I can write the love passages to-night," she cried, exultantly, "for he has awakened within me that which can never sleep again."

About the same hour, Harding interrupting his packing, paced his rude little studio at Dave's, while thoughts of his first love held him prisoner:

"Tilda's too true a woman to care for musical success alone. Something distracts her, about which she cannot or will not speak. And I'll accept no half-love, but her caring helps to make a good foundation, which my absence will build upon and strengthen."

Harding curbed his feelings and made his good-bye several shades more indifferent than Tilda's. After he sailed she repeatedly asked herself why she had not explained and so in her yearning there gradually crept into the music a passion and depth which it lacked before. Trying to take an interest in the people about her, Tilda played often to Dave's lame daughter, bored herself by listening to the confidences of the fishing folk. But in cheering those about her the girl made herself no happier; and as weeks passed, longings for Harding grew into fears that he might never return. Looking toward the horizon, Tilda tortured herself by thinking:

"I might have been with Sutton in ships like the ones forming those moving lights far out there at sea."

Things were primitive at the village; Dave, as postmaster, adopted a peculiar method all his own, so that the mails sometimes came irregularly. Tilda tramped miles to another post-office, waited days for letters. It was not until the pink marshmallows were marking the summer's advance that Tilda sadly listening to the birds' sunset-call, felt Harding's presence without hearing his steps. Turning, she gave a cry and walked into his outstretched arms. When at last they spoke, he told her that within an hour, a well-known musician would be at her home to hear and judge of the music.

Thanking him, she said eagerly:

"There is something I want to explain to you."

Then Tilda related the legend, adding as she finished it: "No one has an idea that I know; a few days after an old nurse told me, I was discovered running toward the ocean in my sleep. The terror of the legend grew as I grew; all my life I have both loved and feared the sea. I thought that music was the one power stronger than the Iron Man, the only thing that could save me, but now I know that he of the tradition meant love. I could not tell you why I feared to go with you; sometimes I think the sea hypnotizes me." She hesitated, the idolizing face just above hers making speech difficult. At last she continued:

"One naturally wishes his art to be recognized, but to-night, when I play for the musician and come to the part called 'Two Prayers'—I wrote the words after the storm we watched together—you can judge, Sutton, whether I care more for music than for you."

"Tilda, what a brute I must have seemed, after you had fought this superstitious dread all your life."

"I wish it were a superstition."

Harding took the girl's face in his hand very tenderly, saying:

"Child, God intended that some countries should remain undiscovered. There

is that around and about us which I think we are not meant to understand. Then, too, in nearly all old families there is some tradition. And, oh, Tilda! what can such questions matter when you and I are here together, safe from, yet close beside, the sea?"

A queer assortment of persons were listening a little later to Tilda's music; Harding distinguished, correctly groomed, the musician foreign in dress, excitable in manner. The father and mother, proud and adoring, old Dave in sulky intolerance (the horse died that morning), and the lame daughter, worshipping as a goddess, Tilda who like something illumined, half-spoke, half-sang her composition. At times words ceased, leaving strange music to tell a stranger history.

Once the listeners dreamed of ice-fields cut by the steel of a northern sea into homes for great untamed creatures silently watching the orgies of the midnight skies.

Descriptions of storms and calms thundered or softened unusual notes and chords, while a ceaseless, restless movement ran from treble to bass. Looking at everyone but Harding, Tilda measured impressively the words:

"Somewhere in a templed city, two persons are
praying now at dusk,

One begs that his name may outlive his
country,

The other, that the gods will send him perfect
love.

I can see no more, for suddenly, death, and waves
and fire reign."

As he heard the music which followed the last sentence, the music-master strode toward Tilda, and Harding feared that in his enthusiasm the foreigner would carry her off, but scarcely noticing she dreamily spoke again:

"In excavating that buried city, one name shall be registered, one cast into a pit.

"Of artists and famous men there 'll be many (the list is already too long).

"But those who have known love in its completeness, there shall be recorded only one.

"In letters of fire I see that name preserved in a case with rare relics!"

The musician, tie under one ear, beard pulled awry, honest tears in his eyes, gripped Tilda's hands, saying simply:

"That is *Music*, and you, so young and beauteous, an *Improvvisatore*."

Harding did not speak his joy and praise.

In the night the sea sent forth strange mutterings, and a wave of phosphorous curled over, not far from shore.

The next morning Harding persuaded Tilda to join the bathers. Tones were kindly, but words imperative:

"You must overcome the fear. There is scarcely any surf, they have not even taken out the lifeboat, but have hoisted the 'Fine Bathing' signal. With the beach-master here and I an experienced swimmer, oh, think what a relief it will be when it is over!"

Mrs. Graham, in surprise, saw her child walk bravely with Harding waist-deep into the water. A wave bigger than the rest came unexpectedly from somewhere and Harding showed Tilda how to jump the one which followed.

The mother on the shore and the lover in the sea, watched with delight as Tilda overcame a lifelong dread. No one but old Dave, and he too late, saw that other waves met the shore at different angles.

Swimming a pace or two ahead, Harding thought he heard Tilda call. In two strokes he was at her side. A disturbance troubled the yellowish waters about them. The girl's face was drawn, as if in mortal combat.

"Sutton, hold me quick, the Arms are pulling me under!"

Simply to reassure her, Harding gripped the girl and to his horror, felt an irresistible force wrenching her from his hold which was as nothing. He signaled a life-guard.

"Do n't struggle, Tilda!"

She tried to obey, and fought heroic-

ally not to grapple, even when a mighty power whirled her round and round, under and out. Finally a dreamy sensation came to her, then darkness. Wide-eyed, horror-stricken people watched upon the shore. The mother in despair felt the hopelessness of battle with the Iron Man.

Dave's daughter, forgetting her infirmity, started without crutches for the water. From the lifeboat, out now, the guards dived. Those of the bathers who could swim did their all. Some dragged at Tilda, while another tried to hold Harding, who fought them under water and would not come up without her. Either love should win, or he would place himself with Tilda, powerless in those Iron Arms.

In a couple of hours the beach-master said to the speechless group upon the shore:

"I've watched this coast for nearly twenty years and can't understand it; they was n't in deep, the man could swim and there was n't waves big enough to make it draggy."

Old Dave muttered:

"Jest before it happened, I thought I saw a sea-puss forming."

When, in agony, Harding came to and found Tilda motionless, supposedly forever silent, he refused all restoratives. At this moment, pulling himself in great weakness nearer, he bent over her. Suddenly a cry of joy rang from him. Dave, with rough delicacy, which others quickly imitated, turned aside, after the first glad look and walked away.

"Tilda!" whispered Harding, "it's Sutton! Look at me! You put up a good fight! Our love has conquered!"

The girl, exhausted, tried to smile, while saying brokenly:

"And, always now—man's love shall triumph—over the hate of an immortal!"

ALMENA B. WILLIAMS.

New York City.

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

THE BIENNIAL MESSAGE OF GOVERNOR JOSEPH W. FOLK.

A State Paper of Exceptional Interest and Value.

THE RECENT biennial message of Governor Joseph W. Folk to the Legislature of Missouri is one of the ablest and most truly statesmanlike and fundamentally sound state papers that has appeared in years. It is a document that is eminently characteristic of the man who honors the State of Missouri as her chief executive, and in spirit, aim and purpose it strongly reminds one of the public papers of the great statesmen of the earlier days who rose above all thought of personal interest or the favor of class in their passion for a great and worthy democratic republic, guided at all times by the ideal of equality of opportunities and of rights. Here are found no boasting, no self-gratulation or laudation of party, no long and labored attempts to justify questionable actions, no efforts to discredit those who differ from him or to sustain his positions by specious sophistry and special-pleading calculated to place those who oppose him in a wrong light, or to justify extra-legal or unconstitutional acts. No, none of these things are present, because no act in the public career of Governor Folk renders them necessary on the one hand, and the character and sterling worth of the statesman make him shrink from any such tricks or devices of the politicians on the other. For Governor Folk is a statesman and a Democrat in the best sense of those much-abused terms.

The Man Behind The Message.

Another thing that makes this message of special interest to friends of fundamental democracy is the man behind the message. Governor Folk, since he first entered political life, has avoided everything that smacked of boasting or self-laudation. He has not paraded his virtues or raised popular hopes by high-sounding promises. He has in simple, direct and clearly-defined terms pledged himself to do all in his power to enforce the law and to carry into effect certain much-needed reforms, to bulwark democratic government and to conserve the best interests of

all the people; and he has faithfully and to the letter carried out his pledges but doing it in so quiet and unobtrusive a manner as to escape the notice of a great number of the people who rely on the daily press, and who therefore are far more impressed with the spectacular posings and loud promises and pretences of that order of public men who have well-organized public bureaus and who are constantly sending out "inspired" defences of their actions or attacks on all who oppose them.

One master-motive seems to have dominated Governor Folk from his youth. As citizen, as prosecuting officer and as chief executive of his commonwealth, he has striven to do his whole duty—the high and sacred duty which a free government imposes on her enlightened and conscience-guided citizens and servants. No man in America to-day is more feared by the criminal classes, from the great Wall-street gamblers, high financiers and public-service law-breakers and trust magnates, down to the professional crooks, lobbyists and bribe-givers, than Governor Joseph W. Folk. He is a true statesman rather than a practical opportunist politician, and he has been nobly consistent in his statesmanship. In this respect he presents a striking contrast to President Roosevelt. While the latter has selected as his chief adviser, confidant and spokesman a man who since he so zealously worked to enable Boss Tweed to cheat justice that he was stinging rebuked by the eminent judge who considered the case, to the time he entered the Cabinet has been the most efficient Man Friday for the great law-breakers of the metropolis, the criminal corporations, the trust magnates and the tamperers with the sanctity of the ballot-box; while he has taken his fat-frying campaign collector, who has so ingratiated himself in the favor of such law-breakers as Perkins and other Wall-street magnates as to gain princely campaign funds for the election of his master and to prove thoroughly satisfactory to the predatory rich of the metropolis, and made him the Secretary of the Treasury; while he has given a clear bill of health and the most

liberal coat of whitewash in the history of American politics to the one-time notorious law-breaker, Paul Morton; while, furthermore, President Roosevelt has maintained most friendly if not intimate relations with such great tools of the railways, trusts and special privileged interests as Knox, Spooner and Lodge, Governor Folk has surrounded himself with high-minded, clear-visioned humanitarian workers who place the real interests of the people before all private or class interests and who unreservedly aid and support him in his efforts to enforce the law and make the great thieves and corruptionists, no less than the petty offenders, suffer the full penalty of their evil deeds. And in so doing he has cut off the back-door entrance for the campaign-contributing, privilege-seeking hordes that have prostituted government and systematically robbed the people for more than a half a century. Thus he has raised civic ideals and done much to restore a sense of moral proportion and the old-time ideals of justice for all the citizens throughout his own commonwealth and in a measure throughout the Union.

In saying these things of Governor Folk we are not saying that we agree with all his political views. Indeed, we do not think he is as fundamental a thinker along economic lines as is Mayor Tom L. Johnson of Cleveland, nor do we think he sees the irresistible character of the general sweep and trend in political and economic life at the present time as plainly as does Mr. Hearst and the men who from the Atlantic to the Pacific are in the Hearst papers daily educating millions of people along social and economic lines. But in Governor Folk we believe the American people have a man who is inflexibly honest and sincere, who under no consideration will place thought of personal or party advancement above what he conceives to be the truest interests of the State and the people; a man who possesses the moral courage and resoluteness of purpose that are so lacking in President Roosevelt and which are so needed in public life to-day; a man who by nature is cautious and conservative, but who is the reverse of the Bourbon in spirit and temperament; a man who moves slowly but who when he moves always advances or goes in the right direction, because he places the principles of free institutions or fundamental democracy above reactionary, private or class considerations. And such a man will not only neces-

sarily grow and expand as the exigencies of conditions demand, but he is the kind of statesman most demanded in public life in a transition and crucial period like the present.

The Message Considered.

In its simplicity and directness, its lofty note of patriotism, its evident sincerity and its fidelity to basic principles or the democracy of the Declaration of Independence, this message suggests the State papers of Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln. It is a paper that should be read by every young man in our high schools, normal schools, colleges and universities. It is indeed difficult to overestimate the importance of such arguments as are here given upon the minds of our young people at a time like the present, when the battle between plutocracy and democracy is being carried forward with increasing determination and persistence.

It is, of course, impossible for us to more than notice some of the topics that are of interest to our citizens throughout the nation. Among these are the initiative and referendum; the right of recall; direct primary elections; child-labor; compulsory education; anti-lobby law; railroad passes; municipal-ownership; and suggestions in regard to election of United States Senators by the people.

Direct-Legislation, Right of Recall and Direct Primaries.

Nothing in the message shows more clearly that Governor Folk is a believer in the ideals of fundamental democracy—the ideas promulgated in the Declaration of Independence—than his outspoken recommendations for direct-legislation, direct primaries and the right of recall, as they are the only practical and thoroughly efficient measures for preserving democratic government under the changed conditions of the present time, when the combined efforts of an increasingly powerful feudalism of privileged wealth and corrupt political bosses operating party machines are systematically striving to defeat the will of the people and place the producing and consuming millions as much at the mercy of the captains of industry as the people of monarchal and class-ruled lands are at the mercy of the royalty and aristocracy. These measures will ensure to the people that which differentiates a democratic republic from a class-ruled land. They will place the actual power and operation of government in the hands of all the

people instead of their being theoretically given this power while it is actually held and used by public-service corporations, monopolies and other privileged interests working through political bosses and machines for the enrichment of the few at the expense of the people, and for the elevation to places of power of the representatives of privileged interests or their tools, instead of the representatives of the people.

On the subject of the initiative and referendum or direct-legislation Governor Folk says:

"Government by the people is best where the government is nearest to the people. I hope you will adopt a resolution for a constitutional amendment providing for the initiative and referendum in legislation. This will eliminate the incentive for corruption in legislative affairs, for the control will then rest with the people. By this system a certain number of the voters can, by petition, originate legislation, and legislation of a general nature will have to be voted on by the people before it becomes a law. No bill that cannot stand the light of publicity should become a law. Wherever the initiative and referendum has been tried—and it has in Oregon and other states—the result has been most satisfactory. It puts an effective stop to bribery in legislative halls, for bribery of legislators would be useless where the people are the final arbiter of a measure. I regard this as of much importance in the final elimination of corruption, and the establishment of true representative government."

In speaking of the right of recall he observes:

"While the people of each locality should have the right to elect their officials, they should also have the right to recall them should they in their public duty forsake the service of the people, or prove incompetent or corrupt."

On the question of a direct primary law the Governor says:

"The nearer the government can be brought to the people the better and purer that government will be. We have a government by political parties and if it can be arranged so that the people will govern the parties, then we will have a government of, for and by the people in fact as well as in name. To that end I recommend the enactment of a state

primary law, for the nomination of all elective officers, providing for a primary to be held all over the State on the same day, by all political parties, with the same number of polling places as in the general election, and expenses to be paid in the same manner. Penalties should be provided for illegal voting or fraud on the part of judges and clerks as in general elections. A state primary would dispense with political bosses, by taking away their power and putting it in the hands of the people. The professional politician delights in having many conventions and primaries. The ordinary citizen, after attending one or two conventions or primaries, becomes weary and gives his attention to other matters, leaving the field to those who are in politics for revenue only. The result is, unless the people are intensely aroused, nominations are made, not by the people, but by those who have some selfish interest to serve. With a state primary conducted fairly under the law the nominees would represent the people. Under such a system there would be two days to be devoted by the ordinary citizen, one to go to the primary and one to go to the polls and vote on the general election day. This primary law should also enable the voters of all parties to express their choice for the party candidate for United States Senator."

Governor Folk also makes a strong argument in favor of election of United States Senators by the people.

Anti-Lobby Law.

On the need of a stringent anti-lobby law the Governor takes an admirable stand, clearly setting forth the urgency of such a measure and its proper scope in order to serve its desired purpose without infringing on the just and basic rights of the people. On this subject he says:

"Anything that obstructs the due course of legislation is injurious to the public welfare. The professional lobbyist is the enemy of government by the people. He is never employed to obtain equal rights for all the people. It is always in the interest of special classes against the people. While special interests of all kinds should be treated fairly by the representatives of the people, the operation of the professional lobbyist breeds corruption and should not be tolerated.

"I recommend the enactment of a law making it a crime for anyone for compensation to

lobby with the members of the Legislature. All persons, of course, should be permitted to appear before committees and make arguments for or against measures in the regular and open way. Any person should also be permitted to file printed arguments or briefs with members of the Legislature. But in order that publicity may be given to what is going on it should be provided that copies of the printed arguments or briefs be filed in the office of the Secretary of State and subject to public inspection. The sunlight of publicity is the greatest preventative of corruption. This measure would not prevent the average citizen from talking to members of the Legislature about measures of public interest. It is only paid lobbying that it is intended to prohibit. It has been urged that such a law would violate the right of free speech in preventing any person, even though a professional lobbyist, from talking to members of the General Assembly. The right of free speech is a sacred right, but the right of the people to have their laws untainted by venal influences is also sacred. A man cannot talk to a juror trying a case to influence him about the case. The right of free speech has its limitations, this is one of them, and interfering with legislation is another. The right of free speech cannot extend to obstructing the administration of justice or the course of legislation. If a measure of this kind is enacted I believe this practice, with all its attending evils, can be put to an end in this State."

The Railway-Pass Evil.

C. P. Huntington several years ago pointed out in a letter to General Colton the immense advantage which Tom Scott, then the head of the Pennsylvania Railroad system, had over Huntington in influencing the national legislature, because Scott's relations with all the railways running into Washington were such as to enable him to be lavish with railway passes. All persons who have made a study of the railway question know that free passes have been one of the most vicious and universally employed forms of bribery on the part of the railroads, whose corrupt influence on the public servants cannot be estimated. More than this, the pass evil has worked a great injustice on the traveling and shipping public, as was clearly pointed out in *THE ARENA* some time ago by the Hon. Walter Clark, Chief Justice of North Carolina. Free passes have been largely used for favored in-

dividuals, lawyers and moulders of public opinion, and the traveling and shipping public has been compelled to bear this added burden. On the railroad-pass evil Governor Folk says:

"For many years in this State the giving of free railroad transportation to legislators and public officials has been prohibited. This law is now being enforced. I believe the law should go further and prohibit the giving of free transportation by railroads to anyone except, possibly, employes. The Federal statute which is now in effect forbids such transportation being given for interstate travel. The State law would apply to travel within the State. Railroads are public highways for public convenience. The charge for the carriage of persons and freight is in the nature of a tax on the public. It is just as unfair to permit a railroad to carry a part of the public free while it charges the rest of the public enough to make up for deadheads as it would be for a tax collector to release a portion of the population from taxes, distributing what these should contribute to the expenses of government amongst those who do pay and compelling the latter to bear the entire burden."

Child-Labor and Compulsory Education.

On the important subject of child-labor and compulsory education Governor Folk's words deserve special consideration. They reveal the true statesman and the wise humanitarian.

"Child-labor," he rightly observes, "is the enemy of civilization. It goes hand-in-hand with ignorance and with crime. This evil exists to an alarming extent in many if not all of the manufacturing states. I have visited many of the factories of our own State, and have seen numerous instances of little children working away at the looms or in some other capacity. In some cases it was claimed that the child was the sole support of indigent parents. Investigation developed that these claims in a majority of cases were not *bona fide*. However that may be, it would seem if a man is so poor that he must rely for support upon the labor of a little child, he is poor enough for the State to support him as a pauper. He has no right to ruin the child mentally, morally and physically, as is usually the case when children of tender years are permitted to labor in a great factory. The State is interested in these children, for they will be

the future citizens of the commonwealth, and the State is concerned in having them good citizens and not bad citizens. Instead of sacrificing them in the hopper of greed they should be at school, acquiring an education, and fitting themselves for the duties of citizenship in the years to come. I recommend rigid child-labor laws, and I assure you they will be strictly enforced within this State if I have the power to enforce them."

On compulsory education the Governor's remarks are equally excellent, as will be seen from the following:

"The last General Assembly enacted a compulsory education law. I have been very much interested in this question, as in the related question of child-labor. The workings of this law for the past two years, according to my investigations and reports made to me, have been most beneficial and fully justify all that was claimed by the advocates of the measure. School attendance has been increased 26,000 in the State, and this must bear the fruits of higher citizenship. Those who oppose compulsory education laws claim that the State has no right to go into the home and take the child without the consent of the parents and put it in school. There are two occasions that justify the State taking the child without the consent of the parents, one is for the purpose of education, the other is to punish for crime. Statistics show that crime is reduced as education increases, and the more the State calls for the children to educate them the less the State will have to call for them after awhile when they have grown up, to punish them for violation of the law. The compulsory education law is fairly satisfactory. The only amendment that may be needed, is to remedy the conflict between this and the child-labor law as to children who work. It would, I think, be well to define the duty of the truant officer more closely, and not allow excuses, as a matter of course, for children laboring in factories, for it is better that a child be at school than in a factory."

Space compels us to omit the excellent presentations and recommendations in regard to corporations, public and private wrongs, local self-government, juvenile courts, and reform in criminal procedure. All of these and other timely subjects are treated from the view-point of an earnest-minded, clear-

visioned statesman fully abreast of the times.

On public-ownership of public utilities Governor Folk has only gone half way on the road pursued by many enlightened nations that have found it absolutely necessary to choose between private-ownership of the nations by public-service corporations and public-ownership of public utilities. In this respect he has, however, gone farther than had Mr. Bryan a few years ago, and for our part, we would be perfectly willing for private-ownership to have a fair chance under the *régime* of a statesman of the Folk stripe, because we are convinced that after a faithful effort to conserve the interests of the people and of just and pure government, while leaving the enormously rich public-service interests, with their ever-increasing opportunities to acquire greater and greater wealth, in the hands of grasping corporations, he would turn to public-ownership of public utilities as the only hope of preserving the purity of government and of securing the interests of the people, just as have Mr. Bryan and numbers of others among our ranks who long held out for private-ownership. So we are not disturbed because Governor Folk does not as yet see as we do on this subject, because we know that such is the character of the man that as soon as he is convinced that the demands of good government and popular interest can only be conserved by the introduction of certain measures, he will favor such introduction.

Municipal-Ownership of Public Utilities.

On the subject of municipal-ownership the Governor speaks in no uncertain tones and in such a manner as will please those who are battling to save our cities from the blight and burden of private-ownership which is corrupting municipal government, paralyzing the arm of civic efficiency by fostering bosses and enabling them to man machines with corrupt politicians, while turning into the till of a few over-rich men millions upon millions of dollars that should go to improve service, lower taxes or beautify the cities that are thus placed under the tribute of the lords of light and transportation.

"Municipalities," says the Governor, "are in a large sense business corporations. They should have the right to own and control their own public utilities. As to whether they should take advantage of the authority so given or not would be for the people of the munici-

palities to determine under the facts of each particular case. I recommend that the people of each city and town in this State be authorized to purchase or own and operate any utility of a public nature whenever they shall vote to do so and to issue bonds in payment thereof.

"The necessary laws should be enacted giving the municipalities of the State full power to regulate tolls, charges and rates for

gas, electric lights, telephones and other public utilities within such cities, and compelling the interchange of telephone service and fixing and regulating the charges thereof."

This State paper is, as we have observed, in perfect keeping with the life and acts of Governor Folk. It reveals anew the noble proportions of a true statesman cast in the democratic mould.

HOW MEXICO'S PROSPERITY IS MADE TO COUNT FOR THE GENERAL GOOD.

Lower Taxes.

MEXICO has enjoyed a long term of wonderful prosperity, largely due to the wise and far-seeing statesmanship of President Diaz, Finance Minister Limantour, and a few other great men who hold high places in the Republic. The enlightened policy that has marked the progressive statesmanship of Mexico under the Diaz régime has at all times striven to foster and develop the nation's great resources in such a way as to conserve the interests of all the people and render impossible the rise of any corrupt and corrupting trust, corporation or privileged interest that would tend to create a nation within the nation or a lawless feudalism of capitalism such as exists in our Republic to-day. Thus while we have with us the startling and sinister phenomenon of a nation within the nation, or a closely organized commercial feudalism whose throne is Wall street and embracing the railway, telegraph, insurance and express monopolies, the banking interests and the various great trusts which control life's necessities, all acting in concert in their effort to govern the nation for the interests of the privileged classes, in Mexico the government, which has just taken absolute control of the railways, has for years acted promptly and effectively in curbing every greed-inspired attempt to exploit the people by would-be trusts. Some time since we gave our readers a full account of how the Mexican government promptly broke the backbone of the corn monopoly. Last month we published an account of how the Mexican authorities broke up an attempt to form a meat-combine in the capital city by promptly going into the meat business and

selling meat at nominal prices until the combine was destroyed. In these and in scores of other ways the government of our sister Republic has steadily followed the great fundamental ideal of a truly democratic, just and humane government,—namely, placing manhood above money concern and thus seeking the highest good of all the people.

Recently this government furnished another example of twentieth-century idealistic statesmanship in reducing the taxes for all the people and in raising the salaries of those government employés who were the poorest paid among the servants of the people. On December 10th Finance Minister Limantour appeared before Congress to report on the finances of the Republic and to ask for special authorization to reduce taxes and to make certain additional appropriations for the increase of the public-school service and the improvement of harbors, and for the increase of salaries for the poorest paid among the government's employés. In his address as reported by the *Mexican Herald* of December 11th the Minister of Finance said:

"The results of the last fiscal year have been excellent. The receipts, as was announced by the President of the Republic in his message of September 16th, last, have passed one hundred million pesos. In reality the receipts have reached almost one hundred and two million pesos. The expenditures have not increased materially, but have remained almost the same as in the preceding year, in the sum of eighty million pesos in round numbers. The difference, consequently, has been twenty-two million pesos. This

has not been a net surplus, however, but deducting certain sums which will be necessary, a surplus will remain of twenty million pesos."

In view of the prosperous condition of the government the Minister felt warranted in recommending measures that would benefit the people and that illustrate the just and humanitarian spirit that animates the government. In regard to taxes he said:

"The Executive suggests that the federal contribution which is paid by all tax-payers of the states be reduced."

A five per cent. reduction was urged.

Increase in Salaries for Certain Government Employés.

A very striking illustration of the difference between governments like those of New Zealand and of Mexico, which seek to conserve at all times the interests of all the people, and one which is under the spell of egoistic selfishness or the materialism of the market, is seen when we contemplate two recent acts, one on the part of the United States, the other on the part of Mexico.

Some time ago the representatives of the commercial feudalism in our land and the subservient press which is industriously seeking to widen the breach between the people's servants and the great masses and to create a powerful official oligarchy responsive to the demands of the money-kings or the plutocracy, raised a general cry for increasing the salaries of the President and other officials. At the same time the Hearst papers began a crusade for raising the wages of the hard-worked postal employés. Naturally enough the postal servants strove to further the passage of that bill, until the President not only expressed his high displeasure at the workers attempting to increase their pittance, but forbade their working for that end. Recently several salaries of high officials have been increased, while the postal army who only earn enough in these days of prosperous trusts and robber combines to meet reasonable living expenses and educate their children, are allowed to go without the increase they should enjoy for labor faithfully performed.

Now while the United States is thus fattening the salaries of high officials, the Republic of Mexico gives her first concern to the poorly-paid employés. In his address Minister Limantour said:

"Passing to the second heading, the increase in salaries, this has been an arduous problem; as the desire of the government would be to increase salaries in general; but the House understands perfectly that a measure of this kind would require many millions of pesos and could not be accomplished at any one time. It is necessary, therefore, to begin with the more urgent and to revise the salaries which are notably insufficient. Among these the Executive believes that those of the Judicial branch rise to the first importance, as the functionaries and employés belonging to it are the poorest paid in proportion to the services which they render and the importance of their duties. The measure will include, then, the magistrates of the supreme court of the district, of the circuit courts, the judges of the district courts and of the general order as well as the minor employés of the same branches, federal and common. It is also judged indispensable to increase the salaries of the sergeants, corporals and guards as well as those of the gendarmes of the district.

"It is not possible, in the epoch in which we live, with the augmenting of expenses indispensable to our living, to obtain a *personnel* worthy to exercise these functions for the small remuneration which is provided for in the budget. For humane reasons also it pays to increase the salary of inferior employés. The Executive believes that clerks in all the branches of the public administration deserve an increase in salary, and I declare that humane reasons, more than reasons of any other nature, require it, as it is impossible for them to live conveniently on a salary of \$50 or \$60 monthly in certain places where the cost of living has increased considerably. These are the reasons which move the Executive to prefer to raise the salaries of the inferior employés."

We would call special attention to the closing paragraph of the above. Note there the words "For humane reasons also it pays to increase the salary of inferior employés. The Executive believes that clerks in all the branches of the public administration deserve an increase in salary, and I declare that humane reasons, more than reasons of any other nature, require it, as it is impossible for them to live conveniently on a salary of \$50 to \$60 monthly in certain places where the cost of living has increased considerably. These are the reasons which move the Executive to prefer to

raise the salaries of the inferior employés."

Here we have a new, high, fine, true note struck by the two most practical and most idealistic statesmen of the New World who are to-day occupying important national positions,—Diaz and Limantour, the statesmen

whose greatest passion is the prosperity of their land through the prosperity and happiness of all the people, rendered possible by just and wise government. They are practical idealists who reflect the spirit of democracy, progress and true civilization.

DEMOCRACY'S PRESENT DEMAND ON PATRIOTIC CITIZENS.

Periods of Reaction and Hours of Advance.

THERE are periods of inertia and reaction, which succeed periods of moral exaltation, activity and advance; melancholy days when selfish greed and soul-deadening materialism seem to paralyze life on its higher planes of expression; periods of reaction in which it almost seems that the victories won will be lost. But in these night-times of national life there always arise great intellectual and moral prophetic leaders,—clear-seeing men who are at once profound philosophers and apostles of justice and idealism. These servants of God and children of progress enunciate great messages that anticipate the next stage of national advance. They are the John the Baptists of a new gospel of happiness and helpfulness for the people. Often they are like voices crying in the wilderness, and for years only a comparatively few heed the message; but in time the good seed takes root in the general consciousness. The condition is like that presented by the seeds lying unseen under the sod awaiting the genial showers of spring and the warm, life-giving sunbeams. At this stage all that is necessary is the direct appeal to the higher emotions—an appeal to heart, conscience and soul, an appeal that touches the deepest and holiest wellsprings of life and awakens men out of their lethargy, not only making them see and understand the evils to be grappled with and destroyed, but filling them with that living faith that makes one man formidable and an hundred men more to be dreaded than an army of hirelings. The awakening of the conscience of the people that comes as a result of the moral enthusiasm on the part of the prophets and intellectual and spiritual leaders is life-giving in its influence, because it lifts the public consciousness to a higher ethical level and rejuvenates the national life, making men consecrate all that is dearest to the cause of justice and human advancement, because they feel the dignity

of manhood, its solemn obligations, and are ready to obey the marching orders of civilization, becoming soldiers in the cause of human emancipation.

In our land to-day we have reached this stage in the battle of democracy against entrenched plutocracy,—the battle of man against the dollar, of the right of humanity to take precedence over considerations of property or the acquisition of gold.

Nineteenth-Century Political, Social and Economic Advance.

After the general uprisings of '48 in Europe and the Civil war in America, came a period of moral lethargy, when sordid commercialism, human greed and the spirit of reaction were quick to advance to places of vantage. Stealthily and with loud vauntings as to the great moral victory won in the emancipation of the negro slaves, made to divert attention from their sinister purpose, these forces of the night in our land advanced and began exalting property above the sacred rights of man, making the dollar of more concern than the development, the happiness and the prosperity of the units that make up the masses in the State.

While this was going on in America, out of the night of reaction in the Old World rang strong and clear many prophet voices—Carlyle, Ruskin, Mazzini, Hugo, Kingsley, Karl Marx, Tolstoi, William Morris, Zola—all speaking for justice and human rights. They did not all see alike, for when have men from different vantage-grounds beheld the same picture, or who has as yet seen more than a part of the truth? But all spake for humanity for liberty, justice and the sacred rights of the individual—the rights of the struggling, helpless and oftentimes leaderless millions; all voiced in varying degree the message of the new time—the voice of democracy.

In the New World the great prophet of

social righteousness who first startled the people from their slumbers was Henry George. He was preëminently the way-shower for the conscience-element of America in the early eighties. Bellamy's *Looking Backward* struck the popular imagination that had been awakened by Mr. George but which had not yet studied the luminous philosophy of the latter. Then there arose a number of strong, clear-visioned and able writers and speakers—conscience-guided thinkers—who for twenty-five years have been educating the more thoughtful and high-minded men and women of the nation. Slowly but surely they have prepared the way for the democratic renaissance that is dawning.

The Appeal to The Moral Idealism of The People.

We have now reached the stage when the people are waiting for their marching orders. Now the call is to the prophet and apostle of social righteousness to appeal directly to the conscience and the heart of the people and to bring all possible influence to bear on the public mind, to the end that the nation may be aroused on the highest plane—aroused as were the people of old when Eliot, Hampden and Pym electrified Great Britain, or when Otis, Adams, Hancock, Franklin, Henry and Jefferson aroused the moral sensibilities of the infant American Colonies. The hour calls for the same appeal to the sense of justice, human rights and the divine sanctity of life which was the keynote of the master-statesmen who broke the power of despotism in the Old World, as well as those who founded our nation and ushered in the age of democracy. The call is for writers, for organizers, for speakers and for singers to go forth, just as the noble leaders of the Anti-Corn-Law League went forth in England, when, in spite of the fact that the government, entrenched wealth, national prejudice and the entire press of the nation were against them, they speedily changed the sentiment of the country so that an overwhelming victory was won within ten years from the time when the campaign opened.

With a small band of clear-thinking, high-minded patriots whose lives were absolutely dominated by moral enthusiasm and consecrated to the service of fundamental democracy, we could, with the public mind in its present receptive condition, within a few years fire the Republic from the Atlantic to

the Pacific with such moral enthusiasm, such spiritual exaltation, that the combined influence of the criminal rich would be absolutely powerless before a morally awakened nation—a people aroused at last to the meaning of the august demands of fundamental democracy which places the rights of man, woman and child before property considerations or the interests of classes.

One element of great power in such campaigns has ever been music. When a nation is prepared to march forward, the compelling power of poetry set to stirring music cannot be overestimated. Happily for the cause of progress, we at last have in Mr. Albertson's new volume, *Fellowship Songs*, a worthy book embracing the noblest poems of many of the master-prophet singers who have arisen since the democratic era; and these poems have been set to admirable music. This work will prove of incalculable benefit to the cause of democracy and social progress at the present stage of the conflict.

A Suggestion to Reformers.

We are constantly receiving letters from subscribers—frequently from young men and women—saying: We want to help in the cause of social emancipation and help save the Republic of the fathers from the despotism of a centralized government dominated by plutocracy; but how can we do anything out in a little town, far away from the great centers and where there are probably not more than ten or fifteen persons who realize the needs of the hour?

To such persons we reply: If you are in earnest, if you have reached the point where you are willing to consecrate a part of your life's energies to the cause of pure democracy, if you are ready to emulate the fathers, you can do much—very much. Form a club at once, if it is only five or six in number, to discuss present-day economic, social, and political conditions and to prove an educational center for moral and intellectual development, similar to our Arena Clubs. The name is not important, but it is important that the members be pledged to the fundamental principles of democracy or popular rule—pledged to the ideals of the Declaration of Independence. Let all the members pledge themselves seriously to study the great live questions of the hour, such as Direct-Legislation, the social progress of New Zealand, the ideal democratic conditions of Switzerland, the results of pub-

lic-ownership in the Old World, and similar issues.

And above all try to form in your little association or league a glee club for the singing of the songs of democracy as found in *Fellowship Songs*. Induce some member at least to learn to sing and play these stirring melodies, and at every meeting have at least five or six of these songs sung. And if you cannot at first form a glee club, let all members join in the choruses. Thus we will suppose the club is formed and half an hour has been given to the study of some vital question or to reading news of movements that are fundamentally democratic in character. Then give half an hour to the songs. Let the club meet if possible in a house where there is a piano or melodeon, and let the leader begin with, say, "America." Next let those mighty stirring lines and inspiring music of James G. Clark's "The People's Battle Hymn" be enjoyed by the club, all members joining in the chorus:

"Lift high the banner, break from the chain,
Wake from the thraldom of story;
Like the torrent to the river, the river to the main,
Forward to liberty and glory!"

Then try Edwin Markham's "My America," in which, set to admirable music, we have these thrilling lines:

"Oh harken, my America, my own,
Great Mother, with the hill-flower in your hair!
Divine is that pure light you bear alone,
That dream that keeps your face forever fair.

Imperious is your errand and sublime,
And that which binds you is Orion's band.
For some large Purpose, since the youth of Time,
You were kept hidden in the Lord's right hand.

'T is yours to bear the World-State in your dream,
To strike down Mammon and his brazen breed,
To build the Brother-Future, beam on beam;
Yours, mighty one, to shape the Mighty Deed.

The armed heavens lean down to hear your fame,
America: rise to your high-born part!
The thunders of the sea are in your name,
The splendors and the terrors in your heart."

Or let the leader give any one of the following: Gerald Massey's "The People's Advent"; Rev. Minot J. Savage's "O Star of Truth"; James Russell Lowell's "Friends of Freedom"; Ebenezer Elliott's "God Save the People"; J. A. Edgerton's "The Brotherhood of Man"; Adelaide Proctor's "Rise, for the Day is Passing"; James G. Clark's "Swing Inward, O Gates"; Swinburne's "The Faith of Brotherhood"; Charles Kingsley's "The Day of the Lord"; or any other

of the hundred songs of brotherhood, love and justice that are found in this volume. Make these songs a special feature of your club-work, because the day is approaching when it is highly probable that your work in this direction will be of great service to the cause. As the battle advances meetings will be held from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and at such meetings your club can render great service—as great, perhaps, as the speaker, in arousing the moral idealism of the people. The present calls in solemn tones to you to join in the noblest cause man ever engaged in.

Victor Hugo's Message for the Hour.

At this time let every true American take to heart the following noble utterances of Victor Hugo, one of the greatest prophets of social righteousness the world has produced:

"Great is he who consecrates himself! Even when overcome, he remains serene, and his misfortune is happiness. . . . Duty has a stern likeness to the ideal. The task of doing one's duty is worth undertaking. . . . Truth, honesty, the instruction of the masses, human liberty, manly virtue, conscience, are not things to disdain. Indignation and compassion for the mournful slavery of man are but two sides of the same faculty; those who are capable of wrath are capable of love. To level the tyrant and the slave,—what a magnificent endeavor! Now, the whole of one side of actual society is tyrant, and all the other side is slave. A grim settlement is impending, and it will be accomplished. All thinkers must work with that end in view . . . to be the servant of God in the task of progress.

"Help from the strong for the weak, help from the great for the small, help from the free for the slaves, help from the thinkers for the ignorant, help from the solitary for the multitudes,—such is the law.

"The hour has struck for hoisting the 'All for All.'

"To work for the people,—this is the great and urgent need.

"It is important, at the present time, to bear in mind that the human soul has still greater need of the ideal than of the real.

"It is by the real that we exist; it is by the ideal that we live. Would you realize the difference? Animals exist, man lives.

"To live is to have justice, truth, reason, devotion, probity, sincerity, common-sense, right, and duty welded to the heart. . . . Life is conscience.

"The ignorant who enjoy and the ignorant who suffer have equal need of instruction.

The law of fraternity is derived from the law of labor. The practice of killing one another has had its day; the hour has come for loving one another.

"Let us consecrate ourselves. Let us devote ourselves to the good, to the true, to the just."

THE BEEF-TRUST AND DISEASED MEAT.

SOME idea of the benefits to the public already resulting from the more rigid inspection of meat due to the *exposés* made by Mr. Sinclair, Mr. Russell and other "muck-rakers" may be gained from the fact that recently, during a period of two weeks, the federal and city inspectors at Chicago prevented the meat-consumers from having almost a half a million pounds of diseased meat sold to them by the beef-trust. During the fortnight in question 457,214 pounds of meat were condemned by the inspectors as diseased. Below we give a list of the houses which were prevented from selling meat found diseased by the inspectors, and the number of pounds of food-stuff lost to each firm:

	Pounds
Armour & Company,.....	78,476
Swift & Company, and Libby, McNeill & Libby,	128,385
Nelson, Morris & Company,.....	39,343
Hammond Packing Company,.....	98,757
Omaha Packing Company,.....	10,174
Standard Slaughtering Company,.....	19,800
Schwarzschild & Sulzberger,.....	12,685
Boyd, Lunham & Company,.....	11,150
H. Guth & Company,.....	6,480
Western Packing Company,.....	5,308
Anglo-American Provision Company,....	2,885
Levi Brothers,.....	1,225

Independent Packing Company,.....	2,500
Roberts & Oake,.....	7,775
Adler & Oberndorf,.....	591

The most sinister thing about this two weeks' record of inspection is found in the fact that the government inspectors, who are paid three million dollars a year of the people's money, through the activity of Speaker Cannon and other friends of the trusts in Congress, whose zealous work in behalf of the greedy public poisoners resulted in changing the Beveridge rider after it had passed the Senate, are less vigilant than those of the city of Chicago. Thus, as pointed out by the *Chicago Daily Socialist*, "In the inspectors' report from Swift & Company and Libby, McNeill & Libby, 14,155 pounds were condemned by city inspectors *after passing government inspectors*."

So long as Congress is manned by the tools of and special-pleaders for the various trusts, public-service corporations and privileged interests, it is unreasonable to expect that the right kind of inspectors will be appointed to stand between the people and the corrupt, conscienceless and murderous trust whose moral turpitude was so clearly established by Mr. Roosevelt's commissioners.

SOCIALISM AND THE HOME.

IN THIS issue of THE ARENA we publish a reply to Mr. Ellis O. Jones' paper in the January ARENA on "Why I Am a Socialist." The present contribution is from the pen of George D. Jones and is entitled "Why I Am Not a Socialist."

There is one point in the present paper which we think calls for passing notice. The

position assumed by the author of "Why I Am Not a Socialist" in regard to Socialism and the home we incline to believe does not represent the views of the mass of Socialists, either of the Old World or the New, in regard to home relations as they would exist under Socialism.

The Socialists everywhere are believers in

Direct-Legislation. They believe that the government should be by the people and that the referendum should settle all mooted questions. Now while many extreme Socialists and some of their ablest leaders, seeing the shameful neglect, the emaciation, the rags and the suffering of millions of children in the great working centers of the Old World, due to the capitalistic system, have strongly advocated homes for all the children under which every child would be given every possible advantage for physical, educational and moral development, in order that the State might enjoy the strongest and most vigorous and virile manhood, and have therefore opposed the old home relationship as fostering self-interest to such a degree as to materially prevent the spread of world-fellowship or the genuine ideal of brotherhood as voiced in the teachings of Jesus and many other of the leading social reformers of the ages, other strong Socialistic writers and thinkers have just as ably upheld the noblest ideals cherished by the lovers of the home throughout the civilized world, and they have contended, and do contend, that the fundamental demands of Socialism will be realized in such a way as to make home mean a thousand-fold more, in all that home should mean for all the people, than it has ever before meant. They see the tens and hundreds of thousands of men and women slaving for almost starvation wages, or at least for wages that render the proper caring for and education of the children impossible under the present order. They behold in all our great cities the steady increase in the army of ill-nourished children in the tenements, who are necessarily neglected because the parents have to spend a large portion of the twenty-four hours laboring for sustenance. They see that the homes of hundreds of thousands of people in America as well as in every civilized land are a scandal to Christian civilization and a mockery of the word "home." They note the hordes of children swarming the poorer streets in all the great cities, growing up neglected in body, mind and soul, while reactionary churchmen and upholders of private wealth are busily engaged in alarmist cries against Socialism as menacing the sacredness of home relations. And to these critics the believers in true homes for all the people, who also believe in social democracy, say: It is the duty of the State or nation to give to every citizen a chance to have a home worthy of the name. It is the duty of the State to see

that the children are not compelled to go ill-fed, half-clad, neglected in body, mind and soul, or made to slave in factory, mill or mine. Nay, more, they urge that it is the highest wisdom for the country's future no less than justice to the child to see that every little one has an environment that is normally wholesome and conducive to the upward impulsion of life or the development of a strong body, a virile mind and a noble character. They urge that under Socialism home will be as a heaven on earth, not for the few, but for the vast majority, and potentially for almost everyone; and more than this, that prostitution will be reduced to the minimum under the Socialistic order, for it is a well-known fact that a very large proportion of the victims of the social evil to-day are driven to lives of shame through economic dependence, while a very large percentage of the others are the victims of vicious environment and hereditary weaknesses that are results of the uncivilized social order and the environments that prevail to-day. Under Socialism every woman would be economically independent and therefore there would be no temptation for her to give her hand in marriage without her heart on the one hand, nor would she be driven to a life of shame to sustain herself on the other.

They claim that under Socialism the State would see that during the hours when the parents were engaged in labor, the children would be cared for in model nurseries, kindergartens and schools, and when the few hours of work were ended, the parents and children would be reunited and able to enjoy each other's society as never before in the history of the civilized world. To-day in many cities and towns, as in Boston and Brookline, Massachusetts, for example, there are day-nurseries where mothers who have to work out can take their babies and where they are splendidly cared for until the mothers return for them, while in the kindergartens and other schools the State now looks after the children more hours than the people would have to work under Socialism.

These thinkers claim that not only would Socialism elevate and enrich the home, giving it a new and holy meaning for all the people, not only would it render child-slavery impossible, guaranteeing conditions that would render possible the enjoyment by every child of ample food, ample clothing and ample educational and moral training, but children

in homes where sickness or the mental condition of one of the parents rendered it impossible to care for the children, would have the benefit of splendid homes prepared for all such unfortunate ones by the State.

Now from what we have been able to learn we believe that a referendum of the Socialist vote in Europe would reveal the fact that such in a general way are the ideals of more than two to one of the Old-World Socialists. These people believe so intensely in the home that they would have all, and not merely a part of the people, enjoy its great blessings and priceless privileges. And if, as we believe, the majority of the Socialists hold such views, the advent of Socialism would mean a general

elevation of home conditions, because, as we have stated, the Socialists the world over hold as a fundamental demand the right of the people to rule under the referendum. Moreover, from our conversations with Socialists in America we are convinced that at least five out of six of the American Socialists would vote for the true home as outlined above instead of for any proposition looking toward abolishing home conditions.

We think, therefore, that our correspondent rather reflects the alarmist cries of reactionaries than the ideal cherished by a majority of Socialists touching home under Socialism. This much we feel should be said in justice to the Socialists.

INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION'S REPORT ON THE STANDARD OIL COMPANY.

THE REPORT of the Interstate Commerce Commission, made to Congress on January 28th, is an extremely important paper, not because it contains anything that is startlingly new, but because it gives a sweeping and authoritative vindication to the exposures that have been published by the despised "muck-rakers" during the past decade; and in this connection it is well to observe that whenever an investigation has been made of the disclosures of the earnest and high-minded writers in our magazines and newspapers, the results have not only thoroughly vindicated the charges made, but often, as in the case of the insurance investigation, the sworn testimony brought out has revealed far worse conditions than the writers had dared to describe. Nor is this surprising. The writers who expose the criminal practices of millionaires and multi-millionaires must necessarily be guarded in all their utterances. The laws in regard to criminal libel are stringent and the men whose iniquity they describe are in a position to spend millions of dollars in crushing those who expose them. Yet invariably during recent years the Standard Oil Company, the Beef-Trust, the insurance companies and the railway companies have met the allegations of those who, battling for civic righteousness, have exposed the defiance of law and corrupt practices, as a tissue of falsehoods, as irresponsible muck-raking, as a blow to business interests and national pros-

perity. They have denounced all persons who have sought to raise civic ideals and punish the great offenders as enemies of the public, as "yellow" journalists, as sensationalists and as muck-rakers. No corporation was louder in its protestations of innocence of the charges made than the Standard Oil Company, unless it was the Beef-Trust; yet in each instance official investigation has thoroughly substantiated the charges made by social reformers.

In the case of the recent report on the Standard Oil Company, even the plutocratic dailies have been compelled at length to admit the truth of the grave charges long made against this corrupt and criminal corporation. The *Boston Herald*, one of the leading plutocratic journals of New England and a paper that did what it could editorially to discredit the splendid work of David Graham Phillips when he was exposing Senator Bailey and other traitors in the United States Senate, has at last felt compelled to recognize the guilt of the Standard Oil corporation, as will be seen in the following extract from an editorial published in its issue of January 30th:

"It is immensely valuable because it gives official and emphatic confirmation to the charges of illegal and corrupt operations. The report pillories the Standard Oil Company as the standard wrong of American commercial life.

"It must be remembered that the investigation was ordered by Congress and conducted by a commission comprising experts in the business of inquiry into the operations of railroads. It was not charged with the specific duty of investigating the Standard Oil Company in the nature and course of its business as a corporation, but with an investigation of the relations of railroads with the oil business.

"It must be borne in mind, also, that the report reflects as severely upon the management of many railroads as upon the management of the oil company. Railroad companies have been its willing accomplices in crime against the public, both before and after the act. Without their aid it would have been impossible for the Standard Oil Company to have become the great plundering monopoly that it is shown to be. It corrupted and degraded to its own low motive

of selfish greed the common carriers who consented to be its instruments for accomplishing its aims. Monopoly and carriers are involved in a common conspiracy to demoralize the principles of business honor and destroy the equal rights of all citizens to do business upon fair conditions.

"The evidence shows,' says the report, 'little basis for the contention that the enormous dividends of the Standard Oil Company are the legitimate result of its economies. Except for its pipe lines the Standard has but little legitimate advantage over the independent refiner.' But it has had enormous illegitimate advantages by reason of its corruption of railroad carrying lines. The courts are now busy trying the company on account of such illegitimate proceedings, taking the form of partial tariffs, forbidden rebates and other unjust concessions."

JUDGE POLLARD'S PLAN FOR REFORMING VICTIMS OF DRINK GAINING FAVOR IN GREAT BRITAIN.

OUR READERS will remember that in *THE ARENA* for July last we published an extended sketch of the life of Judge William Jefferson Pollard of St. Louis, giving somewhat in detail the remarkable and gratifying results of his efforts to reform the victims of drink and save them as industrious and self-respecting citizens to their families and the community. Judge Pollard's ideals were so noble and so in accord with the spirit of the teachings of Jesus that they sounded in no uncertain tones the new humanitarian note that should mark and exalt twentieth-century civilization, while the remarkable success of his efforts proved the eminent practicality of this exhibition of moral idealism that voiced the faith in man or in the divinity in man that was the keynote in the message of the Great Nazarene. This paper was widely copied in Great Britain and in Australia, and in the former land it appealed to the temperance leaders so strongly that the British Temperance League made an abstract of *THE ARENA*'s article and published it in a four-page tract for general circulation. The National Independent Temperance party of England also published a leaflet giving extended extracts from *THE ARENA* and editorials from the *New York Sun*, *Chicago American*, and from some

English publications that have recently favored the American jurist's innovations. The great temperance organizations and several prominent leaders of thought, embracing a number of Members of Parliament, have warmly espoused this wise and sane effort to preserve to the ranks of efficient and worthy manhood those who have started on the downward path.

We learn with pleasure from one of our valued correspondents that quite a number of magistrates in England, Scotland and Ireland have recently adopted Judge Pollard's plan and that several of the great temperance organizations of the United Kingdom are working to secure the general adoption of the plan by the judges of the realm.

Last autumn Judge Pollard took a trip to England for his health, spending his vacation in Great Britain. He was everywhere warmly received and treated with distinguished consideration. On November 9th, in one of the committee-rooms of the House of Commons he was tendered a reception by Members of the House and distinguished leaders representing the United Kingdom Alliance. At this reception he was tendered the following memorial expressing the deep appreciation of his aggressive step in behalf of manhood which

reflects the new conscience or the moral idealism of the incoming age:

"To Judge William Jefferson Pollard of the Second District Police Court, City of St. Louis, Missouri, U. S. A.—London, November 9th, 1906. Sir: We, the undersigned members of the British House of Commons have observed with both interest and pleasure your unique methods of dealing with the drunkards who come before your court. The fact that, instead of inflicting a fine, you give an offender a chance of escaping the penalty for his offense by consenting to take the total abstinence pledge for a period, is to our minds one of the most interesting and hopeful experiments yet tried in connection with the administration of the laws against drunkenness. The good results which have attended your efforts, and the high percentage of successful cases which you have obtained, shows that law can be made genuinely remedial as well as punitive, an object all good citizens must heartily desire. We sincerely congratulate you on the success which has attended your humane policy, and hope that many courts, both here and in the States, may soon follow your example.

"Leif Jones, President U. K. A.; Charles

Roberts, Thomas R. Ferens, Donald Maclean, D. J. Shackleton, F. Maddison, T. W. Wilson, Will Crooks, J. Allen Baker, V. H. Rutherford, Geoffrey Howard, J. Herbert Roberts, Arthur Henderson, William Redmond, T. H. Sloan, R. Cameron, G. Nicholls, Walter Hudson, George N. Barnes."

In addition to the above members of the House of Commons there were other distinguished workers present, among whom were the Rev. Canon Hicks, M.A., honorable secretary of the United Kingdom Alliance, Mr. J. Newton, Parliamentary agent of the Alliance, and Mr. Guy Haylor, secretary of the North of England Temperance League.

Judge Pollard made a fitting reply which is given in full in *The Alliance News* of Manchester, England, the closing paragraph of which is as follows:

"Clear-headed and clean-hearted men are the strength of a nation. To scatter sunshine is best, to aim to lift up our fallen brother is the duty of all, to 'temper justice with mercy,' to make a sober and better citizen of the violator of the law has always been my object. I believe in the reforming spirit as against the punishing spirit."

A VICTORY FOR THE PEOPLE'S CAUSE IN WISCONSIN.

AS WE have pointed out in an earlier issue, the battle between the friends of free government and the plutocracy is being carried forward with determination and increasing bitterness by the leaders on both sides. There are few men in public life, and certainly no man in the Republican party, who are so feared and hated by the plutocracy as is Senator Robert M. La Follette of Wisconsin. He is resolute and unyielding in his battle for real and not pretended reform. He is for fundamental measures that will strike at the vitals of plutocracy, restore popular government to the electorate and conserve the interests of the whole people while preventing the railway magnates and other plunderers of the masses and corrupters of government from continuing their nefarious work, which is destroying free institutions. The plutocracy knows that it cannot buy or bully Senator La Follette. It cannot control him, hence it

has set out to destroy him, using all the multitudinous agencies at its command for the accomplishment of this sinister purpose.

Our readers are familiar with the manner in which the millionaire State Committeeman, Connor, who is also the Lieutenant-Governor of Wisconsin, has worked with the Stalwarts against Senator La Follette. They will call to mind how the Connor-Spooner combine tried to reelect the notorious fat-frying Babcock to Congress and how they sought to defeat the incorruptible prosecuting attorney of Milwaukee because he had faithfully carried out his oath and striven to convict the wealthy corruptionists and law-breakers no less than the small offenders, and how Senator La Follette by his vigorous efforts in behalf of pure government and common honesty defeated Babcock and also secured the reelection of the incorruptible prosecuting attorney.

Early in January there was another battle fought between the forces of the plutocracy and the friends of good government and the popular interests. It was for the election of Speaker of the House of Representatives in the Wisconsin Legislature. Connor and the reactionaries favored the election of Mr. LeRoy for Speaker, and they were reinforced by Governor Davidson and the millionaire editor of the *Milwaukee Free Press*, which in the past has been a strong supporter of Senator La Follette. The friends of the junior Senator put forward Mr. Ekern, one of La Follette's ablest and most ardent supporters. Senator La Follette took no part in the contest, but the reactionaries, realizing the importance of securing the Speaker, because he would have the appointment of the committees and also because the knowledge that the Connor machine had succeeded in naming the Speaker would necessarily greatly strengthen

the reactionary and plutocratic wing of the party throughout the state, made a desperate fight to secure the prize for Mr. LeRoy. But Mr. Ekern was triumphantly elected and the plutocratic papers were unable to herald the election of the Speaker as a victory for Connor, Spooner and the "safe and sane" forces, as they had expected to do.

The election of Ekern further confirms the statement of our correspondent, that Senator La Follette has not only the people, but also the majority of the Legislature, with him. The more the Connors and the Spooners strive to discredit La Follette, the stronger he will become in Wisconsin, just as the more the multitudinous agencies of the plutocracy throughout the country seek to discredit his work in the United States Senate, the greater becomes the confidence of the more thoughtful people in this strong, incorruptible and intellectually brilliant statesman.

A LEADING CLERGYMAN EMBRACES CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM.

RECENTLY the Rev. J. O. Bentall, Ph.D., one of the able and scholarly clergymen in the Baptist Church of Illinois, has come out for Christian Socialism, and in association with Rev. E. E. Carr, editor-in-chief of *The Christian Socialist* of Chicago, and other earnest churchmen has formed the Christian Socialist Fellowship Center of Chicago. The Association meets every Sunday in Masonic Temple, where Dr. Bentall preaches primitive Christianity. He is assisted by Rev. E. E. Carr. Fine music is also a feature of the services. The aims and purposes of the Association are well set forth in the following, which we take from the leaflet on which is published the programme of the Sunday services:

"There are to-day in Chicago and the world a great and constantly increasing number of Socialists who are Christians. Many of them are church members, but they refuse to be fed on the capitalistic gospel which is still preached in most of the churches, for they know that it is a perversion of the teachings of Jesus and a travesty on the Christian religion. As a consequence they fail to keep interested and finally drop out of the church.

"The Christian Socialist Fellowship Center, which is nonsectarian and interdenominational, affords a meeting place where the Gospel is preached by men who are in heart and soul Christians and at the same time true Socialists. The Christian Socialists who drift away from the church or who may never have been members of the church may thus find a religious anchorage and spiritual nourishment.

"The plan is to make the Chicago Center the starting point or the 'Mother Center' and as soon as possible branch out and organize a similar Center in every city in this country and finally throughout all the world. The task of the Christian Socialist is to see to it that when the world adopts Socialism it may have the moral and religious balance of true Christianity."

Unless we are much mistaken in the temper of the people in our land to-day and the character and ability of the men who have organized this movement, Dr. Bentall and his associates will accomplish in the Republic a work very similar to the great social awakening fostered by Canon Charles Kingsley and Frederic D. Maurice half a century ago in England.

PUBLIC-OWNERSHIP IN FOREIGN LANDS.

The Postal Service in Japan.

WHILE the United States has remained in the thrall of that part of the plutocracy which controls the express companies and the railways, Japan, the youngest of the great powers in the family of civilized nations, has placed herself abreast of the most enlightened lands which make the interests of all the people the first or supreme concern of the postal service.

Mr. Henry George, Jr., has been making a careful personal study of social and economic conditions in the land of the Mikado, visiting various great centers of the empire and familiarizing himself with conditions as they obtain to-day. In a recent letter to the *New York World* he gives a detailed account of the postal system of Japan which he finds to embrace as part of the service the telegraph, telephone, postal savings-banks and parcels-post. The parcels-post system chiefly challenges his admiration. There a parcel weighing a little more than 12 pounds as a maximum weight can be sent through the mails, while with us, under the domination of the express companies, the maximum weight for a mail parcel is 4 pounds. The maximum charge for parcels sent anywhere in the empire is, for a package weighing up to 1½ pounds, five cents; from this sum the amount rises as the weight increases, until the maximum weight of a little over 12 pounds, where the maximum charge is twenty-five cents. With us the charge for four pounds, or one-third the maximum weight accorded by Japan, is sixty-four cents. Thus, as Mr. George points out, while "we charge 64 cents for carrying a maximum package of only four pounds, the Japanese transmit a package more than three times as large for much less than half the charge."

Of course with us the hauls in many instances are much longer than in Japan, but where there is no favoritism accorded transportation companies, the great expense is not found in the length of the hauls, but in the charges connected with the receiving and terminal stations, and the enormous disparity in charges, even if every possible legitimate consideration is taken into account, affords a striking example of the difference between

public and private-ownership, especially when we remember that relatively the same facts hold good in other lands and under varying conditions, as for example in Great Britain, Germany and Austria.

In further discussing and comparing the parcels-post of Japan and the United States, Mr. George shows that the obvious superiority of the Japanese service in transmitting packages is due to no other reason than that in Japan "this function is performed primarily in the public interest, while in our country it is performed primarily in the interest of the great express companies whose influence has for decades been so potent in the halls of Congress. John Wanamaker, when Postmaster-General in Mr. Harrison's Cabinet, worked hard to introduce a low parcels-post rate. He had a bill drawn up and presented, and he backed it with much evidence to show what a benefit this would bring to the public. But, as he subsequently remarked, there were five reasons why such a bill would not pass: First, the American Express Company; second, the United States Express Company; third, the Adams Express Company; fourth, the Wells-Fargo Express Company; and fifth, the Southern Express Company.

"And to-day we are just as much held in thrall by these private express companies as we were when John Wanamaker tried and failed to free us. Our parcels or package division is like an undeveloped member. The private companies do the greater part of our package carrying, and that at high rates.

"Here in Japan conditions are reversed, and Japan only follows the British system, which closely resembles the other European postal systems."

It is a humiliating spectacle to see the enlightened nations on all sides of us, old countries and new lands, all forging ahead in regard to the postal service, while the people of the United States are held by the throat, so to speak, by the express companies and the railroads. Is it not time that our people refused to hearken to the intellectual prostitutes in the government and in the press that are in the service of the great grafting and corrupting monopolies and corporations, and declared that henceforth the postal service shall

be conducted for the benefit and in the interests of all the people.

Another feature of the Japanese service that commends itself to Mr. George is the postal savings-banks. Here, owing to the influence of another branch of the plutocracy, another privileged interest and its hold on our government and the public opinion-forming agencies, our people are denied the immense benefits and advantages that would accrue from absolutely secure savings-banks distributed throughout the entire length and breadth of the Republic,—a service that would have enormously fostered the general savings among the poor, as it has done in Great Britain and various other lands of the Old World, and as it is doing in Japan. On this subject Mr. George says:

“The Japanese postal savings-bank also points to a road that we might travel with great convenience to our people. A school-child here can enter a postal substation, buy a 10 sen (5 cent) stamp and paste it in a little official deposit book. By that simple act it has made a deposit of 10 sen with the Imperial Government of Japan. The highest amount that will be received in one day is 50 yen (\$25), and the total amount receivable on one account is 500 yen. National, local or municipal loan bonds or their coupons are also acceptable for deposit. The rate of interest was at first fixed at 3 per cent., but it has been changed from time to time, depending largely upon financial conditions. In April, 1881, the rate was set as high as 7.2 per cent. In 1904 more than \$20,000,000 were deposited in these small savings. More than 103 in every 1,000 of the population had made deposits, and the average deposit for the year was 8.40 yen, or \$4.20.”

The telegraph and telephone have always been owned and operated by the government, which has recently taken over the railways, following the example of Switzerland, New Zealand, Germany and other nations.

The government telephone is operated at extremely low prices and was giving such satisfaction that there was a general demand for its extension, when to the surprise of almost every one, the government stopped all extension of the work. Several reasons have been advanced for this action, but the government has carefully guarded its reason from the public. Many people among the more intelligent and better informed of the empire,

however, advance a theory which Mr. George believes to be the most probable cause. It is that the government has already advanced sufficiently in its tests of the wireless telephone to feel justified in stopping further extension of the present telephone system, pending the expected early introduction of a general system of wireless telephones.

Mexico Acquires Full Control of Her Railways.

THE RECENT acquisition on the part of the Republic of Mexico of the controlling interest in the great railways not heretofore under the control of the Republic, affords another example of what far-seeing and wise statesmanship can accomplish when the interests of the government and of all the people take precedence over considerations for campaign-contributing privileged interests, and when the official class truly represents the interests of the people instead of being beholden to a plutocracy whose interests are antagonistic to those of the State and the masses.

President Diaz and his far-seeing financial minister Limantour have long seen the danger of complications arising in the event of a few men like Harriman, Gould, Rockefeller, Morgan and Rogers gaining control of the public highways, but they also felt that the Republic was not in a position to purchase outright and assume permanent management of all the railways at the present time. They felt, therefore, that it was supremely necessary for the well-being of the Republic that it should gain a majority interest which would secure the absolute control of the roads by the government, and that without incurring any burdensome obligations.

For several months negotiations were carried on, but the terms offered by the government were very unpalatable to the great money-sharks of the world's financial centers, who have been in the habit of insisting upon and securing the full pound of flesh whenever any nation felt it necessary to negotiate with them. Indeed, they have been so in the habit of having everything their own way and have been so successful in making statesmen see through their own spectacles in all large transactions, that it was a new experience to them to find statesmen resolute in their stand for the public weal, and according to the *Mexican Herald* the negotiations were “broken off on three separate occasions owing to the steady

refusal of the Mexican government to enter into the deal except on certain clearly-defined lines."

At length, however, when the financial magnates found that the Mexican statesmen could not be influenced or seduced, they acceded to the demands of the Republic. Under the arrangement finally consummated, according to the *Mexican Herald*, the government gains complete control of the great railway systems, including the Mexican Central and the National lines, having an absolute majority of the stock and thus securing control of the property. "The Mexican government, on its part, guarantees interest and sinking fund on the second mortgage bonds only, and inasmuch as the net earnings of the Mexican Central and Mexican National are at the present time sufficient to meet the liability thus assumed, the government's guarantee is rather nominal than real."

Financial Minister Limantour, in a masterly address on the causes that led to the government taking over control of the railways, delivered before the Mexican Congress, pointed out the grave dangers of the great railway interests of the United States absorbing the Mexican Central. The railway aggressions of our land were characterized as one phase of the trust peril. He showed also how the consolidation of all railways under one management, with the government supreme in control, would not only do away with friction and unfortunate contentions between rival roads, but would enable an enormous saving through reductions in fixed charges and

economy in freight routing and operation.

The *Mexican Herald* in editorially discussing the measure observes that: "It is hardly necessary to say that Mexico is to be congratulated on this deal, which merges the two great railway systems and places the national government in control of the transportation situation of the country. From a political, strategic and economic point-of-view that control is of the utmost importance, and as the years roll on they will demonstrate more and more convincingly the wisdom of the policy which betimes made the nation the mistress of her own destinies in a matter so vitally affecting her own future. The present generation applauds, but the generations to come after will applaud more loudly."

The Mexican government long inclined to the individualistic theory of private-ownership, not only on account of the financial conditions of the Republic, but because of the many plausible arguments of the hired agents and attorneys, in and out of the press, in favor of individual control. But the Mexican government under Diaz has always made the interests of the nation and the people at large the subject of first concern, and so the time came here, as it came in New Zealand, in Austria, in Germany, in Switzerland and other lands, when the government had to choose between the interests of the people and the corrupting agencies and greedy demands of private corporations, and in Mexico's case the choice was promptly made in the interests of the people.

PUBLIC-OWNERSHIP OF PUBLIC UTILITIES.

BY PROFESSOR FRANK PARSONS, Ph.D.,

Author of "The City for the People," "The Heart of the Railroad Problem," "The Railways, the Trusts and the People," etc.

The Great Municipal Battle in Chicago.

IN THE world of municipal-ownership the center of interest is in Chicago, where the struggle of the companies to secure the franchise rights they covet, in spite of the many votes of the city in favor of municipal-ownership, is nearing its climax. Mayor Dunne, in what is known as the "Werno letter," proposed a sort of compromise in which the companies should be given the right to rehabilitate the lines and operate them subject to the

power of the city to take the roads at any time on payment of the present value, plus the cost of rehabilitation, and other provisions that would fully safeguard the rights of the people.

The companies assented to this, but in drawing up the agreements or ordinances the companies managed to insert provisions which Mayor Dunne and other friends of municipal-ownership declare are calculated to practically destroy the prospects of municipal operation.

No limit is placed in the ordinances to the amount that may be expended for the rehabilitation of the roads. The present value is \$50,000,000, and the companies may easily spend enough more, or claim they have spent it, to run the total up above the \$75,000,000 which the city now has a right, under the Mueller law, to spend in the purchase of the roads.

The ordinances provide that the companies shall pay the city 55 per cent. of the net profit. This looks big, but in fact it really amounts to only about 8 per cent. of the gross receipts. Baltimore has received 9 per cent. of the gross receipts of the street-railways for many years, and Toronto has a contract under which she is receiving about 15 per cent. of the gross receipts; and a similar contract in Chicago or any other of our large cities would give the city treasury 20 per cent. or more of the gross receipts. Moreover, it must be remembered that the companies can easily arrange matters, if they choose, so that there will not be any net profit. They can pay out all they get in big salaries, in construction profits, and so on, so that the people's 55 per cent. may be reduced to zero or near it. We have an illustration of the extent to which a street-railway company can go in financial legerdemain in the case of the New York company, which nullified an agreement to pay the public a large percentage on the earnings of a small connecting road, the franchise for which it bought at public auction. After the company gained possession of the road it refused to make any payment at all to the city, claiming that it made no charge over the connecting line and therefore had no earnings upon which the agreed percentage was chargeable.

The Chicago ordinances practically reduce the citizens of Chicago to the necessity of paying a five-cent fare for the next twenty years, although Detroit and Cleveland are already enjoying three-cent fares, and the time is probably not far distant, if indeed it is not already here, when capitalists would be entirely willing to operate the whole system in a city like Chicago on a three-cent fare.

These and other provisions of the ordinances which the companies have in some way persuaded the City Council to pass, make it look very much as if the Chicago Council were again in league with the companies against the people.

Mayor Dunne and the friends of municipal-ownership have demanded a referendum vote

on the ordinances, and if such a vote is taken we are likely to see in Chicago the greatest municipal-ownership battle that has ever been fought. The corporations and their allies in the Council and the press, however, are strenuously opposed to the referendum. They say the ordinances are clearly for the public good and that there is no use in a referendum. They are so sure the ordinances are in the people's interest that they seriously object to giving the people a chance to say what they think about it. Anyone at all familiar with corporation methods will know that it is always wise to look for a "nigger" in the franchise woodpile when the franchise corporations object to a referendum.

Mexico Nationalizes Her Railway Systems.

A GREAT victory for the cause of public-ownership has been scored in Mexico. The government has decided to take over the Mexican Central, with all its subsidiary lines, forming the greatest railway system in the country, and annex it to the National system which is already controlled by the Republic, thus giving the nation control of practically all the vital railway mileage in the country. For a full account of this important move the reader is referred to Mr. Flower's editorial on the subject.

Progress of Municipal-Ownership Throughout the Republic.

ALL OVER the United States municipalities are voting to establish public water-works and lighting plants, and sometimes other forms of municipal activity. A few examples from the records of the last few months may be interesting here.

The citizens of Portland, Maine, have voted for a municipal water-works.

Helena, Montana, West Salem, Wisconsin, Elwood, Nebraska, Seneca Falls, New York, and many other municipalities are in process of establishing municipal water-works.

The citizens of Camden, New Jersey, at a recent election declared in favor of a municipal lighting-plant, as did also the citizens of Elizabeth, New Jersey.

In Newark, New Jersey, a committee appointed by the Common Council to investigate the advisability of establishing a municipal electric-lighting plant has reported that a

suitable plant can be built for \$800,000 and that the engineer's estimate that a saving of one million dollars can be made in ten years on the basis of current rates.

The citizens of Paterson, New Jersey, voted by a large majority to establish municipal water-works and lighting plant.

And so I might go on for many paragraphs, but I have space for only a few of the more novel items.

Detroit has just turned down by popular vote an offer of a street-railroad to pave and maintain part of the streets and give a 2½-cent fare, for an eight-year extension of its franchise. The movement for complete municipal-ownership of street-railways in Detroit is very strong and the people do not wish to grant any franchise rights which may interfere with the public operation of the roads on the expiration of the existing rights.

Detroit has appropriated \$50,000 for the

construction of a public plant for the manufacture of paving brick.

Albion, Georgia, it is reported, is about to open up a new municipal quarry just outside of the city limits.

Monroe, Louisiana, is said to be the only municipality in this country that owns and operates its own street-railway system.

The town board of Mooresville, Indiana, has decided to build an ice-plant next summer to reduce the price of ice to the common people. Last summer the people paid 50 cents a hundred, to the great inconvenience of many poor people.

The Hon. Charles H. Bliss, Mayor of Pensacola, Florida, is reported as authority for the statement that if the water-front property in that place had been retained by the city, the revenue from it would be sufficient to maintain the city government.

FRANK PARSONS.

THE INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.

BY RALPH ALBERTSON,

Secretary of the National Federation for People's Rule.

The Oklahoma Constitution.

THE LEGISLATIVE department committee of the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention has handed in its report of a Direct-Legislation clause in practically the terms of the Oregon amendment. Briefly, the report is as follows:

"An eight per cent. petition for the initiative, and five per cent. petition for the referendum.

"The veto power of the governor does not extend to measures voted on by the people.

"It is mandatory upon the legislature to pass a law putting the initiative and referendum into effect. If they fail, it is made the governor's duty.

"It applies to all acts of county commissioners, city councils, and other district officers.

"Any part of any law can be referred to the people. This applies to appropriations.

"A law that has been enacted by the use of the initiative and referendum can never be amended or changed by any subsequent legislature without referring the law back to the

people. A law rejected at the polls by the people cannot be again petitioned for within three years."

It is understood that when the measure comes up for final action, an amendment will be insisted upon by the chairman of the committee on municipal affairs, and will probably be accepted by the convention, fixing the percentages as affecting city ordinances at 15 per cent. to initiate and 10 per cent. for the referendum. These percentages for municipal affairs are not opposed by friends of the system.

Much credit for this report is due to the chairman of the committee, Hon. James Buchanan Tosh. Mr. Tosh is one of the largest farmers in Oklahoma, is a leader in the great Farmers' Union movement, and has done splendid work for Direct-Legislation in the new state. It is understood that the committee of which he is chairman now has under consideration the Oregon law for the election of United States Senators by what is virtually the direct vote of the people, and that such a

clause for the constitution will be reported in the near future.

The Situation in Maine.

A MAJORITY of the members of both House and Senate in the Maine Legislature, including both Republicans and Democrats, are pledged to support a bill for a statutory initiative and referendum. The Maine Referendum League has appointed an able legislative committee to act in conjunction with the committee of the State Federation of Labor and the State Grange, and empowered it to employ counsel to promote the passage of the bill. The chief danger just now seems to be in the possibility that the Democratic leaders will make a party issue of the matter by pressing a constitutional amendment before the agreed-upon measure is enacted. Already it is rumored that some of the Republicans are growing cold, and advising delay, but the *Lewiston Journal*, which is possibly the leading Republican paper in the state, is staunchly supporting the measures and for that matter the entire press of the state stands for the reform. The Referendum League has also circulated petitions broadcast over the state, and these are now pouring in upon the legislature. The League's appeal for funds and workers was published in nearly every paper of prominence. Governor Cobb in his message to the Legislature said:

"The belief in the soundness and efficiency of the principle of the initiative and referendum as a means to enable the citizens to express more directly and promptly their opinions of proposed legislation has become very general in Maine, and has been recognized in the platforms of both political parties. We may safely assume, therefore, that these declarations were made in good faith, and I heartily approve the adoption of a measure that shall give them a practical and binding effect."

The Maine State Grange, at its annual meeting this year, again gave the leading place to its hearty and emphatic endorsement of the Direct-Legislation system.

Of those who opposed it last year, only five senators and two representatives were returned to this legislature.

Both parties in Maine are also committed to direct primaries, and there is a strong demand that the pledge be fulfilled and the vicious old caucus-system abolished.

The Los Angeles Fund.

A PERMANENT organization has been formed in Los Angeles for the purpose of putting and keeping the initiative, referendum and recall in practice, and a fund of \$10,000 has been subscribed by the citizens for the purpose of invoking these principles of Direct-Legislation when necessary. The city has these provisions in its charter and has used them so far with entire success, but these citizens realize that eternal vigilance is the price that must be paid, and it is to be hoped that the income on the \$10,000 will be sufficient to keep that vigilance supplied with printed matter, postage, etc.

Los Angeles is the only city wherein the recall has been invoked. The movement was successful and encouraging. A councilman who failed to carry out the wishes of his constituents was ousted from office and another man was elected under the principles of Direct-Legislation. Several times the mere presence of the recall, initiative and referendum upon the statutes has served to guard the interests of the public when they have been endangered.

However, the invoking of these laws involves time and money. Attorneys must be employed and an organization must be formed to exercise the special rights. Petitions must be circulated by hired agents, and procedure followed, which demands the entire time of several persons as well as attorneys. In such circumstances many cases demanding the application of these laws are allowed to pass unchallenged, there being no special organization to stand on guard and no funds for the pursuance of the work.

Therefore the citizens who have subscribed to the permanent fund have remedied the only weak point left in the city's system of Direct-Legislation—the application.

The Referendum in Canada.

A LARGE number of referendum votes were taken at the municipal elections in Canada, January 7th. Of these "by-laws" or ordinances the most important was one to authorize the municipalities to contract with the Hydro-Electric Commission for a supply of electric power. Only freeholders and leaseholders are permitted to vote on what are called "money by-laws" and these are submitted only at the option of the municipal councils. There is no popular initiative.

In the Niagara power district seventeen cities including Toronto voted on the question of government power, the total vote being nearly 5 to 1 in favor of the plan. In addition to these Ottawa voted for government development of power from the Ottawa river. Our friend Tyson writes: "In Toronto I had great satisfaction in voting *Yes* on the power by-law, and *No* on two others; and I was with the majority in each case." The great extent of this referendum voting may well be quoted in refutation of the croaking so often heard as to the "impracticability" of the referendum. The *Toronto Globe*, on the day after election contained reports of over fifty votes taken by the electorate of towns and cities upon questions of public policy other than the "power by-laws" above referred to and the local option voting. One hundred and eleven municipalities in the province of Ontario voted under the new local-option law. The law requires a 60 per cent. vote to prevent the issuance of licenses and the result left only about half of these towns "wet."

Chicago Traction Settlement.

IN THE face of all kinds of criticism and protest Mayor Dunne of Chicago stands firm in his demand that the agreed-upon settlement of the traction question shall be submitted to a referendum vote. He is supported in this position by the Federation of Labor, the Teachers' Federation, and the Hearst papers, and opposed it seems by practically everybody else. The City Council, pledged by resolution and most of the members pledged individually to support this demand for referendum, voted 26 to 40 on the proposition to submit, but the Mayor now declares that he will appeal to the people to circulate referendum petitions under the Public Opinion law. He says:

"In the event of the failure of newspapers, organizations or private citizens to circulate the petition I, as Mayor of Chicago, will prepare and distribute among the voters the required petition.

"A referendum petition signed by 25 per cent. of the voters of the city must be filed in the office of the election commissioners. To insure the filing of such a petition action must be taken at once. Some time during the month of February the supreme court will, in all probability, decide the case involving the legality of the Mueller certificates. The de-

cision undoubtedly will define the proper method of proceeding to acquire municipal-ownership under the Mueller law. After that decision has been rendered the people will be in a position to vote more intelligently on any proposed settlement ordinance."

The clamor for "immediate settlement" which comes from the corporation and plutocratic press of Chicago is accompanied by most virulent antagonism to the referendum which is evidently looked upon by them as the most dangerous weapon that can be used against them. As a matter of fact there is much in the agreed-upon settlement that is not satisfactory to great numbers of the people of Chicago. The Federation of Labor, for instance, draws eleven indictments against it. And the fact that the traction interests fear it, as they do strongly, signifies their lack of confidence in its receiving a favorable vote.

One curious development of this fight has been the fake "referendum" conducted by the *Tribune*, on the question of submitting the settlement ordinance to a referendum. Thousands of State-street shop-girls were asked whether they wanted better and more street-cars at once or to wait a year for them, and of course they wanted them right away. That has been heralded throughout the country as a referendum vote against the referendum.

Voting on Constitutional Amendments.

IT HAS not been possible for us to obtain full reports of the popular voting on Constitutional Amendments in the States at the November elections, but such figures as we have indicate intelligent voting and a very general interest in the questions at issue. In some instances, it must be remembered, the amendment was a mere technicality, or a matter of minor importance, or an executive rather than a broad public question. On the whole the voting was large and the popular decisions wise.

In Washington two technical amendments received the attention of only about 35 per cent. of the voters and were both defeated by small majorities.

In Nebraska the amendment providing for an effective Railroad Commission was carried by what the Secretary of State in writing to us calls a "practically unanimous" vote.

In Colorado a sleepy amendment was noticed by only 20 per cent. of the voters.

In Montana the amendment for Direct-

Legislation received over 75 per cent. of the vote and was carried by over 29,000 majority.

In Kansas three amendments receiving a vote of about 58 per cent. were all adopted by majorities of 30,000 to 40,000.

In Missouri two unimportant amendments received 250,000 votes, the favorable majority being only about 50,000.

In Indiana an amendment to restrict the practice of law to the legal profession failed of adoption.

In Illinois an amendment to authorize the sale of the Illinois and Michigan canal to the highest bidder received 313,297 for and 282,980 against, but as the total vote in the state was 899,016, and less than 50 per cent. of this was in favor of the amendment, it failed of adoption. The canal parallels the C. and A. and Santa Fé railroads and is valuable railroad property.

In Louisiana there were 12 amendments, 11 of which were for public improvements or in the public interest and were adopted by votes ranging between 21,537 for to 3,046 against, and 18,998 for to 4,693 against. The other amendment provided an odious exemption from taxation and was defeated by a vote of 3,566 for to 24,997 against.

In North Dakota an amendment was carried 54,515 to 19,519.

In Florida five amendments were all defeated, the largest vote being 8,787 for to 14,771 against.

In New Mexico and Arizona the people voted on Joint Statehood, the majority in New Mexico being for, and in Arizona against the proposition. The vote was very large, as public interest was intense, but the result was foreseen from the first.

The California Supreme Court.

THE SUPREME COURT of California, following that of Oregon, has decided, by overwhelming preponderance, that the people of the state are entitled to the right to enact legislation by direct vote. The initiative and referendum provisions of the charter of the city of Los Angeles are held valid, and not contrary to the state and federal constitutions. The supreme court's decision settles the constitutional question in this state. It finds that other states have upheld the contention that laws can be enacted by a direct vote of the people, and that ordinances can be referred to qualified electors from whom the council

that passed them derived its power. It declares that the initiative and referendum is not opposed to a republican form of government, which one justice in a dissenting opinion holds it to be.

The particular case in which the supreme court rendered its decision is overshadowed by the general importance of the findings. Andrew Pfahler, of Los Angeles, attempted to butcher beef in a district in Los Angeles proscribed by an ordinance passed by a direct vote of the people under an initiative amendment to the charter. He was arrested and applied to the supreme court for release on *habeas corpus* on the ground that the ordinance was unconstitutional, as it had been passed by an initiative vote. The decision of the supreme court discharges the writ and remands the prisoner to custody.

It was the contention of the attorneys for the petitioner that the initiative vote is opposed to the constitution of the United States, which promises every state a republican form of government,—that is, they claimed, that while the power shall reside in the whole body of the people, it must be exercised by representatives selected by them. The petitioner's counsel declared that if the people were allowed to vote directly on questions affecting their welfare, there would be two coördinate law-making bodies, one independent of the other, and that this was not contemplated by the constitution. The supreme court holds that the contention is wrong as the council is either upheld or reversed by the people, and therefore the two bodies do not act independently of each other.

The initiative amendment was the only one considered in the case in point, but, according to the decision, initiative and referendum are so indissolubly bound together that they must either survive or fall together. Their upholding results in the direct control of local legislation, which the petitioner declares is unconstitutional. The supreme court holds that the legislature can delegate power to the municipality to make laws according to charter provisions, and the people are not usurping authority when they take that power from representatives. The court decides that it is competent under our constitution to vest in the electors the right to directly participate in the exercise of legislative power. The people in the old New England town-meeting had a direct vote on the laws to be enacted, and although the proceedings were taken in

an open forum there is no difference, says the court, between that and the secret ballot, so far as results are concerned.

The one dissenting justice thinks that the initiative and referendum in the Los Angeles charter is unconstitutional and void. He believes that taking the law-making power out of the hands of the people's representatives is inconsistent with a republican form of government. He opines that "if this state continues to be generous with its legislative power and continues to vest so much in the municipalities, the time will come when California will be merely a territory where exist free cities and municipalities." What a calamity (to the corporations) that would be!

Des Moines' New Charter.

THE NEW charter which has been drafted for the city of Des Moines and which the Iowa legislature is asked to pass this winter is an adaptation of the Commission System and, according to the *New York Herald*, contains a provision that all appropriations of money by the Commissioners for public improvements and special work under contract must be referred to the voters for approval. The Recall is also provided for. They call it the "call-back." Says the *Herald*: "The 'call-back,' as it has been termed, is that section of the proposed new law which will prevent the possibility of corruption or inefficiency under the new system. Of all the innovations the 'call-back' is the greatest step yet taken in America to preserve the rights of the common people in the management of their cities and to prevent their voting their power into the hands of a few. This provides that after the Commissioners who are to manage the affairs of the city are elected, should any one of them by his acts raise a question as to his honesty or efficiency, he can be removed from his office by a petition signed by ten per cent. of the voters who elected him. He is by the law made a candidate at the next election, unless he declines, in order that he may have an opportunity to vindicate himself. In the meantime he is given a chance to present his cause to the people, and the election again is his trial, where he is vindicated or permanently retired."

Berkeley's New Charter.

THE CHARTER revision committee of Berkeley, California, has made a report which will

probably be accepted without great change and which contains Direct-Legislation provisions similar to those heretofore adopted by certain Californian cities.

The section on the recall provides that the holder of any elective office may be removed from office at any time by the electors of the city as follows: A petition signed by at least 20 per cent. of the number of the voters who voted for the office of mayor at the preceding municipal election shall place in nomination a successor for the office. The person sought to be removed shall be placed in nomination without a petition. Then the council shall call a special election for the officer in question.

The section of the initiative provides that any proposed ordinance may be submitted to the council on a petition signed by 20 per cent. of the voters who voted for the mayor at the preceding municipal election, the council then either to pass the ordinance or to submit it to the people at a special election. If between 10 and 20 per cent. of the voters at the last election sign the petition, then the council shall submit the question at the next municipal election.

The section on the referendum provides that no ordinance passed by the council shall go into effect before 30 days from the time of its final passage, and if a petition signed by 20 per cent. of the voters at the last election and protesting against the measure be presented the council shall submit the ordinance to the people for their vote at a special or general municipal election.

It is also provided that women may vote for the school directors.

The Chicago Charter.

EVERYTHING went smoothly they say in the meetings of the Chicago Charter Convention until the question was reached of requiring the submission of franchise legislation to the people upon petition of a certain percentage of the voters. The fight came upon the determination of this percentage. The corporation crowd lined up solid for a 25 per cent. requirement. The referendum people were lifted from 10 per cent. to 15 per cent., and then the vote stood 20 to 20. Then the corporation leaders were willing to compromise by making the requirement 20 per cent., and shifted their tactics to an attempt to cut down the time to be allowed in which to file petitions requiring the referendum from 60 to 30 days. The corporation forces are surely

alive to their interests in their active and adroit opposition to this movement. The convention has voted to submit its clause on Sunday-closing to a special referendum vote. By a majority of one it tabled the proposition to give women municipal suffrage.

The Insurance Referendum.

THE FACT that 750,000 policy-holders in the great insurance companies did not vote in the recent proxy-election contest is held up by the *Buffalo Times* as a knock-out for the referendum. These policy-holders are, as a class, among the more intelligent portion of the community, they had been done great injustice, their financial interests had been tampered with, and the matter had received wide publicity, yet only half of them voted. Why? Partly because they have not formed the habit of attending to their own business and have formed the habit of letting someone else attend to it for them. Partly, also, because they did not care for the difference between tweedledum and tweedledee, and were largely hopeless of any important results from the course offered them. This continual croaking of the plutocratic press about the impracticability of the referendum whenever a small vote is cast is really a rebounding boomerang, for it only makes plainer the need for a system which would cultivate public spirit and deepen public interest in public questions.

Brief Items.

THE EQUAL Rights Association of Allegheny county, Pennsylvania, after listening recently to an address on Direct-Legislation by Mr. C. V. Tiers, president of the Pennsylvania State Initiative and Referendum League, heartily and unanimously endorsed the initiative, referendum and recall.

JUDGE GALLOWAY of the Oregon Circuit Court has decided that a city council cannot be forced by mandamus proceedings to put into effect the initiative and referendum on city affairs. Marshall McClain of Albany, Oregon, had instituted a mandamus suit to compel the council of that city to adopt the direct-vote system authorized by the state referendum last June. It remains for the citizens to demand the system under the terms of the constitutional amendment then adopted.

SENATOR VAHEY of Massachusetts has introduced a bill in the Great and General Court providing for a referendum on the abolition of capital punishment.

THE CITIZENS of Newark, New Jersey, will take a referendum vote next November on the establishment of a municipal lighting-plant.

THE DEMOCRATIC Convention of Hawaii adopted the following: "We pledge our candidates for the legislature to the enactment of a Direct Primary law, the Initiative and Referendum, including the 'Recall' and such other legislation as may be needed to put the quietus on graft and the machine in this territory."

A BILL for the initiative and referendum, which was prepared by delegates from the Michigan State Grange, the Farmers' Club of Michigan, the State Federation of Labor, the Voters' Initiative and Referendum League, and the Progressive Voters' League, is now before the legislature of that state, and a vigorous campaign is in progress to secure its adoption.

GOVERNOR FOLK in his message heartily recommended the initiative and referendum and recall, and a bill is now before the legislature providing for the adoption of these measures. Missouri is ripe for this measure. She sends the largest number of men to Congress pledged to the initiative and referendum of any state in the nation. The Referendum League is pushing the bill in hopes of success this year, and some able workers have gone to Jefferson City to help the cause along.

A VIGOROUS Direct-Legislation League has recently been organized at Valley City, North Dakota. This is the seat of a state normal school, and many of the students are taking an active interest in the work of the League. The *Times-Record* of that city is doing able work in support of the cause. A bill is now before the legislature of the state providing for a fuller measure of direct-legislation than that which the people now have.

HERE IS a little incident from the working of Switzerland's initiative which we reprint from the *New York Tribune* of December 16, 1906: "The example of Switzerland's anti-absinthe campaign is being held up to Par-

isians as something to reflect upon. In fact, according to a dispatch from Berne, no Federal campaign has ever had such success as that which was started to banish absinthe and all similar liquors forever from Swiss territory. The Secretary of the Campaign Committee says that 80,202 signatures have already been obtained, and now there are probably more than 100,000 to ask for the Federal law to be passed. Contrary to what has been said, the German cantons are just as enthusiastic in support of the prohibition scheme as the others. It is likely that the canton of Geneva will take the lead at once and vote a local prohibition law."

MR. CARNEGIE'S offer of a \$10,000 public library for Sandy Hill, New York, with its attendant conditions, is to be voted upon by the citizens.

THE OAKLAND (California) *Enquirer* says that the statement that a certain political boss was paid \$10,000 to prevent the people of San Francisco voting on high license ought to be convincing argument in favor of the compulsory referendum.

THE LEGISLATIVE Assembly of Western Australia has voted to secede from the Commonwealth so recently formed. This action however must be referred to a referendum vote before it can go into effect.

GLEN RIDGE, New Jersey, recently held a referendum vote on a disputed question of post-office consolidation. It was a purely voluntary and neighborly affair, but feeling ran high over the issue. The distinctive feature was that all the ladies as well as the men had a vote.

OF THE 112 members of the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention, 102 are pledged in writing to support the initiative and referendum.

THE VILLAGE board of Glencoe, Illinois, were about to grant a four-track right of way through the village to the Chicago and Milwaukee Electric Company when a public meeting of the citizens was held and made a protest so strong that the board has decided to refer the matter to a referendum vote.

THE CITIZENS of Portland, Oregon, will

have a referendum vote on the question of establishing high license in the June election.

THE CITIZENS of Mineral City, Ohio, at the November elections, voted to absolve the city treasurer and members of the city council from obligation for the loss of \$6,000 of city funds in the failure of a local bank caused by a bigger failure at Canton.

IN A communication to the Constitutional Convention of Oklahoma on December 15th, W. J. Bryan urged the convention to adopt the initiative and referendum and direct nominations.

THERE is a growing demand in Vermont for a referendum on the question of capital punishment.

INITIATIVE petitions have been circulated in South Dakota to compel action upon the proposition to have liquor licenses granted by counties instead of by towns and cities. This is only the second trial of the initiative in this state. The other time it was to secure direct primaries.

IN HIS message to the Minnesota legislature, Governor Johnson heartily recommends the advisory initiative and referendum, calling attention to the fact that they can be adopted without constitutional amendment and giving briefly reasons which make such legislation desirable.

THE FREMONT (Ohio) Referendum Club has announced a course of free lectures on popular government during the next three months and has among its speakers Rev. H. S. Bigelow, Peter Witt, Brand Whitlock, Judge R. R. Kinkade and Tom L. Johnson.

AT THE annual meeting of the New Hampshire State Grange, a resolution favoring the initiative and referendum was referred to the lecturer to be laid before the granges for discussion during the year.

JOHN Z. WHITE addressed an open meeting of the Buffalo Referendum League, January 12th, on "The Dartmouth College Case."

THE WASHINGTON State Federation of Labor at its convention January 3d took

strong ground for an initiative and referendum constitutional amendment.

THE CHICAGO Fire Department took a referendum vote January 9th on the adoption of the two-platoon system.

A BILL is before the New York legislature

providing for a state referendum on making an educational test for suffrage.

Only 244 votes were cast in a referendum election at Fort Worth, Texas, January 5th, on a question of granting railway franchises. There were only 31 opposing votes.

RALPH ALBERTSON.

COÖPERATION IN THE NEW WORLD.

BY RALPH ALBERTSON,
Secretary of the Coöperative Association of America.

Oregon Agricultural College.

AT CAUTHORN Hall, of the State Agricultural College located at Corvallis, Oregon, there is an interesting coöperative organization. The hall was built for the use of young men who desire to live economically while attending school, and at the same time enjoy the privileges and refining influences of the cultured home. For two years the hall has been operated on the coöperative plan, which has so far proved most gratifying. The building, which is conveniently located on the college grounds, has accommodation for one hundred students, and it is well supplied with water, steam heat, and electric lights. The dining-room, kitchen, and club-rooms, are commodious, pleasant, and well furnished.

During the past year there were 92 members in the organization. The largest number at any one time was 80; the smallest number, 50; the average number for the year being about 67 members.

Professor Horner has just issued from the printing office at the college a neat illustrated pamphlet setting forth the advantages of this coöperative organization as an attractive feature of the college.

At Cauthorn Hall there is no discrimination between rich and poor. The students dine at the same tables, eat the same kind of food, have the same kind of rooms, and the same accommodations and liberties. Under the coöperative system the cost of living is largely regulated by the club. The average cost during the past term of school was \$2.29 per week; the entire table expense being about \$1.60 per week per man.

Harvard Co-operative Society.

THE LAST annual report of the Harvard Coöperative Society shows a business of \$249,251. The various departments conducted are: men's furnishings, books, stationery, tailoring, coal and wood, furniture, and medical. The receipts from hall-rent were \$1,132. The increase of business over last year was about 5 per cent.; the increase in net profits being \$1,306. The directors voted to write off \$5,000 from the value of the building on the Society's books, which is equivalent to adding that sum to surplus. This left a total net profit of \$10,907. Of this the stockholders voted to add \$166 to surplus and to devote \$10,740 to paying dividends of 8 per cent. on the dividend-drawing purchases.

Princeton Co-operative Store.

THE COÖPERATIVE store at the University of Princeton does not make as good a showing as the Harvard Society, but holds its own from year to year and makes a small gain. The semi-annual report, January 1st, shows a business of \$25,600. The profit showing in this report is small, as the charge-sales are large and the stock heavy. The profits will show up at the close of the academic year.

Polk County, Wisconsin.

THE FARMERS of Polk county have gone into business for themselves. In January, 1905, the Polk County Coöperative Company was organized with stores at Lykens and Centuria. During the first year a third store was

absorbed and the capital stock raised to \$20,000. At present nine stores have been absorbed, six of which are being conducted and are located in the towns of Lyken, Centuria, Amery, Little Falls, Milltown and Range. The capital stock was increased in March to \$50,000 and later to \$100,000. Each member subscribes \$100 of stock—no more and no less. The management rests with a General Manager and Board of Directors who appoint a local manager for each branch. These officers are elected by the membership and are always subject to the initiative, referendum and recall. The stores handle a great variety of stocks, pay interest on the capital invested and dividends back to all members on their purchases. We shall publish their reports from time to time. The store at Amery, which is the largest of the group, reports sales of \$13,439 for November, a gain of 34 per cent. over November of the preceding year.

Pepin County, Wisconsin.

THE PEPIN County Coöperative Company was incorporated in September, 1905, with 42 members, and \$25,000 capital stock. It now has 335 members and an authorized capital stock of \$50,000. The subscribed stock, of course, is \$33,500. The Company now has eight stores which are located in five different trading communities in the county as follows: Arkansasaw, a general store, and a hardware, furniture and implement store; Plum City, two stores; Eau Galle, two stores, and one store each in Porcupine and Exile. The company is doing a good business which is on the increase. The Eau Galle stores report 100 per cent. gain over last year, and Arkansasaw shows 70 per cent. gain. The Plum City stores which were taken over last June already show a gain of 150 per cent. over business done in the same period of last year. The sales average about \$10,000 a month. These Right Relationship League stores in making reports, however brief, always include "discounts saved." This company uses cash and saves about \$200 a month. They belong to the Coöperating Merchants' Company of Chicago and this aids them greatly in buying advantageously.

Dane County, Wisconsin.

IN APRIL, 1905, Mr. J. F. Dott, a prosperous merchant of Sun Prairie, Wisconsin, or-

ganized the Dane County Coöperative Company, on the Right Relationship League plan. He turned over his own stock of merchandise, valued at \$10,500. There were but seventeen members. With this membership and but a small capital he ran the store on the coöperative basis in the face of the jeers and misrepresentations of his competitors. At the close of the year, after paying all running expenses and six per cent. on capital, the members were each handed back ten cents for every dollar they had spent in the store during the year. A League organizer was sent for to increase the membership. In a short time he had raised it to 64. Since that time the growth of the business has been steady. The report of the manager, Mr. J. F. Dott, December 7th, shows sales to November 1st of \$15,360, an increase of 150 per cent. over last year.

Dakota County, Minnesota.

ON DECEMBER 19th, the Dakota County Coöperative Company was organized with 59 subscribers to one equal share each of \$100. The company starts with the prosperous business of Mr. Francis Biles, a successful merchant of Randolph. The organization has adopted the plans of the Right Relationship League.

Iowa Farmers' Elevators.

THE *Centuria Outlook* says that sixteen elevators have been erected by the farmers in Iowa in the last sixty days and most of them are ready to do business.

Co-operative Banks in Pennsylvania.

THE PENNSYLVANIA farmers through their Granges are organizing their own banks. These are county institutions where the Granges are country Granges. Instead of exploiting the money of the farmer for the private profit of a few, these banks will pay all their earnings to their many shareholders and depositors.

Eden Valley Co-operative Company.

THE CASHIER of this company writes to the *Coöperative Journal* as follows: "Our store paid a dividend of 14 per cent. for the first year, besides laying aside 5 per cent. for reserve and paying 8 per cent. on capital stock.

We are truly pleased with the amount of business done, and this year being a little better with us than last year, we look forward to a neat little sum of money to be paid in dividends on this year's purchases." The president is Mr. E. Leavitt, Eden Valley, Minnesota.

University of California.

UNDER the management of Mr. James Davis the Campus Coöperative Store at Berkeley is doing a successful and increasing business. In its various departments are books and stationery, pictures, instruments, candy, etc. A delicatessen department has just been added.

Butler, Indiana.

STUDENTS and members of the faculty of the college here have subscribed a small capital for the beginning of a college coöperative store. Mr. Robert Matthews will be manager.

Notes from California.

NEW ROCHDALE stores have been recently organized at Famosa, Delano, Granada, Colusa and Corte Madera, California.

The Mutual Fire Insurance Company of San Joaquin County has just been organized by Mr. B. A. Goodwin of Ripon, an enthusiastic Rochdale coöperator and granger.

The Turlock Rochdale Company had their store leased from under them by a competitor. Under the leadership of their president, Rev. A. Hallner, they bought one of the best pieces of property in the town which has in a very short time appreciated \$10,000 in value.

A Novel Market.

THE Coöperative Journal of December 1st contains the following:

"The city of Chicago is to have a great union market. The object of this enterprise is to eliminate as far as possible the various middlemen and profit-sappers who have intervened between the producer and the consumer and are responsible to a considerable extent for the high cost of living. The erection of this market is the outgrowth of the new alliance between the American Federation of Labor and the farming interests, one of the objects of which is to facilitate the exchange of commodities between the producer on the farm and in the factory and to insure that fair conditions prevail in each."

A Co-operative Shirt Factory.

STRIKING shirtmakers and their sympathizers in Newark, New Jersey, have organized a coöperative shirt manufacturing company with a capital stock of \$25,000 in shares of \$10 each. Both men and women are going into the company. A thousand dollars was paid in the night of organization. Union men of the city are appealed to to subscribe for stock.

A Newspaper Men's Colony.

A NUMBER of New York newspaper men have bought a tract of land at Bayside, New York, where they will build homes for themselves, says the Brooklyn *Eagle*, on the co-operative plan. The property has a fine outlook over Little Neck Bay, and has been thoroughly developed with all modern improvements. Building will begin in the spring.

RALPH ALBERTSON.

"ETHICAL PRINCIPLES OF MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE."*

A BOOK-STUDY.

BY REV. ROBERT E. BISBEE.

THE FIRST thing for the reformer to determine is whether or not the system he would reform is fundamentally or only superficially wrong. If it is fundamentally wrong it needs to be abolished; if only superficially wrong it simply needs to be corrected.

For example, the anti-slavery agitators based their arguments against slavery on the fact that it was fundamentally wrong for one man to own another. "Every man has a right to himself" was the basic proposition of abolition moral philosophy; therefore slavery could not be corrected, it must be destroyed.

To-day we are discussing the wage-system with a purpose to determine whether, like slavery, it must be destroyed or simply corrected. If it is fundamentally wrong, if to compel one man to work for another in order to gain a proper livelihood means degradation and an ultimate system of caste and the destruction of democracy, then, however favorable the conditions of the wage-system may be, it is fundamentally wrong and must be abolished. The same is true of the tax-system. If the present system of taxation is fundamentally wrong, no attempt at mere readjustment, however much it may tend toward a more perfect equity, will answer the demand. The system must be revolutionized.

On the other hand, whatever the abuses of a system, if that system be fundamentally correct, it should be allowed to stand and the reformer should turn his attention to the correction of the abuses. To determine questions of this kind requires men of great mental powers, fundamental thinkers, pioneers and guides whom we of the humbler order may recognize and follow. Fortunately we have a few such men, and one of them is Louis F. Post, the author of this book, *Ethical Principles of Marriage and Divorce*.

We open the volume with the purpose of determining, first, whether the author holds our present system of monogamistic marriage as fundamentally right, though subject to

abuse and therefore in need of correction, or whether it is fundamentally wrong and therefore in need of abolition, as many writers of modern times are beginning to claim. We let the author answer this question for himself. After showing that marriage is not in the ceremony, that "marriage ceremonials are one thing; that marriage itself is another and different thing," he says:

"The love that characterizes marriage must be of that kind which alone is capable of permanently welding together one man and one woman into a single intellectual and moral being.

"Singleness of being in marriage does not mean, of course, that either of the parties shall be master of the other. The freedom of each is necessary to the happiness of both, and therefore to their marital unification. Even the amiable despotism of benevolence has no function in marriage. The figure of the husband as a sturdy oak and the wife as a clinging vine, is a false figure. Wifehood is not parasitic. But the parasitic significance of the vine aside, the husband is a clinging vine as often as the wife, and each will play at times the rôle of sturdy oak if the marriage be a true mating.

"Neither does singleness of being in marriage mean that there must be absolute agreement between the parties. Since no individual mind can be in agreement even with itself in everything and all the time, identity of intellectual and moral existence in marriage does not imply agreement of two minds in everything and all the time.

"What is meant by singleness of being in marriage is the almost obvious idea that each of the parties to a genuine marriage must be in love with the higher intellectual qualities and the deeper moral impulses of the other. This is love for the embodied character. It is love for the durable qualities of the marriage partner. It is therefore the love that endures, the kind that is abiding in its nature."

The reader will notice that the author in-

*"Ethical Principles of Marriage and Divorce." By Louis F. Post. Cloth. Pp. 144. Price, \$1.00 net. Chicago: The Public Publishing Company.

sists that marriage love is that which exists between one man and one woman. It is therefore monogamistic. He distinguishes in another place between marriage and fraternal love. There may be fraternal love for all the world, but marriage love can exist at one and the same time between two only. Therefore the monogamistic idea of marriage is fundamentally correct.

But while the monogamistic idea of marriage is fundamentally correct it is of course subject to abuses. One of these abuses is in binding together for all time those who are ceremonially married but who have never been or have ceased to be married with the love that unifies. We quote again:

"The man and the woman who love the same indestructible ideals, in the same general and fundamental way, and discover in each other—instinctively, it may be, rather than reflectively—a complementary embodiment of those ideals, are mutually under the influence of marriage love. Intellectually and morally they are thereby made to grow together as one. This would seem to be in harmony with the nature of things. But if either ceases to love those ideals in that fundamental way, then marriage love tends to disintegrate and they cease to love each other with the love that unifies. This also seems to be in harmony with the nature of things. In the one condition they are married essentially, irrespective of ceremonials. In the other they are divorced essentially, irrespective of civil or ecclesiastical sanctions."

The natural inference from this is that when marriage ceases in reality, it should cease also in form. Divorce should be granted and remarriage permitted.

The foregoing is the substance of what is reasoned out at some length with great clearness and force. The author has a very assent-compelling way with him. He divides each question into its essential elements and builds up his argument step by step. For example, he treats divorce and marriage after divorce in two separate chapters. He also devotes an entire chapter to marriage ceremonials. He overcomes all opposition to his views by frank acknowledgment and clear statement. For example, in considering the rights of the children of the divorced he says:

"The subject of divorce and remarriage is not fully considered, of course, until its rela-

tion to the children of the dead marriage has been discussed. We refer now to something more than the civil rights of the child. As to civil rights, the child of a dead marriage stands upon the same plane as any other member of the community. The civil rights of all third persons must be conserved. But with reference to the children of a sundered marriage there are said to be such additional considerations as a broken home, a consciousness of the wrenching apart of one parent from the other, and, if one of the parents remarries during the lifetime of the other, a sense possibly of moral degradation. It may well be asked if this is a good experience for childish minds, and whether children are not entitled to protection from its demoralizing influences.

"The conclusive answer is the simple one that civil protection from those influences, even if it were desirable, is impossible. If demoralization and degradation of children be involved, this is due to the natural divorce of their parents, over which municipal law has no control, and not to the conventional divorce, which merely makes legal acknowledgment of a natural fact.

"The home—possibly not the household, but certainly the home—is broken when the natural marriage dies. The wrenching apart of one parent from the other occurs when the warmth of the marriage love departs. The degradation of the children begins when the marriage of their parents sinks from its high estate down into the mire of legalized concubinage, and it continues while that unwholesome relationship lasts.

"If parents naturally but not conventionally divorced avoid concubinal association by separating, they thereby exhibit to their children the same picture of a broken home that would be presented if they were divorced. If they are not divorced and do not separate, they display to their children who perceive their marital alienation, an indescribable example of subtle immorality.

"In comparison with a concubinal relationship masked in the conventions of an unsundered marriage, the remarriage of a divorced parent must be infinitely the less demoralizing to the mind of a child. The mask is too thin to deceive even children. Back of the artificial appearance of a living marriage which it presents, the sensitive affections of the child will not fail to detect a repulsive corpse.

"Children who love both their parents may

recoil from divorce and deplore the marriage of either to a stranger. But if this remarriage be a true marital union, sanctioned as well by natural as by municipal law, whereas the original marriage, though sanctioned by municipal law, has become essentially a prostitutional alliance, who dare say that the former is to be avoided and the latter perpetuated in the interests of moral education? Is the morality of children to be best conserved by the enforced immorality of their parents?

"So long as parents who suppose that their natural marriage is dead, voluntarily perpetuate their marital relationship in good faith for the benefit of their children, we should be slow to believe that it would not be morally effective. Their example of devotion might well outweigh in the children's minds all opposing influences. It might react upon the parents themselves, generating genuine marriage love in the place of what was once supposed to be genuine, but in fact was spurious. As a voluntary act, then, abstention from conventional divorce and remarriage may have saving virtues. But to compel this course by municipal law is offensive to morality and degrading to the sanctity of marriage."

Mr. Post believes in the perfect equality and the economic independence of the sexes.

In his final chapter on "The Sanctity of Marriage," after repeating that marriage is constituted by the harmonious union of one man and one woman through reciprocal love abiding in its nature, and that this is a human relationship as natural as motherhood and fatherhood, and after affirming that the best wifehood and motherhood is that which, in cooperation with the functions of husband and father, secures to all the family, including the wife, a wholesome personal and family life, radiating normally into the surrounding social, civic and business life, he further affirms:

"In this idea of marital cooperation is involved the economic independence of woman.

Marriage cannot be quite complete while its environment is imperfect. So long as women are not economically independent, other influences than marriage love will create and regulate marriage unions.

"Economic independence for women does not require, of course, that the self-supporting woman shall continue earning an independent income after marriage. This is altogether a matter for harmonious arrangement between husband and wife in each case. It would doubtless be a sad mistake for the wife and mother to abolish the home and alienate her life from that of her husband and her children, in order to earn an independent income—as sad a mistake as if she devoted herself to her husband, her children and her home, to the alienation of her own life from the wider interests of the world's work and progress. And in most cases she may find that her obligations as home maker, with all that these at the best imply, are too exacting to permit her to pursue a bread-winning vocation besides. There are indeed notable instances to the contrary. Women do earn distinction in business life while rearing children with all a mother's care and maintaining homes with all a wife's devotion. But complete adjustments of home life to business life could not be common under existing social conditions, nor in all vocations perhaps under any social conditions. That fact, however, is not to the point. Whether the economic independence of married women may or may not be generally possible, it is certainly important to the purity of marital selection that economic independence prevail among unmarried women."

We do not hesitate to call this book a classic on the subject of marriage and divorce. It is the ultimate analysis, the final answer to a problem engaging now more than ever human attention. We commend its consideration to all Bible-bound ecclesiastics as well as to free-lovers and sex-radicals wherever found.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.*

With Walt. Whitman in Camden. By Horace Traubel. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 474. Price, \$3.00 net. Boston: Small, Maynard & Company.

HORACE TRAUBEL'S work on Walt. Whitman in Camden is as revealing in character as it is unconventional in its literary make-up. It consists of the diary made day by day by Mr. Traubel, as it related to the poet. After returning from his visits Mr. Traubel made a careful record of the conversations, incorporating with them various correspondence that was handed to him by Walt. Whitman. These letters are from a great variety of persons, eminent and obscure, about whom the two friends conversed. This correspondence alone would make a rich treasury of interesting matter for those who like to come into touch with the great and the good of the recent past and catch intimate glimpses of them in converse with their peers; for here are found letters from Tennyson, Joaquin Miller, John Morley, Sidney Lanier, Bret Harte, Edmund Gosse, Edward Dowden, Edward Carpenter, Robert Buchanan, Moncure D. Conway, John Burroughs, John Boyle O'Reilly, Edwin Booth, William Rossetti, John Addington Symonds, and many other men eminent in the world of intellectual activity.

The letters from the famous are by no means the only written correspondence presented in this volume. Letters from some obscure persons, writing of the help which the vigorous and unhackneyed thought of Whitman had been to them, were prized by the poet far above the correspondence of the illustrious members of the aristocracy of the mind. Here is a typical letter of this class. It is from one I. G. Kelly and is addressed to John Boyle O'Reilly, who had induced him to read Whitman. O'Reilly, it will be remembered, was a great admirer of the sage of Camden and in a letter sent from the *Pilot* editorial rooms, Boston, February 11, 1885, he enclosed the following communication to Walt. Whitman. It was written to John Boyle O'Reilly:

"My dear Boy, I am very grateful to you for inducing me to read Walt. Whitman. He is to me that which he claims to be to all his readers, a Revelation and a Revealer. He has marshaled facts and sentiments before my mind's eye which have been floating, vaguely and transiently, through my consciousness since I commenced to be untrammelled in thought: he has given me views which help to render my 'dark days' endurable and my nights teem with companions. When I read Walt. Whitman nature speaks to me: when I read nature Walt. Whitman speaks to me. He travels with me and he points out the goodness of men and things and he intensifies my pleasures by his presence and sympathy. Leaves of Grass! so like 'the handchief of the Lord'! covering the face of creation with love and pity and admiration for 'man and bird and beast' and thing! How sad that for a few 'bare' expressions it should be kept out of the hands of the multitude and the women and children!

"I thought I knew the greatest American in my dear friend Henry George, but no! Walt. Whitman (whom he admires) is still greater, as a philanthropist, a democrat and a philosopher. He also excels your greatest theologians, naturalists, scientists and poets. He is an intellectual colossus or individuality, which admits of no comparison. He is not a poet and still he is greater than any—no dramatist and yet his characters breathe and strive and even smite you at his will: he knows little of the names of plants and animals, but he makes nature a domestic panorama: he can hardly be termed a religious man, yet he overflows with Faith and Hope and Love: he has no rank as a politician, yet his principles, if grasped, would revolutionize the world. Thus, he is everything and yet—nothing but Walt. Whitman, a distinction which should satisfy the most craving ambition.

"I am your friend and debtor,

"I. G. KELLY."

The letters that constitute a large portion of the work, however, are not by any means its most valuable feature. The intimate revelation of the poet, in "the habit as he lived"

* Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, Editorial Department, THE ARENA, Boston, Mass.

his mental processes, his view-point of life, his ideas and ideals, are set down just as they were uttered when the mind of the scribe was full of the thought and he was under the mental and magnetic influence of the poet. Indeed, so anxious has Mr. Traubel been to preserve the pictures of the poet as he received them, that he has refused to make even the slightest changes in the diary. We are by no means convinced that he has not made a mistake in publishing this biographical diary without such slight changes as would make it better conform to literary usages. The frequent introduction of merely an initial to signify the poet or some one of his friends is an example of what we have in mind. There are many slight changes that could have been readily made and which, while improving the work from a literary view-point, would not have interfered in the least with the intimate revelation of the poet which constitutes so strong a charm of the work.

Then again, if Mr. Traubel had introduced some descriptive lines relating to some of the friends of Whitman with whom the general public is not acquainted, it would have increased the interest of the work; or if he had not wished to break into the diary by the introduction of this descriptive matter, he might have supplied such information in footnotes.

But in spite of these minor defects and the omission of some things which it seems to us would have increased the interest in the book, without in any degree detracting from its unique and charming qualities, this volume is one of the most interesting biographical works of recent years, and it undoubtedly presents Whitman the man exactly as he was with almost startling realism.

From the following specimen paragraphs, taken almost at random from different parts of the book, the reader may gain a somewhat better idea of this unique and interesting volume:

"Back of him on the wall was a pencilled figure of a rather ragged-looking nondescript. 'Where did you get that?' I asked. 'Would you believe it—the tramp himself was here this morning. He was a curious character—an itinerant poet: and he read me some of his poems: Lord pass him, what stuff! But it was his own, written on the road. It made me feel bad to think that he could go along in the sun and rain and write while I am housed up here in the dust of a dead room

eking out my substance in coalstove words.' 'Coalstove' was good. But he burns wood in his stove. But how did he come by the picture? 'The poet said he had drawn it himself sitting on a field outside Camden somewhere before a bit of broken looking glass, which he had balanced on his knee.' He reflected as I left: 'When I said good-bye to the tramp I was envious: I could not see what right he had to his monopoly of the fresh air. He said he was bound for some place in Maryland. I shall dream of Maryland to-night—dream of farm fences, barns, singing birds, sounds, all sorts, over the hills.'

"I feel so good again to-day," W. assures me, "that I no longer envy the tramp. I think that dusty cuss did me lots of good: he left me temporarily in a quarrelsome mood: I hated the room here, and my lame leg, and my dizzy head: I got hungry for the sun again, for the hills: and though Mary brought me up a good supper she did n't bring the sort of food required to satisfy a fellow with my appetite. She did n't bring the sun and the stars and offer them to me on a plate: she brought muffins, a little jelly, a cup of tea: and I could have cried from disappointment. But later, next day, yesterday, the tramp's gift got into my veins—it was a slow process, but got there: and that has made me happy. I thought he had taken everything he had brought away with him again: but I was mistaken. He shook some of his dust off on me: that dust has taken effect."

"Not the negro," said W. to-day: 'not the negro. The negro was not the chief thing: the chief thing was to stick together. The South was technically right and humanly wrong.' He discussed the present political situation in a rather more explicit way than is usual with him. He 'cares less for politics and more for the people,' he explains: 'I see that the real work of democracy is done underneath its politics: this is especially so now, when the conventional parties have both thrown their heritage away, starting from nothing good and going to nothing good: the Republican party positively, the Democratic party negatively, the apologists of the plutocracy.'

"As I was about taking leave W. said suddenly: 'By the way, I have found the Tennyson letter I promised you. Take it along—take good care of it: the curio hunters would

call it quite a gem. . . . Tennyson has written me on a number of occasions—is always friendly, sometimes even warm: I don't think he ever quite makes me out: but he thinks I belong: perhaps that is enough—all I ought to expect.' I read the letter. 'It is a poem,' I said. 'Or better than a poem,' added W. 'Tennyson is an artist even when he writes a letter: this letter itself is protected all round from indecision, forwardness, uncertainty: it is correct—choice, final.'

"Farringford, Freshwater, Isle of Wight,
"Jan'y 15th, 1887.

"Dear old man, I the elder old man have received your Article in the Critic, and send you in return my thanks and New Year's greeting on the wings of this east-wind, which, I trust, is blowing softer and warmer on your good gray head than here, where it is rocking the elms and ilexes of my Isle of Wight garden. !"
"Yours always,

"TENNYSON."

"At the table W. raised his glass before the others had done so and glancing at the picture of Lincoln on the wall opposite exclaimed: 'Here 's to the blessed man above the mantel!' and then remarked: 'You know this is the day he died.' 'After my dear, dear mother, I guess Lincoln gets almost nearer to me than anybody else.' W. borrowed Boswell's Johnson from Harned, saying: 'I have never so far read it.' 'Tom,' he said, 'when I was out in the carriage I picked up a lame fellow on the road—a sort of tramp, limpsy, hungry, a bit dirty, but damned human.'

"Speaking of the 'strain of American life' W. declared that 'every man is trying to outdo every other man—giving up modesty, giving up honesty, giving up generosity, to do it: creating a war, every man against every man: the whole wretched business falsely keyed by money ideals, money politics, money religions, money men.'"

This is a work that admirers of Walt. Whitman should possess.

The Wonders of the Colorado Desert. By George Wharton James. Illustrated. Two Volumes. Cloth. Price, \$5.00 net. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

It is fortunate that the vast and little-ex-

plored expanse of the great Southwest, the wide stretches of desert and arid mountain regions, that have repelled rather than attracted man, have found a sympathetic lover who is also one of the most broadly cultured scholars and fluent writers of our day. We think that George Wharton James could invest any subject with the fascination of romance. He possesses in a very marked degree the rare combination of scholar, tireless worker and man of genius. He is by nature and temperament a poet and an artist,—which is to say he is an idealist plentifully endowed with imagination. Such men generally find work that requires careful, painstaking intellectual application irksome. They can rhapsodize, they can generalize, but when it comes to plodding and searching for details and facts, they usually incline to shirk. Mr. James is an exception. He is a man of ripe scholarship and possesses the modern critical spirit to such a degree that when he essays a subject he is not content until he has supplemented his personal observations and discoveries with a knowledge of what other competent travelers, observers, scientists and philosophers have noted. To see and know from first hand, and then to find out what the specialists, the geologists, mineralogists, naturalists, geographers, health-seekers and pleasure-seekers, have found out, requires no little work. But for one endowed with industry and with poetic imagination such labor fills the mind not merely with a vast fund of essential facts, but with an enthusiasm that becomes contagious when the poet-artist imparts his story to the general reader. Now in Mr. James' writings the reader enjoys the results of the rare combination of personal observer, of widely-read scholar, of painstaking thinker and of the man of imagination richly endowed with the poetic and artistic temperament. Therefore his books are of exceptional interest and value.

No work, we think, that has heretofore come from the pen of Mr. James is so interesting or valuable as his latest pretentious treatise, *The Wonders of the Colorado Desert*. From the opening chapter to the closing lines the reader, if he be a lover of nature and her wonder-shop, will find himself carried forward with absorbing and compelling interest—interest only possible when a poet interprets the marvels of natural phenomena. The desert, in the hands of a dry-as-dust bookman, is as dry a subject as the waterless ex-

panases described; but under our artist's touch it becomes a fairyland, and the vivid descriptions glow with fascinating interest.

But the work is far more than an enthralling volume that reveals the beauty, grandeur and unique interest which an artist beholds in sky, mountain, cañon and wide expanse of arid, sand-strewn plain. Here, penned by one whose eyes has been trained to see and whose mind has been schooled in the art of presenting what he sees, the student of geography will find a rich fund of information. The geologist, the botanist, the entomologist and the ornithologist, no less than the naturalist who is especially interested in insect and reptilian life, will each here find a well-stored repository of facts, told with all the glowing interest of one who loves all the children and the products of nature no less than the glory of natural phenomena, in the chapters dealing with the physical history of the desert, the rivers, mountains, volcanoes, mirages, desert illusions and colors of the desert, wild animals, birds, reptiles, insects and plant life on the desert. And the historian will find a story of thrilling interest in the pages devoted to "Explorers and Pathfinders" and in other pages dealing with the early history of the desert region. Still more, the utilitarian will revel in what the author has to say of the potential richness of this land, because he will see all the glory of life-sustaining fruitage that some day will make this land blossom as a tropical garden. The pages on "The Reclamation of the Desert," "Horticultural Possibilities of the Desert" and "Date Palm Culture" indicate how a large proportion of this idle territory will in all probability during the next few decades be transformed into one of the most valuable sections of our land. The health-seeker also will find information and suggestions that are of special use to him.

We confess that when we took up this work to read, although we knew that Mr. James would invest the subject with all the interest that could be thrown around the story of a desert land, we felt that only a few chapters in the two large volumes would hold compelling charm for us; but on the contrary we found the entire work a story of rarest interest, giving not only a vivid panoramic view of nature in one of her strangest workshops, but revealing a veritable wonder-world in such a manner as to add greatly to our store of knowledge, and doing this in the most beguiling manner. We were lured from page

to page, from chapter to chapter, under the thrall of the author's enthusiasm, under the spell of a poetic artist's imagination—a poetic artist whose brain was full of facts and whose mental gallery was crowded with pictures before he attempted to give his wealth of knowledge and personal impressions to the world.

The work is published in two richly gotten up volumes containing thirty-five chapters embracing 576 pages. It is illustrated with over three hundred pen and ink sketches from nature by Carl Eytel and with numerous photographic reproductions, together with one fine color frontispiece to Volume One. It is a book that it is a genuine pleasure to recommend to discriminating readers.

In the Fire of the Heart. By Ralph Waldo Trine. Cloth. Pp. 336. Price, \$1.00 net. New York: McClure, Phillips & Company.

MR. RALPH WALDO TRINE in his earlier works has given an upward influence to tens of thousands of restless souls seeking foundations other than the shifting sands of material gratification and self-desire. A noble moral idealism permeates these works and in them he has made his appeal to the individual, seeking to center his thoughts on those things that are at the heart and soul of life instead of its raiment or outward shell. But Mr. Trine was too deep a thinker to fail to recognize how much environment and the pressure downward or upward, that bears on the unit in the social organism, have to do with developing the slowly-expanding goodness, the divine in every human life, or with the re-awakening of the more savage instincts in man. He could not close his eyes to the fact that on every hand there was a vast army of very poor whose nakedness and emaciation were due to unjust social conditions, to special privilege, monopoly rights and various forms of class favors that place the millions of strugglers at a frightful disadvantage in order that the privileged few may become over-rich and dangerously powerful. The inequality of opportunities on every side gave the lie to our boasted democracy's fundamental demand for equality of opportunities and of rights, and led Mr. Trine to turn from abstract contemplation and idealistic philosophy to a study of society under the pressure of social, economic and political conditions; and this study not only revealed a veritable inferno in our

midst, but spurred him on to seek a solution to the mighty problem—to find a way out that would be just, sane and sound, that would square with all the demands of democracy, that would be equitable and in alignment with the doctrine of the Golden Rule,—a way out that would not be accompanied by the shock of a forcible revolution with its waste of life and property.

Now it is with this profound and overshadowing theme—the condition of the victims of injustice and their deliverance through justice, freedom and fraternity put into practical operation by giving the people again their government in all its plenitude, by the introduction of measures that will destroy the new class-rulership which has been brought about by the combination of the political boss, the party machine and privileged and predatory wealth, that Mr. Trine deals in this deeply thoughtful work.

We have recently had a number of very able studies of social conditions, which have revealed the inferno of twentieth-century civilization due to unjust social conditions—to gambling, to class legislation and monopoly rights. Jacob Riis' works, Robert Hunter's *Poverty*, John Spargo's *The Bitter Cry of the Children*, and numbers of similar interesting and painstaking studies have dealt with the situation as it is; but few of these works have given any clearly-defined, comprehensive and immediately practicable programme by which the people can peacefully deliver themselves from the Egyptian taskmasters of the present age.

Mr. Trine, after marshaling fact upon fact in such a manner as to compel attention and carry conviction, considers the remedy in a series of chapters that are eminently practical and which will appeal to the judgment and commonsense of those who care and dare to think for themselves and who love free government and the fundamental principles of democracy more than wealth that comes through indirection or at the expense of those who earn it.

This volume contains ten chapters dealing with the following subjects: "With the People: A Revelation"; "The Conditions That Hold Among Us"; "As Time Deals With Nations"; "As to Government"; "A Great People's Movement"; "Public Utilities for the Public Good"; "Labor and Its Uniting Power"; "Agencies Whereby We Shall Secure the People's Greatest Good"; "The

Great Nation"; and "The Life of the Higher Beauty and Power."

If time and space permits, in a future issue we shall be glad to give a more extended notice of this extremely timely work than is possible at the present time. Now, however, we must content ourselves merely with adding to the above characterization a brief quotation from the opening pages of the second chapter. These lines will give the reader an idea of Mr. Trine's style and the manner in which he approaches his subject:

"We should be a very great and a uniformly prosperous people. As a nation we have had advantages and opportunities that have never been equalled perhaps by any people thus far in the world's history. We have been free from the caste systems and certain progress-strangling customs of the Old World countries; we have enjoyed from the beginning practically full civil and religious liberty; we started free from that dreary, grinding, hopeless, drink-impelling poverty that is the bane and the curse of so many of the Old World countries; we have had almost universal free educational opportunities for our boys and girls, for our young men and our young women, and even for the older when they have so chosen. Our natural products from soil, and stream, and mine have been almost *fabulous* in their returns.

"For all practical purposes, we do individually as well as collectively enjoy civil freedom. But he who is not economically free is in a slavery of the most haunting and endeavor-crushing type.

"And over ten millions of our people are in a state of chronic poverty at this very hour—almost one out of every seven, or, to make full allowance, one out of every eight of all our people are in the condition where they have not sufficient food, and clothing, and shelter to keep then in a state of physical and mental efficiency. And the sad part of it is that large additional numbers,—numbers most appalling for such a country as this, are each year, and through no fault of their own, dropping into this same condition.

"We have gradually allowed to be built around us a social and economic system which yearly drives vast numbers of hitherto fairly well-to-do, strong, honest, earnest, willing and admirable men with their families into

the condition of poverty, and under its weary, endeavor-strangling influences many of these in time, hoping against hope, struggling to the last moment in their semi-incapacitated and pathetic manner to keep out of it, are forced to seek or to accept public or private charity, and thus sink into the pauper class.

"The public and private charities cost the country during the past year as nearly as can be *conservatively* arrived at, over \$200,000,000."

This work is a very important addition to the rapidly growing literature of social progress that is emanating from our younger men of clear mental vision, of heart and of conscience. Professor Frank Parsons, Frederic C. Howe, David Graham Phillips, Henry George, Jr., Robert Hunter, John Spargo and Ralph Waldo Trine are but a few names in a coterie of earnest and able writers who are doing yeoman's service in the cause of justice, human advancement and true democracy.

Behold, the Christ! In Every One. An Epic of the New Theism, or inner meaning of the teachings of the Master. By Celestia Root Lang. Cloth. Pp. 128. Price, \$1.00. Paper, 50 cents. Address, A. C. McClurg & Company, Chicago, Illinois. Parts I., II., III. and IV. in the December, January, February and March numbers of *The Divine Life*, 4109 Vincennes avenue, Chicago.

Mrs. LANG is already favorably known to many of the readers of *THE ARENA* by a former work, *Son of Man; or, the Sequel to Evolution*, which was published by the Arena Company some years since. The very titles of her books at once show that she is no ordinary or superficial thinker. They indicate depth, spiritual insight and originality. But while independent of well-worn ruts, our author is no inconsiderate iconoclast. Her spirit and philosophy show a fresh blossoming of truth, thoroughly constructive, and no demonstrable values of the past are disparaged. No structure is removed unless a finer and more symmetrical one is erected in its place.

The light of the new time seeks out its most fitting reflectors. Its exponents are subtly selected by a divination which is almost unerring. We may imagine Truth as almost impatient to find expression. Its inspirational quality illumines and sets apart certain souls who intuitively grasp its message and are ad-

justed and equipped for its interpretation. All signs indicate a "Dispensation of the Spirit" near at hand, and the office of the seer is no less normal now than in the ancient time. In this book, no new promulgation of dogma or fine-spun theology is promised, but rather an unveiling of divine reality. The story of vital truth is told simply but profoundly.

The trend of present thought is from the cold and distant objective toward the genial and native subjective, from mere facts toward their spirit and meaning, from analysis in the direction of synthesis, in short, from the without to the within. The Bible, itself, is not so much a sacred history and code, as a symbolic soul-picture of what is unrolling before and within us. Its highest use lies in a mirror-like revelation of man to himself.

This Epic is written in the form of rhythmic prose in lines of ten measures each. The "new theism" as presented by Mrs. Lang is dramatic in temperament, the action and interaction upon the stage being between what is higher and lower in man. It is arranged as a conversation and the argument runs between two supposed personages. One, termed "The Blessed One," represents the higher Self and the other named Alindah personifies the awakened human consciousness. Alindah occupies the position of learner or disciple. The relation is superbly expressed by Emerson, "I the imperfect adore my own Perfect." Observe, *my own* Perfect. The divine Self, though not commonly recognized, is the more real of the two. Says Mrs. Lang: "Attain the Self and you will behold the Christ." The honor claimed for the Guru or Master, as the divine Self, is very great. In the Oriental systems it is put upon the deific level. To the Western ear the indwelling God might be a more rational term, bearing in mind that he is One who can give and receive communications. The conscious union of the incarnate Christ with the Self constitutes attained immortality. In familiar terms it involves an intimate acquaintance between the consciousness and the "divine image or likeness" in the background of the soul, and in due season complete oneness.

No one should infer from this somewhat mystical outline that the Epic is a work of fancy or that it is quarried from the imagination. Not so. Rather it brings out basic and even scientific spiritual principles toward which the consensus of the best thought is now

rapidly converging. A friend told Mrs. Lang that her book was out twenty-five years too soon. But what is that period to the Eternal Now? At this opening of the twentieth century the ripening process is unprecedentedly rapid. Science is becoming religious and religion scientific. A sample of the dramatic argument within the soul may be of interest:

Alindah spoke.

"Thou hast been with me always; I call Thee
My own, for Thou hast never left me.
Thou must be a *part of me*, and I
A part of Thee, my Higher Self Thou art.
To me the One altogether lovely!
The best of Beings, the mystic One!
Thou revealest Thyself to me alone."

The Blessed One.

"To those in union with the soul supreme,
There is no death, or birth; the soul has doffed
Its mortal coil, and donned immortal robes.
Invisible to mortals here below,
Save to such as have themselves attained.
Thus the mystic Christ dwells unobserved
Protected by this divine illusion,
That the soul in man may be perfected."

And again:

Alindah.

"Why is Jesus called The Light of the World?"

The Blessed One.

"The Light of the World cannot be Jesus,
But the Christ, who is all-pervading.
'T is thine the inner meaning to unveil
Of the teachings of Jesus, now hidden
In parable, and in cypher, beneath
The ecclesiasticism of ages.
To unveil the face of the true sun,
As the light of all things luminous."

Alindah.

"God, my God, Thou art within my soul;
I knew it not. I thank Thee Soul Supreme!
That Thou hast thus revealed Thyself to me.
Three in One, my soul, the Christ and the Father."

In the briefest terms, Mrs. Lang's philosophy—she would rather call it experimental knowledge—would seem to be: "I have no creed, but Love is the reality." The indwelling God is the higher complement of the soul—the real Self. Consciousness must be educated to feel this, not as duality but as One. Reincarnation is a fundamental principle, and the Masters, mystics, seers and sages are those who have developed the higher faculties of the soul in past lives. Man, though seemingly but an atom of the Whole is a spark of the divine and has dynamic creative power. Soul builds body and is not its product. The divinity of man is the coming inspiration.

It seems proper to mention in this connec-

tion that Mrs. Lang publishes a monthly magazine called *The Divine Life*, at \$1.00 per year, at 4109 Vincennes avenue, Chicago.

HENRY WOOD.

Constructive Democracy. The Economics of a Square Deal. By William E. Smythe. Cloth. Pp. 460. New York: The Macmillan Company.

IT SEEMS a little strange that a work which on the whole is so rational, so scholarly and so fair, should, in treating of constructive democracy, fail to emphasize the necessity of a true basis for democracy, namely the power of initiative and referendum. This power is the one great essential to secure the permanency of democratic institutions, and without this foundation any superstructure is liable to fall. Even Socialism through an oligarchy or even through party-rule, might degenerate into an intolerable despotism.

On his title page the author quotes the familiar saying of DeTocqueville that "the remedy for the evils of democracy is more democracy." He evidently understands this principle and has perhaps taken for granted that it is to be assumed by his readers as the foundation of his constructive programme.

With this assumption the treatment of the general theme is admirable. He gives the true definition of Socialism, commends its ethics, and with a stroke does away with the chief objections to it. But he thinks the time is not yet ripe for the complete Socialistic order. He says: "Socialism is true seed of future institutions. It does not follow that it is ripe for the harvest." Again he declares: "Capitalism and the wage system have by no means ground their grist. Monopoly is well begun and rapidly extending, but it is very far from having reached its full development."

There are immediate and pressing problems that must be solved without waiting for Socialism. Among these are the questions of monopoly, political corruption, the relation of capital and labor, and the "surplus" element in our industrial life. These questions must be met now.

Mr. Smythe declares the railway system to be the overshadowing monopoly in the United States. "It offers the best field for the study of plans which, beginning with scientific regulation, look frankly to government ownership as the condition which will be ultimately desirable."

But to do justice to this author's opinions would be to quote the book in full. Many will not agree with him, but the facts and statistics which he gives, the frankness with which he conducts the discussion, together with the weight of his arguments are all valuable features in the settlement of problems as grave as ever confronted the life of a nation.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

The Old Darnman. By Charles L. Goodell. Cloth. Pp. 63. Price, 40 cents net. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

THIS tender and pathetic story of *The Old Darnman* is based on the life history of a character who was well known to New Englanders a half century ago. In his preface the author gives the following version of the legend written by Miss Ellen Larned, the historian of Windham county, Connecticut:

"Many years ago a weird figure was often seen hurrying along the roads and byways of Windham county, Connecticut, spectral and wan, with bent form and long white hair, heedless of passers-by or curious query; pausing only at some accustomed farmhouse for needle and thread to darn his much-worn suit, and for food and a night's lodging. To the present generation this figure may seem as visionary and mythical as the 'Wandering Jew,' 'Flying Dutchman' and 'Headless Horseman' of tradition, but there are many now living who knew him as a veritable personage, who can recall vividly to remembrance the 'Old Darned Man' and the story of his wanderings. According to popular belief, he heard of the death of his plighted bride just as he had arrayed himself in wedding garments and, unbalanced by the shock, passed the remainder of his life in search for the lost one and repairing the garment, darning and redarning till not one thread was left of the original fabric."

Mr. Goodell has collected all the available facts about this unique character, and with them as a basis he has written a charming but very sad little story, which is of value, however, as recording in permanent form the history of one who was a familiar figure to many New Englanders of an earlier generation.

AMY C. RICH.

Success Nuggets. By Orison Swett Marden. Cloth. Pp. 60. Price, 75 cents net. Limp

leather, \$1.25 net. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Company.

IN THIS little volume Mr. Marden has given to the world one of his most valuable productions. So far as putting wisdom in condensed and comprehensible form is concerned, he is the Franklin of the age. Thirty-five topics are treated in these sixty pages with astonishing fullness and clearness. This is due to the unique method employed. For example, under the title "Why He Did Not Win Out," we find these terse statements:

"He had low ideals."

"He did not dare to take chances."

"He had too many irons in the fire."

"He was never a whole man at anything."

"He thought a good business should run itself."

One page is entitled "What the World Wants," and the text states in short lines the different kinds of men who come under this classification: "Men who cannot be bought; men who are larger than their business; men who will be as honest in small things as in great things; men who are willing to sacrifice private interests for the public good; men who will not say they do it 'because everybody else does it,'" and so forth.

The book deserves a wide circulation.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

General Sociology. By Albion W. Small. Cloth. Pp. 740. Price, \$4.00 net. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

PROFESSOR SMALL claims to give in this volume an exposition of the main development in sociological theory from Spencer to Ratzenhofer. He takes a broad view and makes requisition on all possible sociological data. He draws few conclusions but contents himself for the most part with presenting facts and relations. He does, however, say, in contradiction of socialist writers, that our American problem is not that of reconstructing institutions. "It is the problem of the spirit which we shall show in working the institutions that we have."

Near the end of his seven-hundred-and-forty-page volume the learned professor truthfully says: "One cannot have made the foregoing argument in ignorance that to most minds it must seem a mere churning of words."

With this suggestive characterization of his book by the author himself we let the matter rest.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

The Tenting of the Tillicums. By Herbert Bashford. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 193. Price, 75 cents. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Company.

THIS is a spirited, well-written story of the experiences of four boys camping on a wild portion of Puget Sound. The lads spend their vacation in a tent and devote much of their time to hunting and fishing. There are several thrilling experiences with big game, in which the boys sometimes find themselves in perilous positions. They also catch a criminal and secure a four-hundred-dollar reward.

The criticism which we have to make of the book is that it tends to foster the killing spirit in the young. The fishing for sport and the killing of game largely for the joy the hunter feels, we are convinced is something that should not be stimulated in the young. We are savage enough, God knows, without fostering a love for the taking of life. Were it not for this fault, the story would be an admirable tale for boys of from ten to fourteen years of age.

Animal Serials. Collected Drawings by E. Warde Blaisdell. Cloth. Pp. 210. Price, \$1.00 net. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Company.

A UNIQUE and mirth-provoking collection of doll drawings representing animals and expressing the foibles, fancies, weaknesses and conceits that are so noticeable in human beings whom we meet at every turn. There are in some instances brief comments, and the satire in word and in the artist's pencil is often very apt and telling.

BOOK NOTES.

A HALF dozen small gift-books, all of them published by T. Y. Crowell & Company of New York, of not enough importance to demand separate treatment, and yet worthy of mention, are on the reviewer's table. These books consist for the most part of single sermons, essays or lectures, and are neatly bound in blue or white and gold. With their large type, heavy paper and wide margins, some of them scarcely present reading matter enough

to be worth their price, thirty and seventy-five cents, and yet they are not without value and money could easily be spent in a manner less profitable than in the purchase of these volumes.

Among these books is *The World's Christmas Tree*, by the Rev. Charles E. Jefferson of New York. "The World's Christmas Tree," as Dr. Jefferson sees it, is the tree of Opportunity. Each person is privileged to hang something upon it for the benefit of mankind. There lives not a man anywhere on earth too poor to put something upon it.

"What the world needs is faith and hope and love, justice and sympathy and temperance, conscience and truth and courage, patience and fidelity and kindness. These are the things which have been needed from the beginning, and they were never more needed than just now."

Another of these publications is entitled *Does God Comfort?* written by "One who has greatly needed to know," and dedicated "to all who deeply need to know that God can comfort." This is a tender little book of faith and trust and doubtless contains a message for many broken hearts. It has more than twice as much reading-matter as Dr. Jefferson's book.

Great Riches, by Charles W. Eliot, President of Harvard University, is an attempt to do justice to men of wealth. The author tells of many ways in which wealth can be properly used to bless mankind and at the same time bring the highest enjoyment to the owner. The tone is optimistic.

"It is quite unnecessary," he says, "to feel alarm about the rise of a permanent class of very rich people. To transmit great estates is hard. They get divided or dispersed. . . . With rarest exceptions the rich men of to-day are not the sons of the rich men of thirty years ago, but are new men. It will be the same thirty years hence."

With this last sentence we cannot agree. If rich men continue to influence legislation in the next thirty years as they have in the past thirty, there will be a permanent class of the wealthy, caste will become established, and the poor will continue poor forever. President Eliot may be a great executive officer, but we cannot count him among great and true thinkers.

The Challenge of the Spirit, by Ellis A. Ford,

is one of the smallest and yet one of the most helpful of the series. It is a frank confession of human experiences and limitations and at the same time contains an uplifting power that is quite unusual. Its price is only 30 cents.

The Personality of God, by Lyman Abbott, D.D., is based upon a sermon delivered at Harvard University about two years ago. The sermon caused a great deal of discussion at the time and was considered very radical, though as a matter of fact it was simply an

embodiment of views often expressed by the author and is a general expression of conceptions of God, now held by nearly all advanced theologians. Dr. Abbott is a great rhetorician and at times a good logician.

Christmas Making, by J. R. Miller, closes our list. This is a good, optimistic little book, but with nothing very striking about it, either in contents or style.

Four of these books belong to the "What is Worth While" series.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

PROFESSOR HENDERSON'S PAPER ON OSCAR WILDE: Since the appearance of *De Profundis* much space has been given in leading English reviews and periodicals to the writings of OSCAR WILDE, and in some instances to estimates of the man. Some of the criticisms have been morbid, others far too sweeping to be just or judicial, while the recent appearance of Mr. WILDE's "Salome" in New York, set to masterful music by RICHARD STRAUSS, has again raised a storm of controversy on this side of the Atlantic in regard not only to the play, but also in regard to WILDE and his work. It is very timely and fitting, therefore, that a criticism of the writings and an estimate of OSCAR WILDE should be given by one amply fitted by wide reading, by the possession of a broad mental vision and the judicial temper to write of this much-discussed man and his work, for our readers. For in Professor HENDERSON's extremely valuable contribution we have a criticism that in our judgment is the most sane, wholesome, judicial and comprehensive estimate that has appeared in any magazine of opinion. It is one of the best things Professor HENDERSON has written, and that is saying much.

The Growth of the Slum in Our Cities: In this issue we present another timely paper from the pen of ELINOR H. SROY. It deals with one of the gravest problems that confronts our Western civilization—a problem that cannot be longer ignored if the nation is to live worthily. The slums of our cities are one of the most sinister menaces to national health and social progress and one of the greatest scandals of modern civilization. No true man or woman can be indifferent to this question. It is the duty of all earnest people to use their influence for the advancement of social reform that will render inexcusable the presence of the slums in any city in the great Republic.

A Pen-Picture of Jamaica: In Mr. BUCKMAN's *Jamaica, the Fair and Unfortunate* we have a very

timely contribution, as the eyes of the civilized world have been of late centered upon this wonderful but fated island on account of the terrible earthquake which has recently visited Kingston. It is difficult to see how much good can come out of war, earthquakes, hurricanes or other influences that devastate the earth and destroy life, but it is a fact worthy of note that the world's education is always greatly stimulated when these great catastrophes occur. Then all throughout the civilized world old and young are found reading about the afflicted land that has been the theater of the calamity or conflict. Maps are consulted, books dealing with the country are eagerly read, as well as the contemporary press, and the general education of society is greatly stimulated. Mr. BUCKMAN, having visited Jamaica a year ago, gives a charming pen-picture of this island, with a brief but interesting retrospective summary of historical happenings which are of general interest. The pictures published were all taken by Mr. BUCKMAN on the visit which he describes.

The State-Owned Railways of Germany: In this number Professor PARSONS gives the concluding part of his comprehensive and authoritative paper on Germany's experience with her railways. Like the discussion of the Swiss railways and Part One of *The Railway Experience of Germany*, this paper is as informing as it is lucid and fascinating. These discussions also possess the advantage of having been prepared by a careful economist who after having given years to the study of the railways of the New World has personally visited Europe on two occasions, gaining his facts at first hand. We repeat what we have said several times before, the railway question is one of the great burning issues of the hour—an issue that is destined more and more to engross the attention of the public as the months pass, and this series of papers is by far the most important series of magazine articles that are appearing on the question.

Mr. Bryan's Mistake: We desire to call the special attention of all reformers, and especially of progressive Democrats, to Mr. LINTON SATTERTHWAITE's paper in this issue. The author, who is one of our valued associate editors, is a prominent and able lawyer, a profoundly thoughtful man and a high-minded patriot whose first interest is the just rights, the happiness, prosperity and development of all the people. This paper contains much food for serious reflection.

Mr. Bridgman on the Victims of Our Militant Christians: Few men in America have done so much good work in our leading American magazines and reviews for the cause of universal peace as has Mr. R. L. BRIDGMAN. He is a Christian Christian rather than a Cæsarian Christian. He sees and feels the hideous mockery not to say blasphemy of the claims of those who advocate wars of aggression in the interest of the propaganda of the gospel of the Prince of Peace. He is too clear a thinker and too just a man not to see through the hollow sophistry of all the pitiful apologies made for conquest of the weak by force of arms in the name of Christianity and civilization. In a more civilized age and a day when America shall honor true statesmanship and place broad-visioned, fundamentally just and humane men in positions of trust, men will look back with the same feeling of amazement and disgust at the savagery of our imperialistic and militant Christianity that we feel for the men of the ages that justified the horrors of the Inquisition, the execution of men and boys for stealing food, and the traffic in human beings as legitimate barter.

The Present Status of Our Civil Service: In this issue we present the closing paper on the Civil Service by FRANK VROOMAN. It is a graphic and able summary of the condition of our civil service at the present time and as such is a most important contribution to the vital discussions of the hour.

Ernest Crosby: In our sketch of ERNEST CROSBY we have devoted much space to selections from his writings. We were compelled to abridge our first draft of the story of his fine life in order to do this, but we felt that perhaps the vital message which he strove so earnestly to impress on the dormant conscience of America would gain new force if presented at this time when the leader has so lately left the scenes of his labors.

Why I Am Not a Socialist: In our January issue we presented a paper from Mr. ELLIS O. JONES, formerly managing editor of the *Columbus Press-Post*, on *Why I Am a Socialist*. In this issue we give a paper entitled *Why I Am Not a Socialist*, prepared by another citizen of Columbus by the name of JONES. We hope in our next issue to be able to publish a thoughtful paper by Dr. J. O. BENTALL, Ph.D., a prominent Baptist clergyman who has recently embraced Christian Socialism. This paper will be entitled *Why I Am a Christian Socialist*.

Bolton Hall's Parable: We call the special attention of our readers to Mr. BOLTON HALL's brief but very suggestive little parable, as it carries the lesson of lessons for all to learn. No writer in America to-

day is doing better work along the line of modern parables than is Mr. HALL, and our readers will learn with pleasure that THE ARENA is to publish during the coming months several of these brief and pointed parables.

Joaquin Miller's New Problem Poem: Much interest has been awakened in the forthcoming volume by the poet of the Sierras. A problem poem with love after marriage as the master-motive is sure to attract general attention from one who possesses so rich a poetic imagination as does JOAQUIN MILLER. Hence the poet's discussion of the poem as given in this issue is specially timely. We notice that the *Century Magazine* as well as THE ARENA for February contains a full-page portrait of Mr. MILLER, he having contributions in both publications.

Some Aspects of Poe's Poetry: In this issue of THE ARENA, Mr. H. HOLLAND CARTER gives our readers a genuine literary treat in his charming analysis of certain phases of the poetry of that brilliant and wayward child of genius EDGAR ALLEN POE. Mr. CARTER's contribution is distinctly helpful in that in it we see, despite his faults, POE's most nearly normal side—as distinguished from the work of so many of Poe's critics who force us to see the abnormal to such a degree as to sometimes make one wonder if there was a normal side.

Our Story: We are confident that our readers will enjoy the fascinating and unique short story, *The Sea-Child*, by ALMENA B. WILLIAMS. As a tale it is very much out of the ordinary, and it is admirably told. Unless we are very much mistaken, Miss WILLIAMS has a brilliant future before her in her chosen field of work.

To Friends of Public-Ownership of Public Utilities: THE ARENA desires to give the fullest possible digest of all news relating to public-ownership of public utilities. Professor FRANK PARSONS is of course in touch with the great movements at most points. Our clippings and our exchanges as well as our corps of correspondents also furnish us with much material; but in order to make this department of Public-Ownership of Public Utilities, which is under the special editorship of Professor PARSONS, as full and complete as possible, we urge all our friends in every city and community where the battle is being fought for public-ownership, to report to Professor FRANK PARSONS, care of THE ARENA, No. 5 Park Square, Boston, Massachusetts.

A Word to Our Exchanges and to Our Friends in General: We are continually receiving requests from newspapers for permission to use all or part of some of our editorials, book-studies or character sketches. Frequently our correspondents ask for the names of the authors of certain articles in the "Mirror of the Present" or the book-studies and character sketches. In reply to such questions we wish to state, first, that exchanges are at liberty to quote all or part of any article that appears in the "Mirror of the Present," any book-study or editorial sketch in the magazine, always provided they give THE ARENA full credit for the quotations. The editor of THE ARENA is the author of all the unsigned articles appearing in this magazine, whether

as editorial sketches, book-studies or reviews, or the "Mirror of the Present." All articles by associate editors or staff correspondents which appear as editorials, book reviews, or otherwise, or in the body of the magazine, are signed. The editor of THE ARENA makes it an invariable rule to insist that all contributors have the credit for the work they do. When such matter is quoted by other publications, the author's name as well as that of THE ARENA should be given.

A Letter from Professor Noa: We have received the following letter from Professor FREDERIC M. NOA, which we take pleasure in publishing:

My dear Mr. FLOWER:

Referring to my recent contribution on the career of the late Mr. WILLIAM WHEELWRIGHT, of Newburyport, Massachusetts, in South America, it may interest your readers to learn that I have received a communication from the veteran mariner Captain WILLIAM W. BATES, formerly of Boston, but now in Denver, Colorado, in which he calls my attention to what he claims is a serious error, in the second part, January, 1907, ARENA, page 34, line 29, where I state that: "*Soon a rival appeared in the celebrated Henry Meigs, who had built such wonderful railways in the loftiest Peruvian Andes, according to plans already elaborated by Wheelwright.*" The words in italics, Captain BATES declares, express what is a serious error, which he considers, in justice to his own brother, who made the plans, accepted by the Government of Peru, for the building of the railways of that country, ought to be corrected. The facts of the case are as follows: *Benjamin F. Bates*, a younger brother of Captain BATES, possessed such influence with the Peruvian government that he prevailed upon the authorities to engage the people in railroad building instead of permitting them to indulge in revolutions. In order to finance the undertaking, he suggested the bonding of the Guano Islands, which was done. Unfortunately, he died of yellow fever on the day appointed for signing the contract for building the Arequipa railroad for \$7,000,000. It was then that the Peruvian authorities sent for MEIGS, as the only contractor in sight. He went to Lima and asked \$10,000,000 for what Mr. BATES would have taken for \$7,000,000.

According to the testimony of Captain BATES, Mr. WHEELWRIGHT was never concerned in the railroads of Peru. On the other hand, BENJAMIN F. BATES had his own engineers survey, at his own cost, some fifteen or sixteen routes, and took very active and effective measures to interest the presi-

dent and legislators of Peru in his enterprises. He was a man of most engaging personality, popular in society, spoke Spanish (a most rare accomplishment for an American) like a native, and when he died, in 1868, the papers of Peru were full of lamentations.

Mr. BATES was engaged in many improvements in various parts of South America. He helped to build the Panama railroad, and was on that work from the first pile-driving at Colon, and was afterwards third officer, on the completed line, at \$3,000, in the year 1849. He soon after built a government mole at Valparaiso, and whilst in Chile executed contracts on the Santiago railway. It was he who gave a sub-contract to MEIGS, and later lent him the money wherewith to start as a contractor in building a railroad southward from Santiago. After that, Mr. BATES went to Bolivia and contracted with that government to build a railway inland from its only seaport. Much of the road was executed, when the war of 1866 with Spain interrupted the work, but the Bolivian authorities honorably paid for the portion already completed.

MEIGS left the United States and fled a fugitive from justice, from California, and, by a strange streak of luck, owing to the untimely death of Mr. BATES, rose to such fame in South America that, on the occasion of Secretary ROOT's visit to Buenos Aires, a special picture-card (of 500,000 copies) was freely distributed, extolling the achievements of Mr. MEIGS as well as those of Mr. WHEELWRIGHT.

In sending this communication, in order that justice and honor may be done to a distinguished American to whom both are due, it is only just to myself to state that the serious error pointed out by Captain BATES is really not mine, but that of Dr. ALBERDI, WHEELWRIGHT's South American biographer and friend, the framer of the modern free constitution which the Argentine Republic now enjoys, and one of the greatest statesmen of Latin America. It is probable that the late Dr. ALBERDI was misled by having the name and reputation of HENRY MEIGS brought prominently to his attention, and, as distances are tremendous in South American countries, he may be pardoned for not having learned of the achievements of Mr. BENJAMIN F. BATES in Peru.

I have labored under tremendous difficulties in preparing my contribution on the career of Mr. WHEELWRIGHT in South America, and it has been an extremely hard matter to verify everything; hence, I must ask the indulgence of any critics for any minor errors which have unintentionally crept in.

Ever sincerely your friend,

FREDERIC M. NOA.



REV. ALGERNON SIDNEY CRAPSEY

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."—HEINE.*

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THE HISTORICAL ASPECT OF THE VIRGIN BIRTH.

BY REV. ALGERNON S. CRAPSEY.

THE CAREFUL reader of that portion of Christian literature which follows immediately upon the New Testament cannot help remarking a very significant fact. Let him read the Epistles of Clement, the Pastor of Hermas, the Epistle to Diognetus, and the other writings contained in the volume known as The Apostolic Fathers, and he will be perplexed to find that in all these writings there is not a mention of the name of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the mother of God, until he reaches the end of the volume and finds a solitary reference to Mary in the Epistles of St. Ignatius.

Any one imbued with the catholic conception of the origin of Christ cannot fail to be perplexed by this failure to find any reference to His supernatural origin in these writers who lived so near to His own time. It may be said, and it has been said, that it did not lie within the purpose of these writers to dwell upon the fact of the Lord's miraculous conception and birth. In a measure this is true. One can explain the silence of the Epistles of Clement by the statement that Clement was not dealing at all with the subject of the Lord's origin; but this explanation is not sufficient to account

for the silence of other writers in the same series. There are two, especially, upon whom it was really incumbent that they should make mention of this fact, if it were a fact, in order to deal honestly with their readers.

The most precious fragment of Christian literature which has come down to us from the period immediately following upon that of the New Testament writings is the Epistle to Diognetus. The writer of this letter is seeking to give his friend information concerning the belief and the manner of life of the Christian community. He is an educated man, well read in the philosophy of his time, wholly capable of comprehending the full import of the teachings of his own religion and comparing them with the doctrines prevailing in the outside world. The whole purpose of this writing is, as I have said, to inform his friend. It was therefore necessary that he should give a full account of what was believed by his coreligionists and himself, and he asserts that he does so. He treats fully of the doctrine of Christ as the revelation of God. He is well acquainted with the conception of the Logos and treats of that with some fullness. But nowhere

does he make the slightest allusion to or give any intimation of a miraculous origin for the physical nature of Christ. The name of the mother of God does not occur in his letter. This silence cannot be the silence of prudence. There was no reason why the story of the birth of Jesus as it came to be received later should be suppressed. There was every reason for telling it. If the very body of Jesus were a direct and divine creation, it would be an additional argument to prove His divine nature and His divine mission. And yet this careful writer and thinker makes no mention of it at all. We are forced to the conclusion that he either did not know or did not believe the stories of the prenatal history of Jesus which came to be prevalent in the Christian Church.

Turning from this writer to one belonging to an entirely different school, we find the same absence of reference in that most popular work at the time of its publication, the *Pastor of Hermas*. The *Epistle to Diognetus* represents and embodies the sober sense of the early Christian community. The *Pastor of Hermas* is the product of the more irrational enthusiastic spirit that prevailed at the time. It is filled with references to the coming of Jesus, to the millennium, and is wild with excitement and extravagant in the use of allegory and imagery. It is just such a book in which you would expect to find a full account of the miraculous creation of Jesus in the bosom of the Blessed Mother. It is, indeed, a forerunner of such stories; but in this book you find no allusion, direct or indirect, to the mother of Jesus and no account whatever of His birth in Bethlehem, nor to any of the narratives that cluster round that birth in our present Gospels. We are therefore forced to the conclusion again that these stories were not current among the believers at the time that the *Pastor of Hermas* was written. It is not until we reach the end of the period and come to the second or third decade of the second century that we begin to hear

tell of the coming of an angel to announce to a virgin that she, the virgin, shall conceive and bear a son.

Now when once this state of affairs has become a part of our intellectual life, we begin to inquire concerning the origin of the stories of the Infancy and whether we have in those stories the history of an actual occurrence.

Reading backward from the post-Apostolic writings to the Apostolic writings themselves, we are surprised to find the same policy of suppression prevailing in the one period as in the other. The *Book of the Revelation of St. John the Divine*, which would lend itself most readily to such accounts of the physical origin of Jesus as we have in the Infancy stories, makes no mention of them or allusion to them. It would seem impossible that such a book should not contain such stories if they were extant at the time of its writing. We find a like reticence in the letters of John, of Peter and of Paul. It does not matter whether these epistles are the genuine product of the minds to which they are assigned. Whether they be so or not, they are evidences to the belief of the writers of these documents and to the belief of the church at the time these documents were received as of Apostolic authority and origin. That they should contain no reference whatever to any supernatural physical origin of the Lord and Master of Christian thought and life seems to be conclusive evidence that such supernatural physical origin was not a part of the equipment of the Christian community at the time that these letters were written and became current. Not only do they fail to mention the fact of supernatural origin, but they assert the contrary.

The Epistles of Paul assign to Jesus the highest possible place in the spiritual economy of the universe. He is the archetypal man, the man who as Ideal dwelt from all eternity in the very being of God; and yet St. Paul assigns to this man a human origin. He is not simply the product of Divine grace, but He is

also the product of a human seed. Paul was a master of language and a gifted thinker, and when he used, as he did again and again, the term "seed" in reference to the physical origin of Jesus, he clearly taught that the masculine element as well as the feminine was active in the human origin and fleshly development of the physical nature of Jesus. He says again and again, "He is of the seed of David, according to the flesh," and he claims for Jesus the Messiahship on that ground. He is the Christ because He is the seed of David. In this St. Paul follows teaching earlier than his own. His doctrine of the Christ was not original; it was derived from the Primitive Church. He is here at one with Peter.

Peter, who more than any other is the founder of historical Christianity and who was in close personal relation with Jesus, seems to have had no knowledge whatever that Jesus was other than he seemed to be—a man like himself. Jesus was his spiritual Lord and Master and came to be for him the Christ or Messiah of God, because he saw in Jesus those qualities which commended themselves to him as being such qualities as one would look for in the chosen servant of God. He never, to our knowledge, refers at all to any other than a natural origin for his Master. It is true that we have no direct testimony coming from the chief of the Apostles, unless it be the first Epistle that goes by his name, and that would have no particular bearing upon the subject under consideration, because, as in the Epistles of Clement, he was not called, by the nature of the discussion, to make direct reference to the matter of the Lord's birth. But we have Christian literature that is assigned by tradition to Petrine influence, if not the direct work of the Apostle himself, and which undoubtedly reflects the thought of those who were influenced by the teaching of Simon son of Jonas.

The Gospel of Mark is said to have been written for the purpose of preserv-

ing to the Church the tradition which was embodied in the teachings of Peter. Whether it does this or not, it certainly contains the earliest form of Christian teaching and Christian belief concerning the Master. It is therefore of great evidential value in determining the question as to what was the notion of those who were nearest to the event, of the event itself. Now it is known to every reader of this Gospel that it does not contain the stories of the Infancy. It begins the history of Jesus with the Baptism. It not only implies, it asserts, that He was the son of the carpenter of Nazareth. It speaks naturally of His mother and His brothers and sisters. It assigns no place of distinction to the mother. As we shall see a little later, on the contrary, it gives her an unenviable place in Christian history. The silence of Mark cannot be set aside by saying that he was not called upon to preserve for the Christian Church the full history of the Lord. It was his bounden duty as a chronicler such as he set out to be, to give to the Christian community for which he was writing, all the knowledge of the great Master that he possessed. He either, then, did not know the stories which are recorded in other Gospels, or else he rejected them as not having any warrant in fact.

The book of the Acts of the Apostles also reveals the mind of Peter. In the first chapters of the book Peter is the central figure, does the most of the talking, and in urging upon his hearers the fact that Jesus is the promised Christ, he bases his argument upon the further fact that Jesus is the son of David; and if it be not true that Jesus was descended in the male line, according to Hebrew custom, from the son of Jesse, all the Pentecostal reasoning of Peter falls to the ground. This again is evidence that cannot be controverted, that in that early period, which is held to be the period of special inspiration, the preacher of Christianity did not consider it necessary to base the Divine mission of Jesus upon any other ground than His natural de-

scent, through the male line, from His father David.

Now, turning away from Peter and Paul, who are in accord in thus claiming for Jesus Davidic descent as a necessary qualification for the Messianic office, to John, known in history as the Beloved Disciple, we find that he takes a somewhat different view. It is true, again, that we have no direct word from John himself bearing upon the question, because the Gospel that goes by his name is undoubtedly not of his authorship. It was inspired by him, it contains the tradition which had its origin in him, but it is not of his workmanship. It, however, does not lose on this account its evidential value. It does tell us what was the general conception of Jesus held by the Asiatic churches at the time that this writing came into vogue, and also the general opinion during the time that the Johannean tradition was taking form. We do not need to consider the Epistles of John, because they have no distinct bearing upon the matter in dispute. The Gospel of John, however, is perhaps the most important of all the documents which we possess in relation to the doctrine of the miraculous birth of Jesus. This Gospel is not historical; it is theological in its character. It is not the history of Christ; it is an interpretation of Christ. It makes history altogether subordinate to doctrinal and philosophical considerations. It sees in Jesus the Greek Logos, the Divine Word, that mediates between the absolute God and conditioned humanity. Jesus, however, in this Gospel, is an historical character, not a mere theological abstraction or philosophical conception. He was born, He lived, and He died. Notwithstanding His transcendental nature, He had a human history. The history is, indeed, subordinated to unhistoric conceptions and conditions, but in spite of this, the history is a real history, and the Gospel of John coincides with the Gospel of Mark in beginning the history with the Baptism. Jesus is spoken of with per-

fect naturalness as Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph, and this not only once, but twice. And throughout the whole Fourth Gospel the Bethlehem tradition and the miraculous conception are utterly ignored. John takes the view of Mark, that the descent of the Holy Ghost at the Baptism was the occasion and the mode whereby Jesus became Christ, the Anointed of the Lord, and whereby He was gifted with the Divine Logos. However heretical and imperfect in the view of later theology this conception may be, no reader of the Gospel of John can fail to come to the conclusion that this was his thought and his belief. The Word which was of eternal import and of eternal life was not the birthright of Jesus, it was His peculiar gift, coming to Him through supernatural grace at the time of His baptism. Had the writer of the Fourth Gospel known the Infancy stories, he must have cast them aside as being wholly unnecessary for the development of his doctrine that Jesus was the Incarnation of the Word of God. Had he known them and considered them necessary, he would certainly have made use of them. A man of his genius would never have overlooked so important a contribution to his own theory and thought if he had knowledge of it or had considered it germane. We are therefore forced again to say that the silence of John cannot be put aside as irrelevant. It is not simply silence; it is contrary assertion. The writer of John did not hold that Jesus was of miraculous conception; he held that He came in the way of nature and that Joseph was His father.

Now if we take up the two remaining documents that have to do with the origin of Christ, the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, we find in them a more complex problem. Any careful reader of either of these Gospels will see that in the body of the writings they coincide with Mark. They have so much in common with Mark that it is quite impossible to believe that they did not have Mark before them, or some anterior authority com-

mon to Matthew, Mark and Luke. The basis of the First and Third Gospels is the great common tradition. In those Gospels we find, with certain softening expression, the same declaration that Jesus is the son of the carpenter. No place of honor is assigned to Mary, His mother, but just the contrary. His brothers are spoken of naturally. It is clear, from the reading of the three Gospels together, that Jesus had no sympathy in His own household. If His mother knew of the fact of His supernatural origin, and if the Gospels give us anything like a true account of her attitude toward her Son, then her knowledge had no influence whatever upon her attitude. Whenever she comes upon the witness-stand to bear testimony, she always declares that her son was also the son of her husband, either by direct assertion or by implication. In the three Gospels we have the statement that Jesus Himself complained bitterly that a prophet is not without honor except in his own house, among his own kin and in his own city. There is a melancholy bitterness in this that proves that it was a true utterance of the great Master. He felt most keenly that lack of appreciation which is always the lot of an extraordinary man born in the midst of ordinary people. The commonplace cannot comprehend the unusual, and therefore the unusual always suffers from the coldness and hostility of the commonplace. Jesus the spiritual genius, the man to whom spiritual truth was an intuition, could find no sympathy among those who were simply the children of the written law, and His complaint is as natural as it is true, and it is historic evidence, the more conclusive because it is indirect, that the household of Jesus knew nothing of the wonders that in later times surrounded His birth and infancy. The mother herself seems altogether unconscious of any unwonted circumstance in connection with her son. She, together with His brothers and sisters, does not believe on Him when He takes up His great work of teaching and

saving the people. He had no sooner entered upon this work and attracted the attention of the world, than she, together with the rest of the family, looked upon Him as a madman and went out and sought to lay hold on Him and take Him back to the seclusion and safety of His home. We cannot ignore these facts without altogether discrediting the three Gospels as historic authority. Later Christian thought, to which Jesus was the very Son of God, would never have ascribed such sentiments to those who were nearest him. As soon as legend began to work, the mother of Jesus began to take a high place in the economy of Christian doctrine. To think of her as looking upon her Son as one who was mad and, as it were, possessed of a demon, would have been sacriligious to the later thought and imagination of the Christian world, as it is considered sacriligious today; but nevertheless it was a fact.

There is in the Gospel of Luke a fragment which has come down to us from the very earliest period, which evidently belongs to the first strata of Christian tradition, and which is really the only glimpse that has come to us of the history of Jesus prior to the Baptism. That is contained in the account of the journey to Jerusalem at the time that Jesus was twelve years old. The absence of all supernatural element in this account proves its early origin. Devout imagination was just then beginning to take hold of the life of Jesus as material for mythological and legendary creation. In this story all is natural. The parents of Jesus come with him to the Temple. The lad is at the opening of that period of human life when the soul becomes conscious of itself. He is full of that eagerness and freshness which the wonder of the world then inspires. The parents go through the ordinary forms required at the Passover feast, and go their way; but Jesus tarries behind in the Temple, eager to hear from the doctors some explanation of the Law and the Prophets; of the nature of God and

His relation to men, with which questions His soul is in a turmoil. His parents, missing Him and not finding Him among their kin-folk and acquaintances, turn back seeking Him, and at last find Him in the temple in the midst of the doctors, both hearing them and asking them questions. And His mother says to Him: "Son, why hast Thou thus dealt with us? Thy father and I have sought Thee sorrowing." In all this narrative the parents of Jesus are spoken of in the most natural manner, and the mother of Jesus speaks of Joseph as His father, without reserve or concealment. It is a far-fetched explanation to say that she at this time was keeping the family secret. Taken together with the other evidences that we find in the Gospel, of the relation of Jesus to His own household, we are compelled to the conviction that the family secret was a later invention and had no foundation in fact.

We have now to deal with those two documents preserved to us from primitive times, which deal directly with the origin and infancy of Jesus. These are the introductory chapters of Matthew and Luke. Let us deal with Luke first. Luke does not pretend to be an eye-witness; he simply gathers and arranges that which has been handed down by what he calls "eye-witnesses of the Word." As we have seen, the foundation of his Gospel is the common tradition. The introductory chapters are wholly his own. They give an account of what occurred prior to the conception and at the birth of Jesus. This account is highly poetical in its nature, is full of unhistorical matter and is plainly the creation, not of the faculty of observation, but of the faculty of imaginative thought or fancy. It begins with an account of the family of John, the forerunner of Jesus, and it ascribes to him a birth semi-miraculous. John, like Isaac, is the son of very old parents, who are past the time of life for breeding and the bearing of children. It is, then, the Holy Spirit of God who gives life to the seed of Zacharias and

power to Elizabeth to conceive; and the appearance of the angel to Zacharias and the consequent dumbness of the priest, and the after events connected with the birth of John, are equally legendary and poetical in their nature.

Let us at this present juncture call attention to the fact that Luke in his Infancy stories embodies four hymns, poetical creations second to none in religious literature. These are written in exactly the same style; they are adaptations of Hebrew psalmody and are conclusively the offspring of the same poetical genius. Yet Luke ascribes one of these to Zacharias, a very old man; another of these to Simeon, likewise an aged man; another to an angel just come down out of heaven, lighting on the earth; and another to Mary, a maiden of fifteen or sixteen years old. That there should have been at that time four lyric poets of such genius, one of which was an angel, prior to that time unacquainted with human speech, is so improbable that it cannot be held upon evidence no more conclusive than that which we have. The writer makes use of a liberty which at that time was unquestioned, of ascribing his own productions to his heroes and heroines. The message of the angel to the Virgin is clothed in the same poetical form. The purpose is to give to Jesus a more noble origin than that of John. Not only does the primeval Life Spirit quicken the seed of man, but it takes the place of that seed itself. This is a purely poetical conception and was used by the writer to satisfy the growing belief that Jesus, being greater than other men, must have been different in His origin.

In Luke's account Nazareth is the home of Joseph and Mary prior to the conception of Jesus; it has always been their home. In order to have Jesus born in Bethlehem, and so satisfy the Bethlehem tradition, "that thus it must be," Luke employs a machinery to bring Joseph and Mary down to Bethlehem. He predicates an enrollment of the whole Roman citizenship, decreed by Cæsar

Augustus, and he predicates a requirement that every Hebrew should be enrolled in the city in which his family originally lived. This enrollment requires that Joseph, who was of the house and lineage of David, should go to the city of David, his ancestor of some four or five hundred years before. Such a decree for the enrollment of the whole citizenship of the Roman world, and even for the more limited Hebrew world, is not sufficiently established as an historic fact to give it any weight. There was an enrollment some ten or twelve years later than this, in the Province of Syria, of which Judea was a part, but it was not required that the people should go to their ancestral home, but every man was enrolled where he lived. Therefore we cannot place any great value upon the Bethlehem story as it is reported to us by Luke.

The birth of Jesus, the song of the angels, the worship of the shepherds, the carrying of Jesus into the Temple, His recognition as the Christ by Simeon and Anna, are all peculiar to Luke, and they have this characteristic: The birth of Jesus was heralded as a joyful event. All was peaceful. There was no dread in the heart of anybody that this birth would excite the fear and anger of Herod. There was no disturbance in Jerusalem. The child Jesus was the center for the time being of such events as must have called attention to Him. All Jerusalem must have heard, if it had been true, of His recognition by the great prophet and priest. The shepherds must have made known the wonderful song from the angelic visitation. It could not have been difficult, if we had been dealing with history, for Herod and his court to have known just where and when Jesus was born. And the account in Luke allows for no other historic events than those which it records. It says that when they had accomplished all things according to the law, they returned to their own city, Nazareth. The poetical character of this document and its unhistorical

elements discredit it, in the absence of other proof, as a record of historical fact. The historical student naturally classes it with the legendary and mythological rather than with the historical literature of the world.

Turning from Luke to Matthew, we find an account upon a much lower plane. Luke is poetical; his contribution to Christian literature and Christian thought is of inestimable value. We shall sing the song of the angels, and the song of Simeon, and Mary's Magnificat, as long as time endures. While it is not historically true, it is so magnificently and splendidly spiritually true, that the spirit of man will find in these songs its best expression forever.

But Matthew is not poetic; it is dull prose. The introductory part of Matthew is so clearly the work of a different hand from that of the body of the Gospel, that we are forced to so hold it to be. It is imbedded with some violence into a document to which it has no organic relation. The birth story itself is, as we have said, on a very low plane. It becomes more physical and sensual. It is nearly related to those accounts of the intercourse of the gods with the daughters of men which are so frequent in heathen mythology. It does, indeed, make use of the term "Holy Ghost," but the Holy Ghost takes directly the place of the physical father, and all is wrapped in secrecy. A husband is perplexed, and the life of a virgin is brought into peril, because it was found necessary on the part of a divine being to violate the law of generation and to break in upon the sanctity of the marriage relation. All this is not only perplexing, it is shocking to the devout imagination. We ask naturally: Why this secrecy? Why, if it were necessary, should not Joseph have known beforehand, or why Joseph at all? The whole matter is based upon a belief in dreams and has about it the taint not only of the old pagan sensuality, but also of Oriental mysticism. The atmosphere that surrounds the birth is totally differ-

ent from that which envelopes the account of Luke. Not Nazareth, as in Luke, but Bethlehem is the natural home of Joseph and Mary prior to the event. Bethlehem has always been their home. It is the event that breaks it up. Oriental mysticism and Oriental influence are seen in the heralding of the Star and in the procession of the Magi. Not peace but war surrounds the cradle of Jesus. Jerusalem is stirred by the coming of the Magi and Herod fears. The Magi follow the Star, commune with the high priests and with Herod, and go their way. The foiled king in his insane fear decrees the death of the children of Bethlehem. To escape this death the parents of Jesus flee with Him into Egypt, and when they return, through fear again they turn aside from their old home in Bethlehem and go to sojourn in a strange city and a strange land.

In all these respects Luke and Matthew are mutually exclusive. If one account is true, the other cannot be. Matthew bases his account upon the ancient prophecy. These things were done that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the prophets. The miraculous birth is founded upon the prophecy of Isaiah, which reads, according to Matthew, "A virgin shall conceive"; but it is evident that there was no such thought in the prophet's mind. That has now become the commonplace of Scriptural knowledge and does not need elaboration. Nor do any other of the passages used in this document interpret rightly the prophecy which they quote to sustain their history. History has been adapted to prophecy; prophecy did not foretell the history. So the Matthew document as well as the Luke is so involved in historical improbability, so unsustained by any other authority, that it cannot of itself sustain the weight that is placed upon it. Having these documents alone as our direct evidence, we must at least bring in the verdict, "Not proven," and therefore must allow any one to hold that Jesus was born as we are born and was the child not only of

a human mother, but also of a human father.

Strange to say, the documents which contain the birth stories also embody the genealogies of Jesus, and these genealogies trace the origin of Jesus, according to the Hebrew method, through the male line; Matthew from Abraham to Joseph, Luke from Adam to Joseph. Now these genealogies are without significance if Joseph have no organic relation to Jesus. When they were compiled, it was without doubt the belief of the Christian community that Joseph begat Jesus, just as Abraham begat Isaac. When the later belief came in, there was a clumsy adaptation of each of these genealogies to the birth stories in which they were contained. Joseph was then spoken of, not as the one who begat Jesus, but as the husband of Mary of whom was born Jesus called Christ. That this is a later reading has long been the belief of scholars. This belief has now become certainty since the discovery of the Syriac manuscripts and other authorities, in which an older reading is found—in the Syriac especially—that Joseph begat Jesus; so that the genealogies bear witness to a belief current earlier than that of the birth stories.

We have not space in this article to go at length into the probable origin of the birth stories, but they certainly belong to a period not earlier than the end of the first decade of the second century. They did not obtain credence until the Christian religion had ceased to be in the keeping of the Hebrew and had passed over into the custody of the Greek. The birth stories are paralleled again and again in antiquity. The like events are related of the birth of Buddha, and all the heroes of the primeval world were the sons of the gods. It was a natural instinct on the part of Christians living in such a thought-world to claim for their great Hero an origin equally divine. Justin Martyr, who is the first writer to dwell at any length upon this matter of virgin origin, parallels it with the origin of Phœbus, the son of Apollo. Jesus is

reduced by this reasoning to a plane which makes Him the equal, and only the equal, of the divine heroes who are antecedent to Him. Later theological speculation ascribes these stories of ancient times to diabolical invention, but the historical student is of the opinion, and more than that, of the positive conviction, that the diabolical inventions are the source of the pious invention that followed later; that we have the source of the birth stories in the thought-world that generated them. Jesus Himself knew nothing of them. He never differentiates Himself from His fellowmen. He uses the terms "My Father" and "Your Father" in exactly the same sense. His difference from them was the common difference of greater soul, and not any difference of physical origin. His dearest friends and closest companions never heard from His lips apparently any story that led them to look upon Him other than as one who was of their own flesh and blood. And what Jesus Himself did not know, and what was never heard of by His friends and companions, can hardly have the force of an historical fact.

The application of the historical method to the study of the New Testament Scriptures is of very recent origin, and because of that, there is to-day a disturbance in many minds and an aching in many hearts. To many the personality of Jesus is so bound up with His supposed miraculous origin, that if you take that away Jesus Himself seems to be taken with it. Sentiment has so clustered around the Babe of Bethlehem that a shock to that sentiment is a pain to the very inner soul life of many people, especially women. But alas! science takes no account of sentiment. It simply seeks for the truth in the case. It cuts sharp as ice; it is as pitiless as the glacier. It grinds down through all layers of earth, destroying, it is true, some beautiful vegetation in its course, but it grinds down to the hard bottom fact and having reached that rock, there abides.

It is not too much to say that history as a science has already reached the rock-bottom conclusion that Jesus is the son of Joseph and was born in Nazareth. Those who argue the contrary base their argument more upon supposed philosophic and theological necessity than upon historic evidence. But to the confusion of such reasoning, historic science takes no account of philosophic or theological necessity. You must first establish the fact, and then you may reason upon it. If you cannot establish the fact, all reasoning based upon it comes to naught. It is the fact that stands or falls.

The weakness of those who would sustain the until-recently prevalent conception of the origin of Jesus is seen in the suggestion of very learned men, that in the story of Matthew we have the account as given by Joseph; that in the story of Luke we have the account as given by Mary. Such a suggestion, if it were not made by authorities so eminent, would be palpably absurd. There is not a scintilla of historic evidence to support this suggestion. As we have seen, Mary, whenever she speaks, declares the contrary to the received belief, and Joseph throughout the whole literary period, is silent with the silence of death. This suggestion becomes the more impossible after we have examined the discrepancies in the accounts. Surely Mary and Joseph ought to have agreed together before giving an account of so important a transaction as to whether they did or did not live in Nazareth; whether or not that was so much their home that their sojourn in Bethlehem was a mere visitation. They ought also to have agreed as to whether they did or did not go down into Egypt. Luke clearly implies that they did not; Matthew asserts that they did. The slightest use of the historic method in the investigation of the birth stories turns to nonsense all such supposed evidence.

Whether it be to our grief, or to our joy, we must all come sooner or later to

the conclusion that the child Jesus of the birth stories belongs to the region of myth; while the man Jesus belongs to the region of history. We are in the estate of those who in losing a child find a man. The man Jesus is organically related to human life by means of human generation. He belongs to that race which has passed its life on, by a process marvelous to the point of what, if you please, you may call miraculous, from father to son, through countless generations. Luke is right when he makes Jesus the son of Adam, and makes the word Adam to stand for man. Organically related

through physical origin to the race of men, Jesus is historically related to human development. Scientific history does not see in Him an absolutely new beginning, but it sees Him in His connection with the whole religious history of the human race; and so relating him, the Christian religion is seen in its true aspect, as one of the great movements that have carried man from lower to higher planes of being. Some of us are content to lose the child in order to find the man.

ALGERNON S. CRAPSEY.

Rochester, N. Y.

REV. ALGERNON S. CRAPSEY AND THE RECENT HERESY TRIAL.

By HARRIS ADDISON CORELL.

"When there is no vision the people perish."—*Proverbs, 29:18.*

OVERORGANIZATION to the point of self-aggrandizement has always been the history of religious movements when they have departed ever so little from the elemental simplicity of serving common humanity. Mankind has at heart certain needs and desires which only true religion can supply, and which change but slightly from age to age. "To do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with his God," constitutes the working formula of the vital religion that underlies his nature. The church which goes beyond this and imposes an artificial organization, with manifold requirements as to creed, ritual, ceremony, form, and ecclesiastical machinery, as essential to human salvation, either for this or for any after-life, sows the seeds of its own downfall.

The function of a prophet or seer is not to picture in detail what is to come to pass, but to see in the signs of the times that some event is sure to follow existing conditions. Prophets have always arisen

from obscurity when the priestly class, grown arrogant and selfish, has neglected the common people and given its energy to its organization for its own sake. History has ever repeated itself in this respect. All the Old Testament prophets had this one message,—to rescue religion from a corrupt priesthood, and return it to the people simplified and purified. The protest of John the Baptist and of Jesus was against the "generation of vipers who made of the house of prayer a den of thieves." And it was Jesus who said to the woman of Samaria, "God is a Spirit; and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth."

Heresy trials are but the futile attempts of the priestly class to suppress the prophet. They may for a time crush truth to the earth, but in the end the organization itself must reform or die. It usually dies.

Within the last year we have seen such a heresy trial with all the ear-marks of the "dark ages," and all for what? Simply because a humble parish priest dared to worship God in spirit and in

truth, and to teach his people so, instead of teaching them according to the literal words of the man-made creeds of 1500 years ago.

DR. CRAPSEY, THE HERETIC.

Destined to deliver a great denomination from the fetters of dogmatism, but himself deposed and disgraced by a diocesan court, and denied the privilege longer of preaching from the pulpit where for over a quarter of a century he had spent the best years of his mature manhood, Dr. Algernon Sidney Crapsey has been thrust out of his ministry into the great surging mass of humanity to deliver his message not in accustomed places nor to familiar faces, but in strange places, in theaters, on lecture-platforms, in distant cities, never speaking twice to the same audience, but reaching thousands through the press, whereas in the days of his rectorship of St. Andrew's church in Rochester, he ministered to a few hundred souls in an obscure parish.

He loved this parish, which he had built up from almost nothing to a membership of over 600 regular communicants. The Protestant Episcopal faith was dear to him in its larger, broader significance. To him the weightier matters of the divine law, judgment, mercy, and faith, had always made a far stronger appeal than had the mint, anise, and cummin of the scribes and Pharisees. His ministrations had always been those of mercy and helpfulness. He visited the fatherless and the widow in their affliction, and kept himself unspotted from the world.

It is told of him that he had such a way of giving his overcoat to any unfortunate man whom he saw cold and shivering in the blasts of winter, that the precinct police captain notified his men to be on the watch, and if they saw the "little father," as he was familiarly called, bestowing his ulster on some mere pretending rascal, they were to rescue it and secretly return it to the rectory.

Even his accusers on his heresy trial

admitted in open court that his character so far as his daily life is concerned is of the very highest. His offense consisted in the fact that to certain utterances of the creed he gave a spiritual, in place of a literal, interpretation. This cannot be more clearly stated than in his own words, quoted from his letter to Bishop William D. Walker, after the court of review had decided against him. He said:

"My sole difficulty lies in the fact that a long, careful, conscientious study of the Holy Scriptures, had compelled me to come to certain conclusions concerning the prenatal history of Jesus which are not in physical accord with the letter of the creeds, and hence have compelled me, in order to hold the creeds, to give certain articles a spiritual interpretation that will harmonize them with the truth as I find that truth in the teaching of the Holy Scriptures, and as are demanded by present conditions of thought and the present state of knowledge. I must give to certain articles a spiritual rather than a literally physical interpretation.

"When I say of Jesus that he ascended into heaven, I do not mean and cannot mean that with his physical body of flesh, blood, and bones he floated into space, and has for 2,000 years been existing somewhere in the sky in that very physical body of flesh, blood and bones. Such an existence would seem to me not glorious but horrible; and such a conception is to me not only unbelievable, it is unthinkable.

"What I do mean by the phrase is that Jesus, having accomplished his work in the flesh, ascended into the higher life of the spirit.

"When I say that he was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, I do not mean that the great and living God, in order to get into His world, had to violate His wonderful law of human generation, break into the sanctities of marriage and cause a Son of Man to be born without a human father.

Such a notion is most repugnant to my idea of a wise and holy God. I was therefore not alarmed, I was relieved when a careful study of the Holy Scriptures convinced me that this notion of the origin of Jesus was without foundation in history. Jesus was not lessened in my worship. He was ennobled by this discovery. I believe in him all the more.

"But I am told that this conception is not permissible in the mind of a minister of the Protestant Episcopal church. I bow to that decision. I cannot change my mind; I therefore leave the church. But I have reason to know that there are hundreds of clergymen and thousands of laymen in that church who have reached the same conclusions that I have."

HIS TRIAL, SO-CALLED.

It will be of interest to note that his trial for heresy was not ordered until after an investigating committee appointed by the bishop had reported against the advisability of such a trial. By many it was supposed that this adverse report would end it all; but no, the Standing Committee and the Bishop decided otherwise, for had not the Bishop already decided the case? Had he not in a letter to Dr. Crapsey, notifying him of the appointment of the investigating committee plainly accused and convicted him in these words?

"I must say to you that it is a stupendous responsibility you have assumed in disturbing the peace of God's church, and in teaching as truth what is contrary to its doctrine."

So the Standing Committee, in its capacity of grand jury, found an indictment against Dr. Crapsey, charging him with heresy. This was submitted to and approved by the Bishop, who ordered it sent to trial at Batavia, New York, in April, 1906. Perhaps the most significant feature of this trial was the fact that the Bishop named and the Standing Committee approved a majority of the judges

before whom Dr. Crapsey's trial was held. Three of the judges were named by the Bishop after the trial had been ordered. This trial court was composed of five clergymen from country towns in western New York, men not distinguished as scholars in the church. In fact it was freely commented on at the time that the church is afraid of her scholars. At any rate the Bishop and Standing Committee did not see fit to name any conspicuous scholar to sit as a judge in the case.

In defending himself against this charge of heresy, Dr. Crapsey called ten of the most distinguished clergymen in the Protestant Episcopal church, who were sworn in his behalf, and were severally asked to testify whether in substance his statements of doctrine were within the fair liberty which the church allowed her clergy, and not unorthodox. This court after taking counsel with those higher up, refused to hear the answers of these distinguished witnesses, on the ground that they constituted the court and were the judges of whether or not Dr. Crapsey's statements were heretical, and were the best judges of the meaning of the articles of the creed "as the church hath received the same."

So the trial (?) proceeded, and the court found—as the Bishop had found months before—that Dr. Crapsey was teaching as truth what is contrary to the doctrine of the church, and he was deposed from his church. An appeal was taken to the court of review, which affirmed the decision of the lower court, declaring that it had no power to review the case as to whether or not Dr. Crapsey's statements were heretical, because that function remained for a court of appeals (not yet constituted) to consider and exercise. So the court of review affirmed the deposition of Dr. Crapsey as a heretic, and he now stands before the world ready and free to tell in a larger way of the truth which made him free. He has no bitterness in his heart. His message will not be one of censure, but will be filled with the very best results of his

life's study of the goodness and the mercy of God. While his pulpit has never been to him a coward's castle in which to hide the truth, his larger field will permit his light to shine farther and brighter.

WHO IS THE MAN?

When any man makes a profound impression on the public mind, and stirs the people's conscience, human interest centers around him, and everyone is mentally asking, "Who is the man?"

Dr. Algernon Sidney Crapsey was the son of Jacob Tompkins Crapsey, a lawyer who for fifty years practiced his profession in Cincinnati, where Algernon was born in June 1847. His mother was Rachel Morris, the daughter of Hon. Thomas Morris, one of the founders of the State of Ohio, a United States Senator, and a distinguished leader in the abolition movement. Algernon Crapsey attended the common schools of Cincinnati until he was eleven years old, when he began work in the check-room of a drygoods store, staying there two years, then two years in a hardware store. When but fifteen years old he enlisted in the Civil war in Company B of the 74th Ohio volunteer infantry, serving nearly a year, until a violent illness compelled him to return home. Then followed an engagement in a local printing office, a venture in a country store in West Virginia, and a temporary appointment in the Dead Letter office in Washington, from which place he went to New York, and for a year and a half worked in a printing office there.

In all these years he had been a student and a great reader, devoting his leisure hours to study and research; and it was during these excursions into the world of ideas that he developed the thought that he would prepare for the ministry. Up to this time he had never been connected with any religious organization. His father never joined a church, in fact had reacted in his youth from the stern dogmatism of his Baptist clergyman father before him.

Algernon, now twenty years old, entered St. Stephen's College, a Protestant Episcopal school at Annandale, New York. In 1872 he graduated from the General Episcopal Theological Seminary in New York City, and was ordained to the priesthood by Rev. Horatio Potter, was appointed a deacon on the staff of Trinity Church, New York, and was later placed on the permanent staff as an assistant minister, where he remained in the active service of Trinity Church and parish for six years, resigning that position to go to Rochester, New York, to take up the work of St. Andrew's parish then a mere struggling handful who had signally failed under the name of St. Clement's parish.

This parish lies in the southeasterly portion of Rochester, and is composed principally of workingmen and their families. During the twenty-eight years of Dr. Crapsey's ministrations it has become the most conspicuous workingmen's church in the whole denomination. When Dr. Crapsey came to St. Andrew's in 1879, he found no congregation, no church, nothing but a very small chapel and a small rectory. From these beginnings he built up a parish spiritually, numerically, and financially strong. The present structures, including a handsome stone and brick church, a well-appointed parish house, and a suitable rectory, are said to be worth \$150,000. He is entitled to the credit for this gratifying growth. He gracefully divides the honor with his wife, who has been constant in good works among the parishioners; and to her he claims is due the larger praise. She was a Miss Adelaide Trowbridge, of Catskill, New York, whom he married in 1875. They have had nine children, of whom seven are living.

Personally Dr. Crapsey appears slightly under the medium height, though his appearance may be due to a slight stoop, characteristic of the scholar. He wears no beard. His expression is pleasing, his eyes bright, his manner gracious and thoughtful. In a word he is a courteous

scholarly man, whom to know is to appreciate and respect.

He enjoys the personal loyalty of his parishioners to an unusual degree. They have known for years that he gave to his religious teachings a spiritual interpretation, and that his habits of thought and utterance were more in harmony with the scientific than with the dogmatic view. He never concealed his opinions from them. He went forward untroubled by thoughts of heresy, and if it had not been for outside forces breaking in and discovering heresy, he and his church would have continued to work together for the spiritual upbuilding of St. Andrew's parish and its little world. Many of his parishioners have urged him to form an independent church, but he has counselled them to remain faithful to St. Andrew's, that their duty lay there, that after hearing him preach between two and three thousand sermons, they had heard all he had to tell them, and that some new minister might bring them a new message.

THE AFTERMATH.

Since his deposition he has received thousands of letters from all directions, often more than a hundred a day, and for the most part from entire strangers, all expressing sympathy with his larger interpretation of formulated religious beliefs, and the hope that he would give those views to the people. In response to this larger invitation, he has developed a plan to give, in a short series of lectures, his thoughts regarding the present crisis in the churches. In brief, these lectures will develop the distinction between the religious beliefs as they are set forth in the creeds of past ages, and the living

and growing vision of a religion that shall meet and satisfy the requirements of the twentieth century with its fund of information not possessed by men at the time the creeds of the Protestant churches were written. In these lectures he will discuss the intellectual, the spiritual, the moral breakdown in the churches, the conflict between creed and knowledge, between dogma and conscience, and the significant questions: should a clergyman know the truth? and should a clergyman tell the truth?

Already he has commenced the delivery of these lectures, and is attracting thoughtful men and women of all denominations, and those who have no religious profession but who are anxious to find if there is something in religion that can satisfy their souls' cravings and at the same time not so react on their intelligence as to nullify its benefits. These seek not for dogmatic statement, they want scientific and religious truth. They seek not a god hidden amongst the machinery of a top-heavy ecclesiastical organization, but the living God in whose practical presence they may find help in their times of need. This is the vision that Dr. Crapsey sees and of which he foretells.

The church has been on trial instead of Dr. Crapsey. It is now on trial before a court not selected by any Standing Committee or Bishop. It has been weighed in the balance and found wanting in spirituality, in toleration, in love. It has pushed Dr. Crapsey out into the lime-light, and in closing the door upon him, has shut itself into the inner darkness of its own magnificent tomb.

HARRIS ADDISON CORELL.

Buffalo, N. Y.

HENRY DEMAREST LLOYD: MESSENGER.

By W. G. EGGLESTON.

OF THE many lovable men I have known, Henry Demarest Lloyd was the most lovable. He was a flood of sunshine and sweetness, a messenger of love and hope, of peace and good-will, without acidity or bitterness. I met him first in 1887, when we were brought together in arranging for a reunion dinner of graduates of the various schools of Columbia University, which was given at the Richelieu Hotel in Chicago. Lloyd presided at the dinner and made a short address, a little gem thrown into a junk-heap of after-dinner speeches. I remember what he said; what was said by some half a dozen other speakers was not worth remembering. This is not said invidiously or contemptuously, for I was one of the speakers.

We had come together, he said—I do not pretend to quote his words—as graduates of one of the great colleges of our country, to touch hands, to revive memories, to bring soul into contact with soul; an exclusive assemblage from which were barred all except persons falling in a certain class—graduates of the schools of one great school, as we think of schools. But, after all, such gatherings are useful only as they impress upon us the lesson that we are all pupils, not graduates, of the greater school of the world; and we gain but little from class dinners, college dinners and other reunions unless we remember that we are fellow-students with all mankind, and that their lives and hopes and sorrows are a part of our lives, hopes and sorrows. The wisest of American philosophers has said that notwithstanding all the selfishness that chills the world, the whole human family is bathed with an element of love like a fine ether, and that our intellectual and active powers increase with our affections. To love our fellow-men is to renew our powers; to serve our fellow-men is to

give the highest play to our powers. The chief end of man is to serve his fellow-men, enjoy them and give them joy; for man was made to rejoice, not to mourn. We may not meet again as representatives of our college, but every day we meet on the street and in the marketplace our fellow-students in the world's big school. We are a part of them, and they of us. We are a part of their lives, and they of ours. We cannot live apart from them. Give them the hand of fellowship and they will give you the soul-love that every soul yearns to give.

After the dinner we walked together a few blocks, and when we parted I said: "Mr. Lloyd, you read Emerson in the original, and your translation is perfect. I want to know you." And I came to know him. His home at Winnetka was a rest-house of vast and perfect hospitality, and Mrs. Lloyd was a gentle mother to all humanity. Theirs was a home of love and perfect peace. The stranger within their doors could not feel that he was a stranger. Near the house was a high bluff overlooking Lake Michigan, and there I have sat with Lloyd in the Spring and Summer and Autumn evenings; and sometimes I have taken long walks with him on Sunday mornings. He was a liberal education, without vanity or conceit, without even a hint of the pompous; plain, concise, never at a loss for the right word, and with a genius for coining words that fit. Often during our early acquaintance I tried to classify him. A statesman? Yes; he was; but more. A literary man? Yes; but far more than that. A teacher? Of course. A messenger; one who brings good news from the Infinite Conscience. I found the word when he said to me one night: "Every soul has a message for every other soul; and what a pity that some have

not learned to speak their message!"

Some men collect pictures, some gather old coins; others butterflies, and still others collect old books. One of the Rothschilds is a collector of fleas. A more enthusiastic collector than any of these was Lloyd, but he did not collect things to be placed in cabinets or museums. He was always ready to go to the ends of the earth, and often he did go, to collect specimens of successful co-operation, sociological facts, evidences of the practical brotherhood of man, triumphs of the expanding conscience of mankind, evidences of the practical application of the eleventh commandment. It was well said by Miss Jane Addams that perhaps Lloyd's chief accomplishment was his mastery of "the difficult art of comradeship," and that he made his social charm an instrument to create a new fascination for serious things. He had no patience with superficial "flag patriotism"; he knew no way to "teach respect for law" except to make the law respectable. His *Wealth Against Commonwealth* was the modern pioneer of "muck-raking." Every statement is fortified, and time has shown, as Mr. Edwin D. Mead has said, "the fatal accuracy of Lloyd's pioneering work." But having completed that work he determined to do no more of that kind. "I shall spend the rest of my life," he said, "in telling America of the constructive things in the world which she ought to know about and ought to establish." Henceforth he was a synthesist, telling his fellow-men of the experiment stations of coöperation, industrial arbitration; direct-legislation, public-ownership; and exposing hollowness and humbug by apt and stinging phrase. "He is too rhetorical," said his critics. He was rhetorical in the sense of being a master of the art of speaking and writing with propriety, elegance and force.

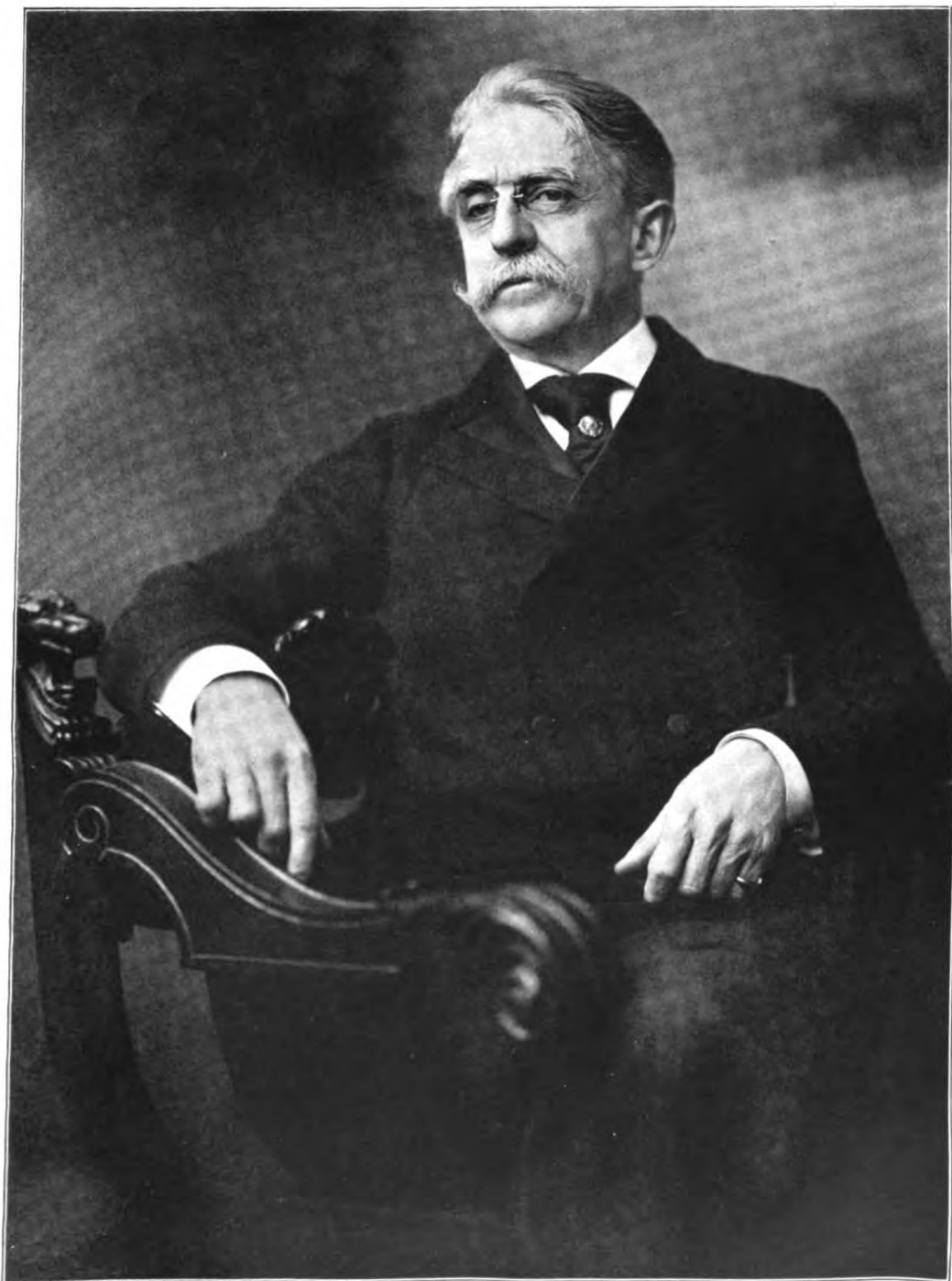
He loved the well-turned phrase, and was a master at phrase-making, but he used the thing rhetoric as the master uses the pedals of the piano. He did

not use prejudice as one of his instruments; he chose the higher emotions, and upon them he played *con espressione*. In reporting the economic facts found in diverse corners of the earth he seemed to fulfil the prophecy of the thirty-seventh chapter of Ezekiel, clothing the dry bones with flesh and directing into them the breath from the four winds. During the long senatorial contest in the Illinois legislature in 1891 I met a Spring Valley coal-miner who said to me one day: "If these legislators would only do the right thing they'd elect Henry Lloyd, and then we'd have a real Senator." "But," I replied, "why waste such a man by caging him in the Senate? A whole Senate, or even half a Senate, of Lloyds would be worth while, but it seems like cruelty to imprison one such man in that body while it is controlled by corporations. He is doing ten times the good in private life that he could do in the Senate as it is now constituted." The miner said Lloyd might act like a lump of yeast if he were in the Senate. "Let us keep the yeast among the people for a while," I replied. "Lloyd is a yeast that will make us rise." The miner was silent a few minutes, and then said: "Ah, but what a beautiful world this would be if half the men were Lloyds!" He lived the message he brought. The man was as noble and stimulating as his word. He seemed to live in a glorious sunrise. As I knew him, his life was always a "Good Morning." He so loved his fellow-men that he lived his life, and gave his life, that they should not have injustice. Upon what other American has fallen the mantle of Emerson? Yet he had a broader mind, a more practical mind and more of the spirit of universal comradeship than Emerson.

Not distant voices, but the voice within him said:

"Look, then, into thine heart, and write!
Yes, into Life's deep stream,"

but his theme was the joyous voices of the day rather than the forms of sorrow and the solemn voices of the night. He



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HENRY DEMAREST LLOYD

spoke of and protested against the things that brutalize, that affright, but he spoke of them as a prophet who sees their end. He was an optimist, but his was not the optimism that says, "Let well enough alone." Rather was it the optimism that sees how things may be bettered, and has the courage and energy to try to better them. Like Jefferson, he did not believe it is permitted to any one to despair of his country. He had no patience with the doctrine of "total depravity," either in religion, in industry or in politics.

Politics, to Lloyd, was not the science of trickery, nor a game of greed, but "the science of government." He did not believe that men are prone to do evil as the sparks to fly upward. He had an abiding faith in the Conscience of his fellow-men, in the Universal Conscience. When men are bad, he was accustomed to say, it is because Society had denied them the opportunity to be good. "Men do not make themselves criminals; Society makes them criminals, and then punishes the individual for the sin of Society. We neglect the children and permit, or force, them to become criminals. Then we build jails for the criminals we have made."

He was an intense democrat. "What is democracy?" I asked him once. "It is public-ownership of Government, with each man having an opportunity to express on the ballot his wish in regard to candidates for public service and public policies. To delegate authority is to take chances in a fraudulent raffle."

In June of this year I received *Man, the Social Creator*, with a note from the publishers saying that it was sent at the request of William Bross Lloyd. The book was compiled and edited by Jane Addams and Anne Withington from the note books of Henry Demarest Lloyd. Necessarily, it is incomplete. It needed the finishing touches and revision of the gifted author. But, after all, it is Lloyd—the philosophy, the religion, the hope, the soul of Lloyd. Reading a few pages,

I was again at Winnetka, and he was speaking his message of hope and love.

His other books, *Wealth Against Commonwealth*, *Newest England*, *A Country Without Strikes*, are the reports of a keen observer who has sent himself to report on conditions. *Man, the Social Creator* is Lloyd's report of what he found within himself. It is the deeply religious report of a deeply religious soul. It is Christianity without Churchianity. Within the whole book one cannot find two fig leaves sewed together to cover the naked truth. Others might demand the nude in art. Lloyd demanded the nude in truth, and the truths he spoke needed draperies neither for adornment nor concealment. His ideas came to you as he did—clean and well dressed. He was a speculator—a viewer from a mental watchtower—a speculative philosopher who dealt with known quantities and found results that required no violation of natural laws. He traced man's future by following the curve of his past and present.

Lloyd was often derided as a Socialist. He was at the same time an Individualist and a Philosophical Socialist. Explaining his economic position he once said to me: "Individualism and Socialism are asymptotes—two economic conditions that constantly approach but never come together. Man will prohibit individualism from taking what belongs to the public, and will see that what belongs to the individual is not taken from him." "What does belong to the public?" I asked. "Monopoly," he replied. "Monopoly in private hands means government in private hands. That means tyranny. When men reach a certain growth they abolish tyranny."

Lloyd's Philosophical Socialism did not comprehend, or include, the abolition of competition, for in the chapter on "Discovery of Social Love" he says:

"Unless universal extinction is conceivable, we shall always have struggle, competition, war; never unity, rest, peace.

... But as man has become wiser and tenderer, competition has been changing before our eyes. It has become the competition of a universal trade which is taking the place, and rapidly, of the competition of war once universal. . . . A coöperative political economy will not banish competition, but will make it progressively more a competition to create livelihood, property, opportunity for all in the best ways. . . . At this moment, and in the social world, the need is to emphasize love, the force which unites. The opposite, the force that separates, individualism, competition, is as eternal, as necessary, as beneficent as the other, but it has had too long a day. It has swung the world of labor to one side."

And again:

"Social life will never again be narrowed down to a governmental function, as in Sparta or Peru or other communistic societies. The 'individuality' which has been gained by the race for every member will never be surrendered. Civilization will not return to the castes of India or the guilds of the Middle Ages, not even under the invitation of the most glittering and seductive Utopia. Competition can never be abolished. It is the economic expression of the individualism created by the emancipations of history we call modern times. . . . We will not abolish competition, but we will not keep it the competition of the Iroquois and Apaches. . . . The Peace of Labor we are to establish must be consistent with the perpetuation of the rights so hardly won, so precious, of each individual to come and go, to work or not to work, to work at this or that, as his circumstances, his development, his own conception of his interest and his duty tell him to do. It is to be the function of society not to force him hither or thither but to open the way for him to go hither or thither, as he wills or must, free from force."

Never in any conversation with Lloyd

nor anywhere in his books have I found acceptance of the idea of Socialism as the Socialist party defines it: "Public-ownership of *all the means and instruments* of production." A most significant utterance in *Man, the Social Creator*, is this, showing his view-point:

"Private property being individualism, and its abolition being socialism, the two are correlative and must yield to each other just as rapidly as experience and necessity dictate. Civilization is a growth both ways—an intensification of private property in certain ways, an abolition of it in others. . . . Those forms of property in which the welfare of others is more concerned than that of the owner will be modified or abolished. . . . The higher the individualism the higher must be the socialism. The resultant of these opposing forces of socialism and individualism must be determined by each age for itself, but history shows how plainly the lines advance on each other."

It was in 1888 or 1889 that I spoke to Lloyd about the Swiss system of initiative and referendum, believing I was telling him something he had n't heard of. "Yes," he said. "I've read the Swiss Constitution, and I'm going to look into that." The next year, I think it was, he gave me Sullivan's little book on the initiative and referendum, and a few years later he went to Switzerland for material for his *Swiss Sovereign*, upon which he was working when he died. I wish he could have lived to know how successfully the people of Oregon have made themselves sovereigns by adopting and using the initiative and referendum, and how they have thrown into the scrap-heap the political bosses and lobbyists of the corporations. Of the Swiss system he says:

"It was a great stroke in the road of society to invent representative government, political historians tell us. It permitted society to expand not only politically, but in all ways beyond the limits of the voice of the tribal herdsman or the

day's journey. It made the modern state possible. Another great invention in the machinery of representative government is taking place at the present moment, which is now seen in Switzerland, by which in a large society of the modern world the government of millions is again made audible and by all, brought again within the voice of the herdsman and again within the limits of a day's journey. Through the Initiative and Referendum the voice of the people of the largest state can again be heard as clearly as in the market-place of Athens. It enables the Town Meeting to put on national or even imperial purposes and yet remain a Town Meeting; and in Switzerland we have seen it evolved naturally and easily out of the Town Meeting. The most interesting thing about Switzerland is that there we see the people continually changing their fundamental law—the Constitution—to make it fit the changed circumstances of their life. The period which elapses between the proposal to change the Swiss Constitution and the change itself is only a few months. This telephonic current of response to the people's wishes as to the provisions of the Constitution is a far higher exhibition of democratic ability than anything to be seen in the field of constitutional change either in England or the United States."

However, such an exhibition of democratic ability was seen in Oregon at the State election in June of last year, when the voters voted on five constitutional amendments proposed by initiative petition, five initiative bills for laws and one referendum of a legislative enactment; and voted with an intelligence that we seldom find in legislative bodies. Out of a total number of 99,445 ballots cast, an average of 74 per cent. was cast on the various propositions submitted to the voters. Moreover, under a Primary Nominations law adopted by the people in 1904—placed before the voters as an initiative measure after the Legislature

had refused to enact such a law,—the voters virtually elected their choice for United States Senator.

One of the charms of Lloyd, in conversation as well as in writing, was his elimination of invective. "How much happier and more useful they would be if they would do right," he was accustomed to say of industrial pirates. "Men who oppress their fellows, who take what does n't belong to them, whether money, or property or political power, cannot be happy. They do n't know what they do. If they did know, if they could see it all, they would n't do it." We find that sentiment in *Man, the Social Creator*, in which are four chapters on "The New Conscience"—as a factor in civilization, in industry, in politics and in education. Read them again and again, and each time there is a new meaning, a new idea, a new delight. The central doctrine of the slave power was that the laborer was merely merchandise, a commodity. It is not so long since some Americans so declared. The new conscience has repealed that idea, substituting the declaration that "labor is only a commodity." That is the central idea of present-day industry. But since that idea is destructive of the liberties of the laborer—and of all others—there is a newer conscience that repudiates it, as it will repudiate the assertion that the laborer must work out his own social and industrial salvation. What would we answer the corrupting lobbyist who says, "I did not buy the sinner; I bought his sin when I paid for his vote." The man who can leave his conscience at home when he goes to the market-place will find no conscience when he goes home.

"When you see a cause against which all the powers of law, Church, culture and wealth are united, there is a cause worth looking into," says Lloyd. "If there was nothing in it, why should all these mighty institutions be so disturbed about it? And if you find all customs, statutes, learnings, creeds, logics, bazaars

and currencies against it, look at it still more searchingly. All these have always at the first been united against any new conscience and have always conspired against it, even unto the death. Let those who are great because others are small—let those who are happy because others are wretched—let those who are rich because others are poor—listen out of their golden security for the crier of the new conscience. His voice foretells a new day."

Men have lamented—perhaps still lament—because they were born too late to take part in the Anti-Slavery agitation; but the abolition of slavery did nothing more than clear the ground of a little rubbish. The greatest cause of history is with us now—the injustice that consumes the poor and lowly. There is always a next step, and the present next step is more liberty for the laborer, for the people. "The practical work of to-day is to abolish the cannibals of competition, warriors of supply and demand, tyrants of monopoly, monsters of the market, devourers of men, women and children, buyers and sellers of life. . . . Monopoly is force, and force is slavery, and slavery must be abolished. The new conscience insists that every question between men is a religious question, a question of moral economy before it becomes one of political economy."

Lloyd brought, and left, a message to the church; but it will go unheeded, as the message of the Anti-Slavery apostles went unheeded. In one of the strongest paragraphs in the book he tells what the new Church will be; and by telling what it will not be he shows how the church of to-day is neglecting its opportunity. It would be worth while to hear one who knows how recite that paragraph of two pages. It is too long to quote, but it may be condensed thus: The new Church will be one of the deed as well as of the creed; will make its worshipers share this world as well as the next; will declare that the difference in death rates

of classes and masses is evidence of murder done for money; will stop the manufacture of poorhouses by stopping the manufacture of poverty; will keep its buildings open day and night and work its congregation in relays rather than let "brothers" starve or freeze or go astray for want of sympathy or advice; will teach that we are now living the life eternal; will not ask the poor to give up all of this world on the unsecured promise of the rich to divide the next world; will judge civilization by the children in the back alleys rather than by costly cathedrals; will make every social wrong a moral wrong, and every moral wrong a legal wrong; will prevent the anarchy from below by punishing the anarchy from above; will deny the right of the employer to commit infanticide; will abolish the merchant prince and factory corporation rather than permit them to abolish the childhood of children; will keep a hell hot in this world to punish those who strike at God through his image, man; will realize the vision of Carlyle of a Human Catholic Church.

Lloyd believed that the new conscience is already well under way which will before long make an act of selfishness as revolting to general opinion, and therefore as rare, as an act of immodesty. We already have a term, hoggishness, applicable to immodesty and selfishness. Mazzini dreamed of a religion of Democracy, and Charles Ferguson has written a book on that subject, but it is too much a cry of despair. Lloyd never cried *de profundis*; his was a voice of the mountain tops, and if he saw darkness he spoke of the light beyond. His eyes were fixed on the sun. He had an abiding faith in the great mission of humanity, the faith that arouses to victory. "Civilization," he said, "is simply applied conscience, and Progress is a widening conscience." Like other right-thinking men, he had no patience with the economists who preach selfishness as the guide of conduct, "and the men, corporations and nations who practise it," he said, "are

heathen, atheists, barbarians—more animals than men.”

The chapter on the “New Conscience in Industry,” written when what we have come to call “criminal finance” was rioting in fancied security, is a prophecy that the new conscience will break into the business world and revolutionize or reorganize it. “The test of time has shown that all the things the Cæsars claimed belonged to God. The things that are really Cæsar’s are only those that are any man’s—the right to be one of all, and to be a brother.” The world of business “reveals itself to be the Darkest Continent, where there is no God. This is the atheism which menaces the religious life of mankind.” But, thanks to “muck-rakers,” light is being thrown into that Dark Continent, and for its Devil’s code of selfishness something better will be substituted. Civilization is the product of great expansions, and we have come to the threshold of another. From every department of domestic life save that of industry the right of private war has been eliminated, and even there the barbarian whose voice is still for war has public sentiment—the public conscience—against him. “The business world,” says Lloyd, “is a chamber of horrors, because it is a region where men are forced to associate but where they defy the laws of association”; but “the scrambling of mankind over each other for property is but a passing phase of the moon. True property can only be got as citizenship was got, by giving to all that we may receive from all.”

Strange words, set to strange music, were the words of the “Star Spangled Banner” and of the “Battle Hymn of the Republic.” Strange words, set to a new music, are now humming through the heart of man; the words and music of the new conscience and new liberty, and they have brought into sight that obscene bird fear, which, says Emerson, “is the herald of all revolutions. One thing he teaches, that there is rottenness where he appears. Our property is timid, our

laws are timid, our cultivated classes are timid. Fear for ages has boded and mowed and gibbered over government and property. That obscene bird is not there for nothing. He indicates great wrongs which must be righted.”

The Czar fears for his “property,”—his throne, his “divine right to rule” and his equally divine right to own men by owning the gifts of God that men must use in order to live. The slave-owner feared for his “property,”—men and women and children of another race and color. Our transportation kings, coal czars and oil emperors fear now for their “property,” and they, having killed competition, now earnestly, almost tearfully insist that “competition is the life of trade, of business.” But, as Lloyd once said to me, “it is not competition but man’s desire to satisfy his wants that is the life of business.” A sort of state sovereignty is claimed for competition by the men who have killed competition in their own lines, and are reaching out into other lines to kill it there. That, however, is not an argument against competition, but against the monopoly that kills it.

The greatest tribute to Lloyd’s loveliness is the esteem, the love the Single-Tax men had for him; for Single-Taxers and Socialists are as far apart as the poles. He and I once had an almost all-night session over the Single-Tax, could not come together, and agreed to disagree. But I believe he saw, as Thomas G. Shearman did almost twenty years ago, and as is coming to be well recognized now, that the great economic contest is to be between Socialism and the Single-Tax; and, as Shearman said, the kings of riches will fall all over themselves to get into the Single-Tax wagon and save what remnant they can. Socialists and Single-Taxers agree that involuntary poverty is unnecessary and a curse to humanity; that it can be abolished and should be abolished. Their essential disagreement is as to ownership of the means and instruments of production.

Socialists demand public-ownership of private and public property. Single-Taxers demand public-ownership of public property, but private-ownership of private property. The franchise kings assert the justice of private-ownership of public as well as private property, forgetting that in the early days of railroads and other public utilities the grantees sought franchises and asked for the right of eminent domain on the ground that the utilities to be constructed were "public property devoted to public uses." The Single-Taxers assert that the fundamental error of Socialism is the denial of the justice of interest. Socialists assert that the fundamental error of the Single-Tax is that it admits the justice of private-ownership of capital—the wealth that is used for the production of more wealth.

"When poverty is abolished," says Lloyd, "then the production of wealth in the world will really begin." It is not true that men will not work unless driven by stress or fear of poverty, and the very men who are loudest in making this assertion—the captains of industry—disprove it when they themselves bend every energy to the acquirement of more wealth. We see that labor is not a curse, but a blessing. Labor is a curse only when the laborer is cursed, by the contempt of those who think it degrading to render service for service and degrade themselves by accepting service without rendering an equivalent; who regard it as a fair proposition that the laborer should "gather driftwood on shares."

"Henry George is right in predicting a disintegration of political parties," Lloyd once said to me. "There is a lack of conscience in our politics, and the public conscience will finally awake and transform our politics." Politics is the science of government—not a science of warfare for possession of offices, nor yet of placing the unworthy in the public service. We can no more have clean politics without conscience than we can have clean morals without conscience. Lloyd once said to Mayor Jones, of Tole-

do—Golden-Rule Jones—that "the Golden Rule is the original of every political constitution ever written or spoken." It is the law of action and reaction, of reciprocity, of coöperation; and, clearly, man was made for coöperation. The members of the physical body of man coöperate one with another; the members of the physical body of society must coöperate similarly. We have made politics war, a war that would sometimes be more merciful if the victims were killed instantaneously. Because of the political war in the nation, we have race-wars in the nation. "In politics," says Lloyd, "the people are sighing for peace. They are as weary of the political campaign as of the industrial competition." We are told from the inner circles of finance and business that presidential campaigns disturb business, and hence that the term of the President should be six or eight years, or longer.

The most advanced political organization of the British workingmen has for one of its objects to put an end to party government—which is party misgovernment. Instead of expressing the will of the people, says Lloyd, party government nullifies the will of the people. It is amusing to read in a recent review of Winston Churchill's *Coniston*, that "it is a psychological fact that most people in this world want to be led, and political leaders rise to the top by a principle of natural selection, and in accordance with the law of the survival of the fittest." Most people are democrats in that they believe in government by the people. The people don't want to be led—or driven, or pushed or pulled. They wish to go. Most of the men who become political leaders rise to the top by corporate selection, not by natural selection; and as Lloyd happily expressed it, "survival of the fittest means survival of the fiercest and the most cunning." In that review of *Coniston* we read the complacent conclusion that "the New Hampshire people seem to like bossism, else they would not have put up with it so

long." Let us draw the equally logical conclusion that most people seem to like insurance frauds, else they would not have put up with them so long; or, most New England manufacturers seem to like high tariffs on raw materials, else they would not have put up with them so long; or, most people do n't want a pure-food law, else they would have had one long ago. We might assert that the producers of Europe like wars and huge standing armies, because they have not abolished them.

That there is a new conscience in politics—merely a growth of the public conscience—is not to be doubted. We have seen it in the overthrow of political bosses and the smashing of political machines in more than one State and City within the past two or three years, and in the nation-wide demand of the common people for primary nomination laws and the initiative and referendum. Law-making and law-killing by parties and corporations has come to an end in Oregon. Boss and machine nominations have been abolished in Oregon. "Government by party is not a means of settling things," says Lloyd; "it is the best of devices for keeping them unsettled. . . . Party threatens liberty in the same way that a standing army does. It breeds a servility to itself which the heads of the powerful organizations are constantly tempted to use for their own selfish advancement . . . the methods of party government are a bloodless—almost always bloodless reproduction of those in war." Selfish principles cannot lead to an unselfish consummation. The party mismanages government for the benefit of the party, and invites the voter to use the party for his private gain.

It is difficult to agree with Lloyd that the checks on popular power in the Constitution of the United States were not so much the result of distrust of the people by the founders of the government as the deliberate choice of the American people. I believe he would have revised that statement had he lived to re-

vise the manuscript of *Man, the Social Creator*. However that may be, Lloyd did not look upon a constitution as a fetish. "We have the right not to be governed by dead men," he said to me. "Each generation has a right to change, amend or repeal its constitution, without asking permission of the cemetery." Nor had he the legal and judicial reverence for authorities. Sitting on the lake shore at Winnetka I said to him one night: "If you had practiced law you would have been a continuous revolution. Think of your making an argument and getting a *stare decisis* decision!" "Yes," he replied. "Or sitting patiently when the opposing counsel called the court's attention to a line of unbroken decisions running back to Robin Hood's barn, proving that injustice is equity."

Truer political word has not been spoken than Lloyd's assertion that "security of subsistence is the indivisible other side of the suffrage." To give the poor, the ignorant, the hungry, over-driven, leisureless, the suffrage and tell them to protect themselves against the rich, the initiated, the worldly-wise, the well-fed, the leisured, with the vote which requires for its effective handling wealth, leisure, experience, knowledge and morals "is a mere freak of extermination," he says—which reminds us of a similar declaration in *Progress and Poverty*. Government, the real article of government, requires a People, or The People. We have about eighty millions of population, but that population is not yet a People. "The People means union," and "union is peace." We must have peace in all our relations before we can be a People.

Nothing better has been written on education than the chapter on "The New Conscience in Education." It embodies the philosophy, the science, the constitution of education. Lloyd heard the cry of the children. They were his younger brothers and sisters. "Society," he says, "is pitifully, wickedly, wastefully derelict in the care of its young. The baby

quails and infant wolves are better off than our children, relatively. More natural is their youth, more complete their preparation. We are outraging our children's lives at just the point where the brutes perfect that of their little ones. . . . To make the scheme of education complete the eighteen hours the child spends out of school must be on as high a plane as the six hours in school. . . . Education must be life, and life must be education. Our pretended guarantee of an education for every child must be a real guarantee." One has a right to be indignant at our neglect of the children when it is remembered that not less than a million and three-quarters of American children who should be in school are working in factories, coal breakers and department stores, and that the whole civilized world can be maintained in comfort by less than six hours' work a day on the part of each able-bodied adult male—without assistance of women, children and cripples. When bank directors treat bank assets as society treats its greatest asset—children—society demands a state's prison sentence for the bank directors. A visitor from Altruria might draw the conclusion that our educational arrangements were planned to prevent the general spread of intelligence and training without which the common people cannot discharge the duties of citizenship and life.

Lloyd was in full sympathy with the labor movement, but he pointed out that it is not the laborer's movement any more than the abolition of slavery was the Negro's movement. "The labor movement is specially the movement of our times. The laborers alone cannot conduct it. It is the heir, in the direct line of descent, of all the great emancipations which have made civilization, and its questions can be settled only by the use of all the entailed estates of progress." The labor question, the Negro question, the Indian question, the Chinese question, the woman's and the Philippine questions are the same old Man's ques-

tion put to the conscience of humanity by the Sphinx whose catechism has no last page. Lloyd, like Henry George, finds the key for the arch when he writes:

"The American labor movement is drawn on by its destiny to find no resting place until its democracy recognizes the industrial liberty, fraternity, equality, of all men and women of all births, native and foreign; of all colors, white and red, black and yellow; and of all occupations, manual and mental, skilled and unskilled. Let there be one outcast, one Samson, prisoner, holding to the pillars of our temple, and we are undone."

The trouble is, labor leaders and anti-union leaders have not yet seen that we cannot deal with social questions by dividing men into the eternally elect and the eternally damned. Labor leaders have no more right to put the blame of all social ills on the plutocracy than the latter has to put it on the working-people.

Lloyd often used the words "revolution" and "evolution" interchangeably. "Neither God nor man can make a two-year old colt in ten minutes," he said to me. "Things must grow. We must get the bad out of the way and give the good opportunity to grow. There is good in the worst of us if we give it a chance to grow." He refused to separate the social law from the moral law, insisting that what was not moral was not social. Morality meant more to him than chastity, temperance and observance of the statutes against sheep-stealing and till-tapping. The Eleventh commandment, "that ye love one another," was in his code of ethics inclusive of the other ten. He was a Philosophical Socialist, but not a class-conscious Socialist. He believed that progress follows the evolutionary line of least resistance. The true political economy was to him neither more nor less than moral economy, and politics merely a part of the religion of humanity, a section of the moral law. When he said that "the history of humanity is the growth of one new conscience

into another," he meant "growth by expansion of conscience." In fact, *Man, the Social Creator* is a work on the evolution of conscience. It is Lloyd's confession of faith in the goodness and high destiny of his fellow-men, whom he loved. He, his life and work, remind me of the hope, the faith, the ecstasy of Tennyson's "In Memoriam." For him, man, having "moved through life of lower phase," is ready to obey the command and attain the result,

"be born and think,
And act and love, a closer link
Betwixt us and the crowning race."

He was a very type

"Of those that, eye to eye, shall look
On knowledge, under whose command
Is Earth and Earth's, and in their hand
Is Nature like an open book."

There was in his philosophy no justification for despair,

"For all we thought and loved and did,
And hoped and suffer'd, is but seed
Of what in them is flower and fruit."

The flower and fruit whereof Lloyd was a noble type,

"Appearing ere the times were ripe,
That friend of mine who lives with God,

"That God, which ever lives and loves,
One God, one law, one element,
And one far-off divine event,
To which the whole creation moves."

Once I asked him, "What is the 'one far-off divine event to which the whole creation moves'?" And he answered: "All those things that we dream of and hope for and believe in."

W. G. EGGLESTON.

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THE INFLUENCE OF LANGUAGE UPON SOCIALISTIC ORGANIZATION.

BY WARREN DUNHAM FOSTER.

LANGUAGE is the force which is now shaping and determining the practical development of socialistic organization. This influence, apparently little appreciated except among officials of the social democratic party of the world, has ever had a most disastrous effect upon the progress of the propaganda because it has prevented a fusion of those socialistic organizations whose principles were identical and because it has tended to make socialistic doctrines of almost limitless variety. Differences in language have tended to divide into passively antagonistic or openly hostile groups what otherwise would have been a strong and compact international organization of socialists whose power would have been incalculable. If the present attempt to reduce the number of languages spoken by socialists succeeds, it is probable that in a great measure the forces which have

divided socialism will be overcome. At the same time, however, the organization which results will be so modified in character as to be much less dangerous according to the ideas of the non-socialist. To understand the involved part which language has played and will play toward socialistic organization, the term "socialists" must be so limited as to exclude that large mass of so-called socialists who have no effect upon the practical progress of the party.

In its present disorganized state, socialism seems almost impossible of definition, the popular statement that there are as many kinds of socialism as there are socialists seeming but little of an exaggeration. In general, however, the term "socialism" as here used represents that economic doctrine which would abolish the competitive system by substituting therefor a collective ownership of the

means of production. Although this academic conception of socialism regards it primarily as an evolutionary process the culmination of which will take years of gradual development, to this basis has been added many theories much more radical, fantastic, and visionary. Notwithstanding the fact that at root socialism is an economic doctrine to be brought into effect either by political evolution or revolution, additional governmental, moral, and theological excrescences have in the course of time adhered to it. Belonging to this secondary group of socialistic parties, is the social revolutionary party which believes in the propagation of its principles by force and bloodshed—the “terror” of the Russians, but the social democratic party of the world, which seems about to become the great socialistic organization through the subtle influence of language, represents the evolutionary type.

Not so much upon the basis of economic theory, however, as from the standpoint of peculiar local conditions, have the many divisions of the socialistic party been made. Membership in any of the local branches depends to a surprisingly large extent, not upon the principles held by the organization but upon religion, vocation, race and language. Through the intensity of these personal feelings, bitter animosities have in many cases been aroused between different factions of the same general group of socialists. In causing this unfriendliness, all four elements have in most cases had a bearing of such character that it is sometimes impossible to distinguish between them. The prejudices which have caused these dissensions are older than socialism and entirely apart from it.

Although socialism does not concern itself primarily with theology, religious differences form one of the most important questions with which it has to deal. In general, the attitude of established churches is in opposition to socialistic organizations. Moreover, groups of so-

cialists of antagonistic religious beliefs refuse to become part of one organization. For this ecclesiastical hostility the old idea that socialism as such is unchristian, and the confusion of anarchism with socialism, is responsible in part. The opposition of the Church of Rome to any propaganda which tends to upset the established order of things or attacks constituted authority accounts for much of its unfriendliness. In other cases, the relations between the established church and the state are so close that anything believed inimical to the government is considered a menace to the religious organization. This antagonistic attitude on the part of the established church has cast socialism into more or less of disrepute, thus preventing its acceptance by many whose loyalty to the ecclesiastical authority is greater than their loyalty to their opinions. Moreover, many organizations which are actually socialistic in view do not join the international party because of the religious stigma attached. The force of this religious influence is probably felt the most in Poland. Among the uneducated and comparatively docile portion of the people there prevails a strong desire for the things socialism promises. Nevertheless, on account of the religious influences which have been brought to bear, the many societies which have been formed which hold to the same principles as the hated socialists, have been given other names and of course have had little influence upon the international situation. Branches of the social revolutionary party whose members are under the influence of the Greek church hate divisions of the social democratic party whose constituents are Roman in affiliation. In Germany and Russia as well as Poland, the feeling between Jew and Gentile is extremely bitter. In disordered Russia, brutally bloody clashes between Christians and Jews are of daily occurrence irrespective of any action on the part of the local authorities. In nearby countries, these animosities seem to take less bitter expression only

because of the greater strength of the governments. This hostility has resulted in the formation by Jewish socialists of the Bund—really a social democratic organization, but nevertheless hostile in some measure both to it and to the social revolutionary party of Russia. The recent clash in the Chicago ghetto between members of the Bund and of the social democratic party of the world is an example of this feeling. Thus the old tragic story of Jewish and Christian antagonism, aided, it must be admitted, by influences of race and language, has kept divided a party which, if united, would nearly treble its present strength.

Of scarcely less importance than the effect of religious differences, is that of vocation upon socialistic organization. In general, the various divisions of the social democrats recruit their members from the cities and the different branches of the social revolutionists look to the country for their strength. To counteract the power of the social revolutionists in the country districts of Russia, the agrarian democratic party was launched under social democratic auspices. This soon lost the few distinctive characteristics which it originally bore, and was assimilated by other organizations. The same strife is also noticeable in France where the communistic socialism of the country comes into contact with that of the towns where it is more highly developed. In the United States, the few socialists of the country towns are of the evolutionary type but nevertheless are inclined to be suspicious of the social democratic party of the cities.

It is around the Baltic—the region which is the center of the greatest practical activities of socialism to-day, that race prejudice is of the greatest importance in setting socialists against each other. From the beginning of history, that country has been almost continuously a bloody battlefield where races have struggled desperately, been reduced to submission, annihilated, but never assimilated. The racial struggle has

been continuous and the hatreds thus engendered have been maintained to the present day. The Letts, Ugrians, Poles, Finns, Lapps, Buriats, Czechs, Wends, Ostiuks, Lithuanians, Livonians, Esthonians, Prussians, Russians, and many more races and subdivisions of races each to-day keep up to a greater or less extent their historic animosities. This hereditary hostility has made each race feel distrustful of the socialistic organizations of other peoples although of identical principles. The social democratic organizations of the Finns, for instance, are continually bickering with similar Lithuanian groups. To this race-prejudice, Gregory Maxime attributes the fall of the ill-fated Baltic republic which under his leadership defied the power of the Czar until the old feelings of race-hatred broke out again. Everywhere this same condition exists. The Franco-German ill-feeling has caused the French social democrats to refuse to join the social democratic party of the world although their principles coincide. Running through all this question of race-prejudice, is another consideration which can with difficulty be divorced from it—difference in language.

Difference in language as it affects socialistic organization is indissolubly connected with these three elements of disunion and yet has intrinsic force. The inherent difficulty of organizing a mass of men who, although agreed as to principles, speak many different tongues, is almost enough in itself to render impossible the propagation of any doctrine such as socialism which depends for its final acceptance upon thorough conviction by involved argument. The socialistic party is, as a whole, composed of men who are not highly educated; few of its leaders speak more than one language besides their own. So great are these mechanical difficulties, that even the optimistic leaders of the social democratic party of the world are anything but sanguine as to the possibility of forming one homogeneous organization until some of the

many language difficulties are eliminated. This trouble is not confined to the Old World as is illustrated by the attempts of the Illinois state central committee to gather into the socialistic fold the Poles, Huns, and Lithuanians of South Chicago, who still clung to their native dialects. After signal failure, the party turned its attention to the English-speaking Scandinavians and Germans of the West Pullman district of Chicago, with the result that a socialist was elected to the Illinois legislature. Where there was a common language, the socialists were successful; where there were many different tongues, they lost. Countless similar examples showing the virtual impossibility of forming a strong political organization among people who speak different languages might be cited. Although racial and religious hatreds have in themselves exerted powerful tendencies to make difficult the union into one effective organization of the many socialistic parties, influences springing from the differences in language have done much to strengthen this effect. When the line of difference between socialists of the same class is religious in its origin, a difference in their languages renders this unfriendliness more bitter and harder to overcome. Although primarily the result of religious prejudice, the hostility between the Russian social revolutionists and the members of the Bund has been increased by the fact that the former speak pure Russian and the latter Yiddish. The influence of language upon race-prejudice is equally clear. As long as two peoples who are inclined to hate each other do not speak the same language, a cessation of that unfriendliness is very improbable. That this influence is generally recognized is shown by Russia's attempt to force the many peoples of the Baltic province to give up their native tongues for that of their masters and by Germany's prohibition of the teaching of French in Alsace-Lorraine. Until these peoples under the sway of the same government do adopt a common language, it is a certainty that

their present hatred toward everything foreign will exist.

Thus early in 1905 some of the leaders of the socialist party saw that the first step toward securing a centralized international organization was the elimination of the constantly disunifying effects of so many languages, an attempt was made to reduce the number of tongues spoken by members of parties which were really socialistic in principle. With their characteristic disregard for practical details, many of the stronger members of the social democratic party of the world became very active in attempting to give shape to the movement. The evil effects of the present differences in language they clearly saw; they understood that if the present number of tongues in the regions where socialism might flourish could be reduced to three and eventually one, their party would become of greatly increased strength; but the course of action necessary to inaugurate this reform they did not formulate with any very great definiteness. The then-existing social democratic party of the world was taken as a nucleus for the international organization. To this was added the efficient and successful social democratic party of Germany and the socialist party of the United States, which, although in local politics of little value, is a source of strength to the international organization. Dr. Maxime contributed his Baltic branch of the evolutionary socialists and a few nearby Russian social democrats and members of the Bund followed soon after. From this new social democratic party of the world, all languages except English, Russian, and German are to be gradually eliminated. When Dr. Maxime was in the United States in the summer of 1906, he visited local groups and attempted to centralize the American section of the language reform. In the Chicago ghetto and in South Chicago, great and fairly effective attempts are now being made to carry out this plan by attempting to minimize the number of languages in

use. A generation is the time set for the success of the Chicago movement by Dr. Eugene Frankel who was left in charge by Dr. Maxime.

As this elimination of languages goes on, it is thought by the leaders in the movement that the four most important causes of their lack of unity—race prejudice, religious animosity, difference of vocation, and mechanical difficulty of a multiplicity of tongues, will be eradicated. This introduction of a few common languages cannot help but batter down the barriers of race-hatred between the smaller racial divisions of the same general socialistic party. In small regions such as the Baltic provinces where now perhaps a dozen languages are spoken, the effect of the exclusive use of Russian is sure to result in the ultimate union of the organization there. The Russian government, by its attempt to do this very thing, has proved itself an unwitting ally. Whether this process will be equally effective when applied to the larger divisions is considered more uncertain. In regard to the different religions, the same general effect is obvious. With common languages, the old hatreds and suspicions would be gradually overcome by a more free exchange of ideas. Contact of Greek and Roman and Jew and Gentile would be made practicable and the inevitable result would be a fusion of the socialists who were formerly kept separated by religious differences.

More difficult, however, is the task of uniting the laborer in the city and the peasant through the influence of language reform. Although in many cases, particularly in southern Russia, different languages or dialects are spoken, the factor which separates these socialists is the fundamental differences in their kind of socialism. The social democrat of the city believes as a general thing that socialism should and will come as the result of evolutionary processes which are to be caused by a general education of the people; the social revolutionist in the country and provincial cities relies

on the "terror"—the socialistic expression for indiscriminate butchery—to bring about what he thinks will be the millenium. In just what manner this chasmic difficulty will be bridged by the language reform is not made clear by the enthusiastic socialists. With the vague optimism characteristic of their party, the leaders in this language movement say they rather think in some way the precise particulars of which they do not know, it will prove effective.

If the reform is successful, the resultant socialistic organization will of course be greatly strengthened. At the same time moreover it is equally evident that those elements which the non-socialist considers the most dangerous will be thoroughly eliminated. This is almost proved by the very fact that the branch of the party which is leading in this propaganda is the most conservative. Although many of the divisions which will be amalgamated will bring with them some of their more radical ideas, the organization which results will inevitably be given its character from the evolutionary theories of the present social democratic party of the world. This organization has repeatedly gone on record as intolerant of anything bordering on the "terror." Thus, although this ultimate social democratic party of the world is sure to have greatly increased effectiveness if the visionary plans of its leaders materialize, those elements which to the non-socialist appear the least radical will automatically characterize this new monster organization.

"A greater foe to organized socialism than capital and hostile government combined is difference in language," said Dr. Maxime, in summing up the question to the writer in the summer of 1906. "Were it not for these conditions, which would not exist were there fewer differences in language, Russia to-day would have been a republic. If a common language had made race prejudice in the Baltic impossible, the Baltic republic would have been in existence and I would not be a hunted fugitive. If

Russia had one language, it would to-day be a social democracy where economic justice would be the basis of everything. The elimination of many of the languages now spoken by socialists would overcome much of the disunifying effect of racial and religious prejudice. By this plan of throwing out of use superfluous lan-

guages, we hope to unite the socialists of the world into one efficient, centralized and irresistible organization which will by a peaceful and gradual evolutionary process revolutionize the economic system of the world."

WARREN DUNHAM FOSTER.

Chicago, Ill.

RECENT HUMANISTIC LEGISLATION IN NEW ZEALAND.

BY EDWARD TREGGAR,

Secretary of Labor for the Commonwealth of New Zealand.

SO CONSTANTLY do communications addressed to me arrive from the United States, so numerous are the letters from journalists, lawyers, farmers, politicians, and university men, concerning our "progressive legislation" in New Zealand, that I trust I shall be pardoned for drawing attention to late events occurring in our little colony. In calling it "little" I refer chiefly to its paucity of population, and to the slight commercial importance which its isolated position and distance from the world's great centers at present renders unavoidable. In other ways we laughingly hope that the value of our minute existence may be estimated as is the rare excellence of radium.

In writing of what has been lately done towards the betterment of our economic and social order by legislation, it will be fair to present not only what has been brought into permanent existence, but also what has been attempted, and what is projected in the near future. In the world of practical men it is the accepted rule to count only actual achievements, but the thinker and reformer will probably desire to discover and get into sympathy with the guiding spirit of such legislation. More may perhaps be learned by inference and by observation of a general tendency of effort than by solely

recognizing the obvious and material results.

First, then, to speak of what has been done during the last few years. The Factories Act originally intended only to protect women and youths by regulating their working-hours, overtime-payment, holidays, etc., has been extended to cover the hours of men engaged in industrial work so far as payment for overtime (at extra rates) beyond an eight-hours-day is concerned. This is so widely spread that even the forest-workers engaged in getting lumber for saw-mills come under its provisions. Shop-assistants ("store-clerks") and clerks in offices have also been legislated for in a similar direction, the hours of men assistants now being made equal to those of women and overtime payments conceded to both should they be required to work beyond prescribed hours. These reforms, vital in principle and affecting tens of thousands of the poorer classes, were rendered imperative, not only by many cases of hardship and extortion, but by justifiable complaint of the women that laws made for their protection had in effect by limiting working hours, prescribing overtime payment, etc., placed a handicap on their work as compared with that of men if the element of sex-competition entered into the industrial

field, as it has widely done. If men can be worked all hours, at any rates of pay, and without payment for holidays, then women working under restrictions (designed, of course, for their health's sake) suffered unfair and unequal pressure. Now, from manufactories, shops, etc., this pressure has been removed. In the mines the legal definition of an "eight hours' shift" has been made so that it is counted from "bank to bank," *i. e.*, that it commences when the miner presents himself at the mouth of the pit or shaft. Formerly the time lost in descent and ascent, and in proceeding along workings (sometimes for miles) was lost by the worker, who was expected to perform this duty gratis, but now such expense must be borne by the management.

Such legislation, however, is only intended to cover those occupations not at present carried on under the direction of the Conciliation and Arbitration Act. The subject of "compulsory arbitration" has in its working existence presented so many interesting phases that I propose to make its developments subjects of a separate article. I refer to it now because a part of the direct benefit which was expected from it by many has proved illusive. It was anticipated, especially by the manual workers, that one of the effects of the Act would be to greatly augment their wages and earnings. It has not fulfilled this expectation. Wages have only been slightly raised on the whole, although in particular trades, considerable advance has been made. In other directions, the gain has been considerable, including shorter hours of labor, a minimum living-wage, payment for overtime at increased rates, and above all, steadiness and continuity of employment. These may be looked upon as valuable "by-products" of the Arbitration Act, but the direct enhancement of wages has not resulted. Even the benefit which should have been conferred through the advance in wages made during the last fifteen years, has been more than lost through the still greater

advance in the cost of the necessities of life. This is a matter not confined to the Colony in its general application, since workers in older countries have similarly suffered during the same period. The trouble, in all probability, ensues because with the advance, the legitimate advance in culture of all civilized communities, the phrase "the necessities of life" has a far wider application than was the case fifty years ago. Still, even beyond the wider general cast of this net of life's necessities special conditions have here been in action which appeared to bear with harshness and cruel incidence upon the working-classes. Chief of these was the rise in rents, most noticeable in the principal cities, and particularly in Wellington, the capital of the colony. The rent difficulty reached so acute a stage that in numerous cases more than a third of the laborers' earnings went for a shelter (often of a poor kind) over the heads of his family, and it was evident that the prices charged bore no proportion to the cost of the accommodation provided. The Government, which had already successfully entered the field of commercial competition in the case of life-insurance, fire-insurance, accident-insurance, public-trusteeship, state coal-mines, railway construction and management, telegraph and telephone installations, state loans to settlers, etc., etc., has proven the possibility not only of successfully carrying on such operations nationally, but that the effect of such enterprises is to control the charges and tariffs of companies and of individuals without driving private enterprise altogether from the field; in fact, to check exorbitant profits and monopolies by State control of business. Therefore it was resolved by Parliament to pass legislation by means of which pleasant homes could be provided for the working-classes, with benefits not usually granted by private holders of property. Not only are fair rents to be charged (about \$2.50 per week) but sinking funds provided by which (if so de-

sired) a portion of the rent received by Government is set aside in order that after a few years the house and land may become the freehold property of the occupier. In the larger cities where pressure is most extreme, cottages have been built on fair-sized allotments, but are not to be let to persons having incomes exceeding \$1,000 per annum. Of their appearance and suitability as residences, the reader may judge by the accompanying illustrations. The cottages are being freely applied for, and the scheme promises not only to provide homes in which workingmen can bring up families in decency and self-respect, but to relieve the congestion in crowded city streets by reducing the competition for the remaining houses.

The system thus sketched in outline was by no means the full extent or limit of the State attempt to provide workers with homes. Settlers in the country districts have for some years benefitted through loans of money obtained abroad on national security at a low rate of interest and then lent to farmers and others in order to allow them to develop their properties, particularly in the direction of the removal of the pressure of strangling mortgages executed in "the good old times." The town-dwellers, who, with all other inhabitants of the Colony, had borne the liability for the rural settlers guarantee, now have an opportunity afforded them also of sharing the benefits of cheap money, and of a principle which was the very fount and origin of New Zealand's present prosperity, *viz.*, deliverance from private control. "The Government Advances to Workers Act, 1906," is best described in its preamble, which sets forth that it is "An Act to enable Government to assist workers in providing homes for themselves." Its use is limited to persons employed in manual or clerical work and not in receipt of an income of more than a thousand dollars a year nor owners of any other land except that on which it is intended to build. Such a person may

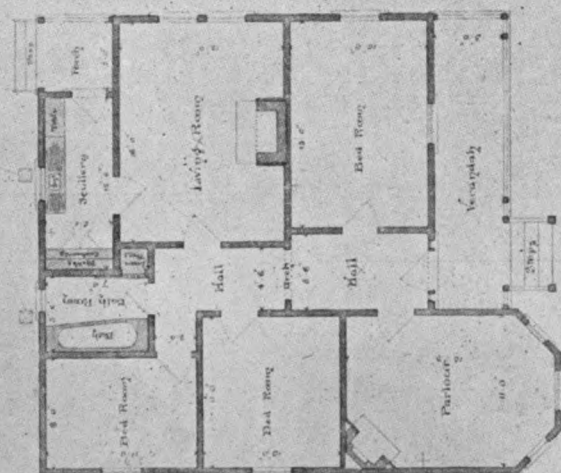
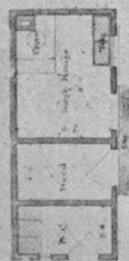
obtain a loan from Government, having a maximum of \$1,750, subject to certain regulations. The loan is to be for 36½ years at 5 per cent. interest (less ½ per cent. if paid within 14 days of due date) payable half yearly; but by these payments the loan itself is extinguished in the time mentioned. Any sum greater than the interest named may be paid in if convenient, in order to hasten the acquittance of the capitalized debt.

Even the most perfect system hitherto formulated by private employers for the housing of their workmen's families has suffered under the suspicion (sustained on two or three occasions) that private townships, however lavishly supplied with libraries, baths, gymnasias, public-gardens, etc., may be used as weapons in the hour of an industrial dispute. At such a time, when the functions of employer and landlord merge into one person or corporation, social and economic pressure can be applied to the wage-earner in a way that must be a great temptation to the wielder of such power, and the worker naturally dreads to find himself at once both discharged and evicted. A State Government stands too high for the dread of coercion in this manner to affect its tenants.

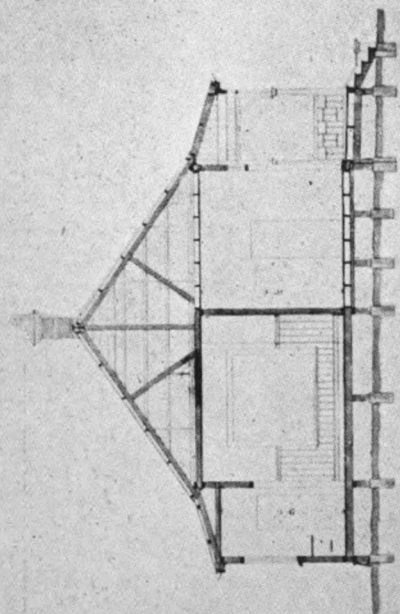
If, then, the worker does not care to obtain a house and land already provided, he has by this alternative scheme of a money-advance, an opportunity to make his home in a particular place, and build his house in an independent or original manner. The system must stimulate individual enterprise, while raising the general tone of comfort among those on whom the hardships of life fall most heavily. Such a scheme must surely meet the approval of those who prefer the expression "Collective Individualism" to the dreaded phrase "Socialistic legislation."

Those who knew most closely our late Premier, Mr. Seddon, and feel for his memory that reverent affection so eloquently described by the Editor of *THE ARENA* in the November issue of this

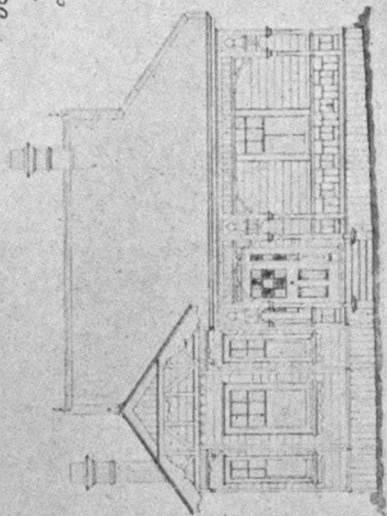
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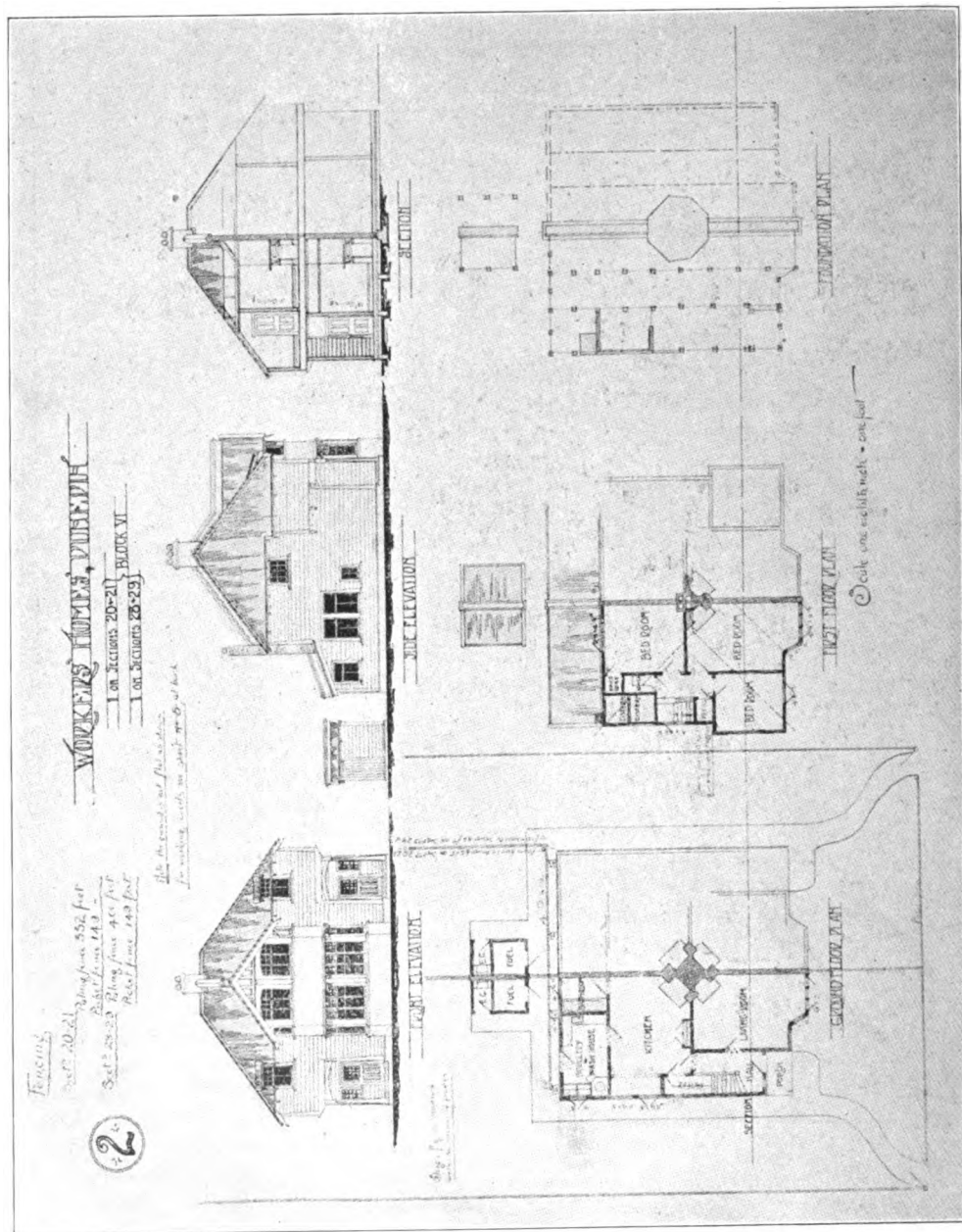


JOHN M. WALKER
ARCHITECT
CITY CORNER, AUCKLAND.



Front Elevation

PLAN OF WORKMEN'S HOMES, AUCKLAND, NEW ZEALAND, ERECTED BY THE GOVERNMENT AND RENTED TO WORKINGMEN.

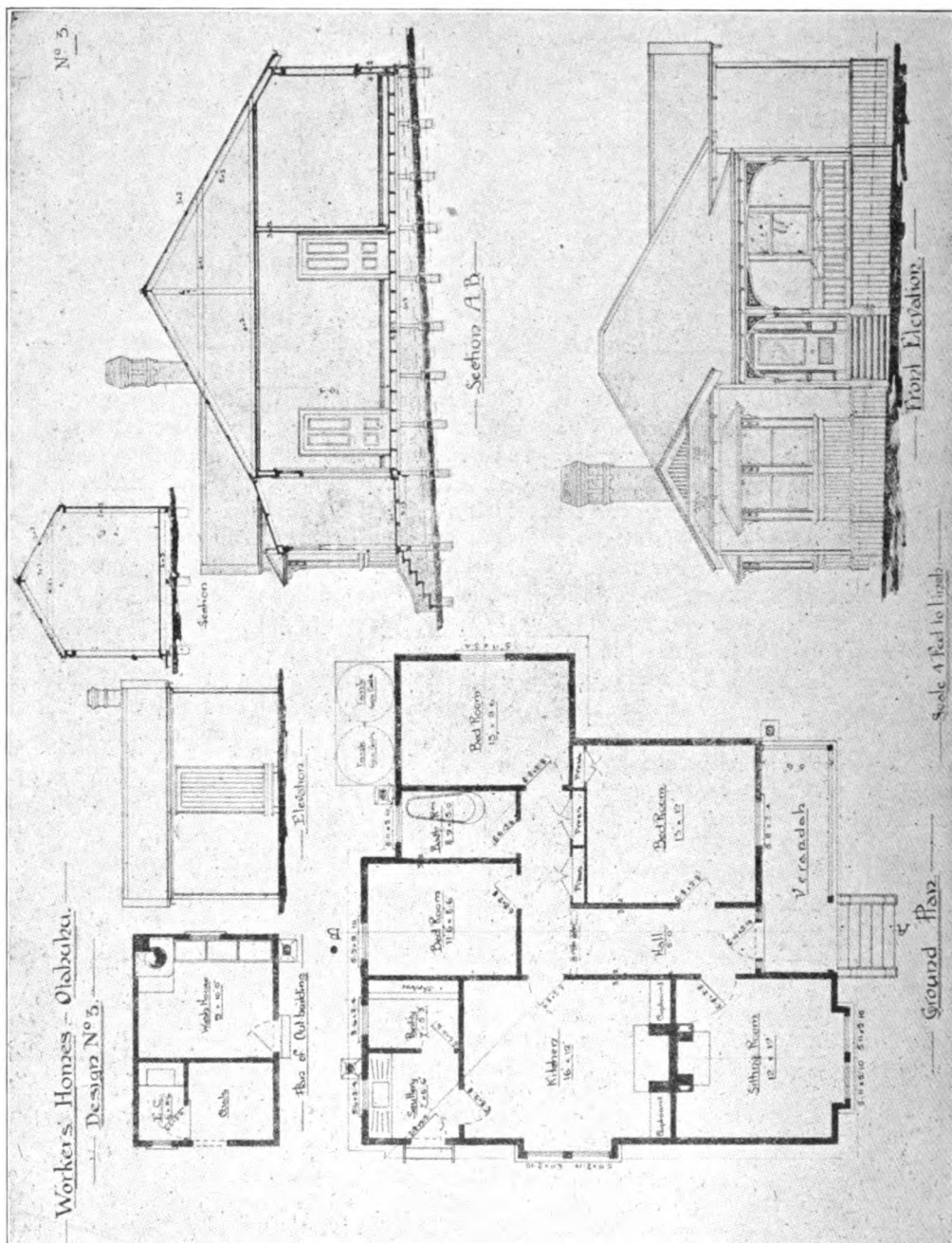


magazine, have an added sorrow, inasmuch as they are aware that there was one project dear to his heart which his sudden death in "the fighting line" prevented him from seeing carried out. It was his scheme for the provision of National Annuities, a subject which he said he hoped would be "the crown of his career." Happy are the people whose trusted leader declares the crown to which he aspires to be only one more and greater benefaction to the struggling and the needy!

The idea of "National Annuities" arose in Mr. Seddon's mind through representations made to him that although during the acceptance of the present competitive system it is impossible to disturb radically the existing industrial conditions, yet compensation may perhaps be effected at the other end of the economic balance. To make my meaning clearer a larger illustration must be used. Hitherto the individual has been expected to recognize his duty towards the State, with little clarity of acknowledgment from the State of its duty towards the individual. A man or woman is expected to obey the laws, to pay taxes, to behave worthily as a citizen, but the State seldom recognizes any individual ability or effectiveness which governs the response. We are gravely warned "to keep our cradles full," without the corresponding fact being enunciated with emphasis that the man who helps to keep a wife and half-a-dozen children pays (through customs-duties, etc.,) far heavier taxation than the man who spends his income on himself. The most valuable function of a citizen from a national standpoint, *viz.*, that of providing the State with citizens of the future, is penalized, and the parents who have denied themselves many gratifications—sometimes even stripped themselves bare of possessions or of the opportunity of advancement—to clothe, feed and educate the young people without whom there would, in a few years, be no State at all, these parents may die

in the gutter or in the frozen hell of the workhouse so far as the State generally is concerned. In the industrial world this pleasing indifference to the social aspect cannot yet be interfered with. The bachelor toiling at his bench and producing as much per hour as his married competitor must receive his earnings on the value of his work, not on the number of mouths he has to fill. This is part of the system; here the State is powerless to intervene, for any interference in the direction that the man with dependents should receive more pay than one without any would ensure the discharge of "the head of the family," and be laughed out of court. *The State, nevertheless, should not join in the laughter.* The State's first and most pressing business is its own existence; if it gives no encouragement to parents, but on the contrary penalizes and flouts them, whatever other motives and causes may tend to the production and nurture of children a feeling of national obligation will do nothing. The men and women, who, accepting fully the duty of parenthood, have therefore to live in meaner streets, wear poorer clothes, eat less palatable and less nourishing food, together with a thousand other daily self-sacrifices, owe the State no thanks, nor its rulers gratitude.

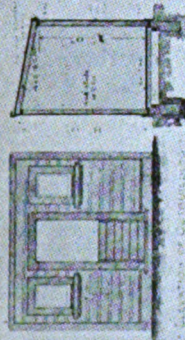
Mr. Seddon, then, realizing the industrial position, cast about for other means of helping the parent than by interfering between wage-earner and wage-payer. He resolved to institute a system whereby thrift might be encouraged and at the same time the difficulties in the way of honest thrift be recognized. This is to be done by State subsidies added to sums deposited, such sums being supposed to be devoted towards the purchase of an annuity (the lowest of which is \$65 per annum) to be granted on reaching the ages of 60, 65, or 70. Should, however, the sums deposited during the time of payment not be sufficient to purchase an annuity, on any sum deposited with the Government Insurance Depart-



PLAN OF WORKMEN'S HOMES, OTAHUHU, NEW ZEALAND, ERECTED BY THE GOVERNMENT AND RENTED TO WORKMEN.

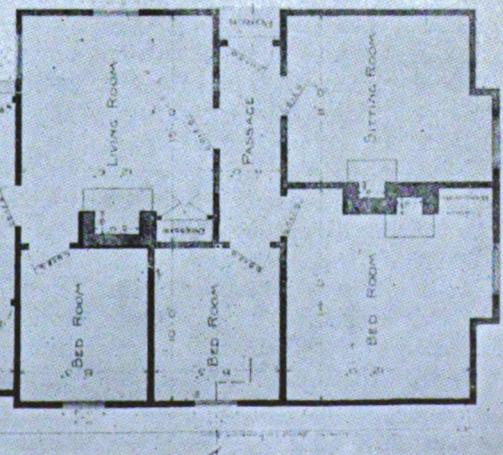
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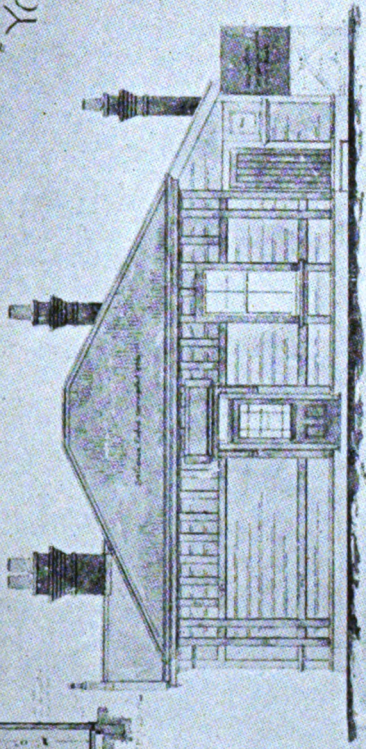


PLAN OF KITCHEN

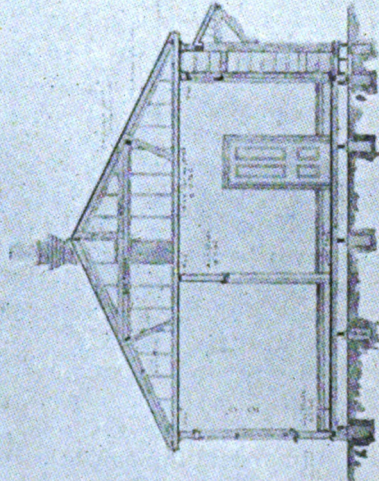
PLAN OF BATH ROOM



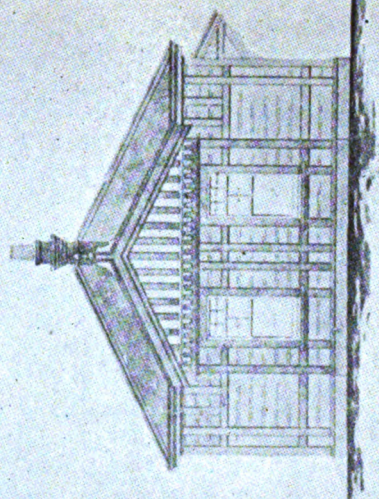
GROUND PLAN



SIDE ELEVATION



SECTION A-A



FRONT ELEVATION

PLAN OF WORKMEN'S HOMES, NORTH ISLAND, NEW ZEALAND, ERECTED BY THE GOVERNMENT AND RENTED TO WORKMEN.

ment interest will be paid until the deposit is withdrawn, and this interest will vary with the number of dependents and the income of the depositor, etc. Thus, an unmarried man will receive as subsidy (say) 10 per cent.; a married man 12½ per cent., increasing with the number of children through 1 child, 15 per cent.; 3 children, 20 per cent.; 6 children, 27½ per cent.; and over 12 children, 35 per cent. In addition there is an extra subsidy of 5 per cent. to those whose incomes are under \$780 per annum, another 5 per cent. if depositor is a member of a Friendly Society, another 2½ per cent. for "persistence" in depositing—such persistence meaning the continuance for three years of deposits averaging not less than \$10.50 during each of the three years. The Government is not to pay subsidies to those in receipt of \$1,300 per annum or over. The most favored person, and one in a position for which few will be able to qualify, is a widow or widower with 12 twelve children, earning under \$15 a week, a friendly-society member, and "persistent." Such a man or woman would receive a State subsidy of 50 per cent. on all sums deposited.

It will be seen by this rough outline how thoroughly the "commercial" aspect of reward has been superseded in this projected system through help being given to those most needing help, that is to the poor men and women struggling along while trying to nurture the State's future citizens. Not even in Old-Age Pensions (which was a forward movement in its day) has such a principle been attempted to be fostered, for the aged bachelor or spinster receives as much in pension as the old father or mother of a brood of citizens. I do not hesitate to say that it is at once the most advanced as it is the most logical and humane of all endeavors to further social justice through legislation.

Unfortunately for "National Annuities" on its presentation as a Bill to the House of Representatives, all political interest in this or any other measure was

overshadowed by the intensity of a fight then going on *re* the lands of the Colony. The Government under its new Premier, Sir Joseph Ward, had introduced a Land Bill of startling novelty. The Hon. Mr. McNab, the Minister for Lands, proposed that all persons holding land worth more than two hundred and fifty thousand dollars (\$250,000) unimproved value must sell the surplus or dispose of it before ten years. There has been much pressure on Government for land for settlement and so little Crown land is left (only 1,641,207 acres, worth perhaps \$3,000,000) that it is desirable to reserve the remainder as endowments to support Education, Old-Age Pensions, etc., while it is urged that those who wish to purchase freeholds can obtain them through the surplus areas large landowners are to be compelled to sell. The proposal met with some violent opposition, being adroitly turned into a "freehold *vs.* leasehold" struggle, so that the Government had to withdraw the Bill for the session in order that during the next recess it could be explained to the small farmer that no attack on his freehold was attempted but only an effort was to be made to get from the proprietors of huge estates some portion in order to provide farms for the poorer settlers' sons. That campaign is now proceeding. The Ministerial party and the Opposition are delivering polemical speeches all over the country.

There are many important measures and projects under consideration, but it is impossible to touch on them in a single article lest the patience of both the reader and the editor should be exhausted. I trust that it will be long before the brains and administrative power of our statesmen cease their fertility and their efforts to do good work for their fellow-men. Until the time of utter barrenness and futility arrives I feel sure that their brothers in Britain and the United States will take interest in the Colony.

EDWARD TREGGAR.

Wellington, N. Z.

JENKIN LLOYD JONES AND HIS MASTER-WORK, THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN CENTER.

BY GEORGE WHARTON JAMES.

TEN or a dozen years ago I was speaking with Frances Willard in regard to the ideal church and she said: "To my mind there are but two ideal churches in the United States!" I interrupted her before she had gone further and said: "I venture to assert that I can name them." "Perhaps you can," was her reply, and she nodded her assent and approval when I said: "One is Thomas K. Beecher's church in Elmira, New York, and the other is Jenkin Lloyd Jones' 'All Souls' church' in Chicago." Yet Miss Willard was a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church and neither of these ministers belonged to that body.

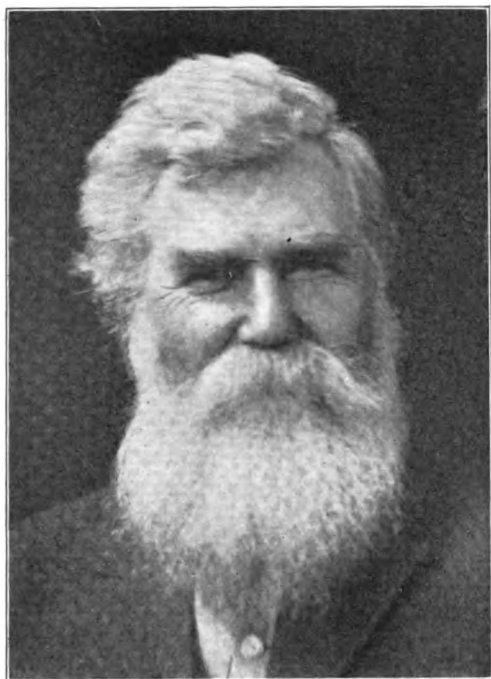
For nearly twenty years I have had the joy and profit of close friendship with Jenkin Lloyd Jones, and because of the unique position he holds as a preacher, and the wonderful work he has accomplished in three varied lines outside of his ministerial work, I feel that he should be known, and well known, to the readers of THE ARENA.

Mr. Jones is a man of virile personality, both in appearance, work and thought. He is rugged and strong, powerful and vigorous, dealing with primitive and lasting things with primitive directness, strength and power. The result is he reaches only those who want to think, who *dare* to think, who love to think, and then are not afraid to follow out the results of their own thought.

Sturdy of build, standing about five feet seven inches high, head crowned with a thatch of white hair, and face covered with a shock of white beard, untrimmed and free, eyes sunk deep in their sockets, which are overhung with heavy eyebrows, thickly thatched with dark lashes, eyes that peer at you kindly but searchingly through slits made by their

almost closed lids and then beam on you suddenly with full orb revealed by the wide opening of the lids, he looks more like a jolly sea-captain just home from a voyage over seas who has not had time yet to have his beard and hair trimmed than the presiding minister of the Lincoln Center, the editor of *Unity* and the writer of sermons that breathe the spirit of gentleness and love to all created things.

But I love to see that ruggedness of hair and face. There is an individuality about it revealing the man who cares little for the conventional, the "nice," the frivolous, but who is rugged, strong, virile, real. He is an *El Capitan* of a man,—a tower of granite, with a bold face 3,300 feet high, that impresses with its native grandeur, and not a tiny figurine of clay, or a sculptured Mercury in marble. Not that I decry these pretty little things of clay and marble. I would have them around me, but when I want the large things, the sense of power, freedom, unrestrained Nature just as it comes from the hand of God, I go to the Yosemite and stand before *El Capitan*, or down into the Grand Canyon, or out into the Colorado Desert to the groves of native palms, or up the Sierras to the Big Trees, so do I come to a man like Jenkin Lloyd Jones and I feel that here is a giant soul who loves the free winds of heaven, the storms, the hurricanes, the thunderbolts, the lightnings, the glaciers, the avalanches of life, as well as the sweet odors of the tiny flowers, the gentle zephyrs and the soothing songs of birds. He is a primitive man thrust down the ages with primitive power of thought, primitive power of expression, primitive fire and passion, primitive insight and intuition, primitive poetic and religious instinct, with the addition of



JENKIN LLOYD JONES

Abraham Lincoln Center's Birthday, February 12, 1907.

all that the refinements of modern culture, the subtleties of modern education and the knowledge of modern life can give. He often reminds me of Joseph Parker, the leonine headed and hearted preacher of the City Temple, London.

In preaching, his voice at first strikes one as somewhat harsh and strident, but when he is fully awakened and swinging along with the power and force of his thought his tones become vibrant with deep passion, resonant and strong, from which all harshness disappears.

Three things,

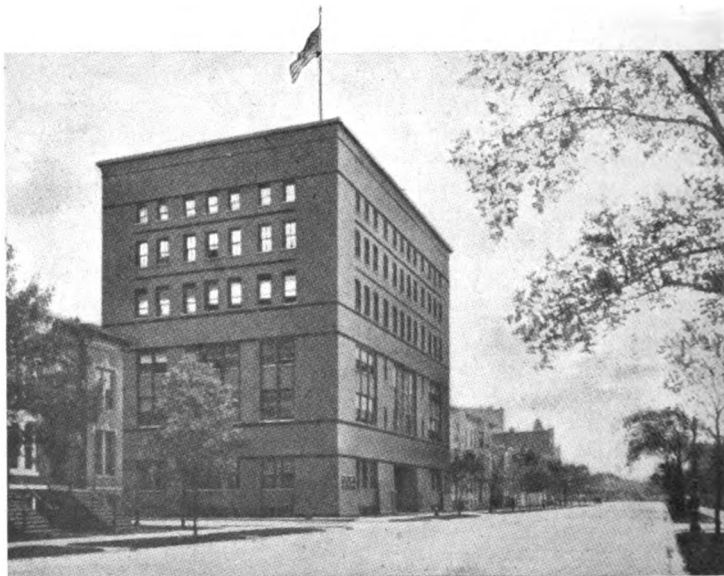
yea, four things outside of his work as a pastor reveal Jenkin Lloyd Jones as an unusual and remarkable humanitarian. These are:

1. The weekly paper, *Unity*. For nearly thirty years he has been Senior Editor of this paper that stands for freedom, fellowship and character in religion, which he has made to live for all these years without the backing of any religious denomination. Like the other works of Mr. Jones, it has shed its influence across many lines and in many fellowships. *Unity* was among the first papers to demand that every advertisement entering its pages should be clean and good. Many "religious" papers are a disgrace to decency, let alone Christianity.

2. The Tower Hill School of Rest and Life. I do not think this is the name given to the place by Mr. Jones, but it is my name. I shall speak of this more fully later.

3. The Abraham Lincoln Center.

4. The lecture-platform to which he has been called to occupy more and more on its thoughtful side. School commencements, teachers' institutes, women's clubs and colleges have listened to



ABRAHAM LINCOLN CENTER, NORTH-EAST CORNER OF OAKWOOD BOULEVARD AND LANGLEY AVENUE, CHICAGO.



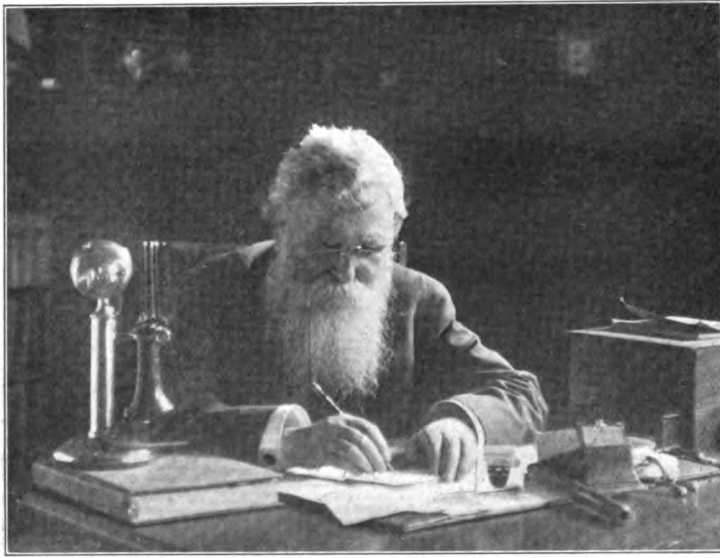
RESIDENT-ROOMS OF JENKIN LLOYD JONES, ABRAHAM LINCOLN CENTER.

his lectures on "The Cost of An Idea," "The Cost of a Fool," "Character," "The Three Reverences," "Browning," "Emerson," "George Eliot," "Walt Whitman," and many other subjects for many years, and his habit of escaping from the March weather in Chicago to more sunny climes has created for him a special opportunity in Southern fields, where he has been welcomed, in spite of his radicalism, in most conservative circles. Surely these four works stamp the man as boldly progressive and helpfully humanitarian.

Where was he born, and what stuff went into his making? Let us see. He was given to the world by his mother on the fourteenth day of November, 1843, in Cardiganshire, South Wales, so that he is now a little over sixty-three years of age. He celebrated his first birthday by landing in New York whither his

parents came seeking a larger life than the Old Country afforded. He is an alumnus of the log school. The schoolhouse was built in the heart of the Wisconsin forest wilderness, where his parents settled, and finally, when the country was surveyed, it was found that the schoolhouse was in the middle of the road. Here he lived the first twelve years of his American life, in a Wisconsin log-house, which parental love, tenderness and sympathy made into a beautiful home. Indians and deer were regularly seen, and quinine was a regular article of diet.

Intellectually he came from a line of heretics. There have been three Jenkin Jones in the family, all preachers of heresy according to orthodox beliefs. The original Jenkin Jones found the doors of the Episcopal church closed against him as far back as 1726 and he began the heret-



JENKIN LLOYD JONES AT HIS STUDY TABLE.

ical movement in his mother's garden over ninety years before the American Channing preached his famous Baltimore sermon. He established six churches in his lifetime in South Wales, which were branded with the unpopular name of "Socinian."

Jenkin's father was a radical. He came to America chiefly that he might give to his children freedom in religion and politics. He was born with a hatred of slavery, whether of body, mind or soul, and the growing child felt the home atmosphere magnetic with rebellion against convention and enslavement of every kind.

There were ten children in the family of which Jenkin was the seventh when an important move was made. When Jones, senior, settled in Wisconsin he had the old country idea that the prairies were useless for farming. He walked and rode over thousands of prairie acres and told his wife they were of such poor land that one could not grow a switch on them. So he sought the heart of the heaviest timber and there proceeded to carve a home out of the forest. At the end of twelve years he discovered the

fertility and the attractiveness of the prairie country and moved so that he and his children might have more elbow room.

It was there, in Sauk county, Wisconsin, that Jenkin grew up, attended the village school and finally the County Academy. When the war of the Rebellion broke out, the lad of eighteen soon fought out within his own soul the battle as to whether he should go to college or

camp, and as soon as he was old enough to be accepted, he took to the camp. He enlisted as a private in the Sixth Wisconsin Battery, in August, 1862, a company that had preceded him to the field a year before. Five days after his enlistment he was in front of the enemy in Mississippi. He was on the fighting line, still in citizen's clothes. For three years he fought, as a "high private in rear rank,"—indeed until the end of the war. He was in the advance columns of McPherson, Logan, Grant and Sherman, that fought at Corinth, Holly Springs, Vicksburg, Chattanooga, Missionary Ridge, the Atlanta campaign and Nashville. He never left the front nor saw home until he returned discharged at the end of the war. Though in the field hospital, he never went to the rear. The earlier part of his service he was the "babe of the regiment," and though never wounded in service he carries to his grave an "army ankle." Weakened by camp-fever, he went on drill and a caisson ran over his ankle, injuring it for life.

Returned to his home he felt he was too big to go to school, and he resolutely put the university out of his mind, be-

cause his parents were growing old, his older brothers were married and the responsibility of the farm seemed naturally to fall upon him. So, without a murmur, he took up the heavy burden and accepted it as his destined lot, that he should remain on the farm and help his parents. That winter he taught school. When summer harvesting came he was working hard, when suddenly the inner impulse asserted itself. Without reflection, he spoke it out to his eldest brother, Thomas, who was cradling the wheat which Jenkin was binding.

“Thomas! what would father do if I were to go away?”

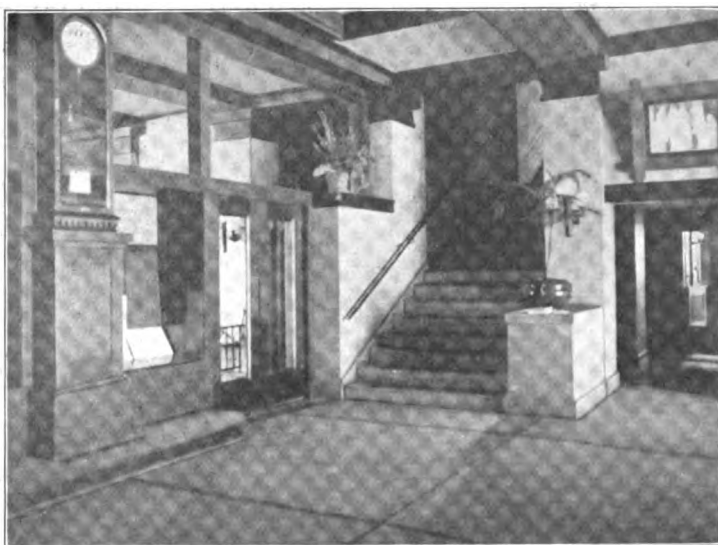
“Go away! Jenk., what do you mean?”

“Why, I feel that I must go away and study to be a minister!”

“Is that so? Well, if you really mean that, and will go and be a good one, you must go; John and I will help father.”

And go he did! To the Meadville Theological School in Pennsylvania. In four years he took the regular three years' professional course and much of the academic work of a college as well, earning his way the two first years by taking care of the furnace and sawing the cordwood for the same before daylight. Then he began to tutor boys for college; actually preparing boys for Harvard over the road he himself was traveling a few weeks in advance.

After graduation three calls came to him from different churches. One was from a New England town and the seminary faculty urged him to accept it. They claimed that with his temperament, the

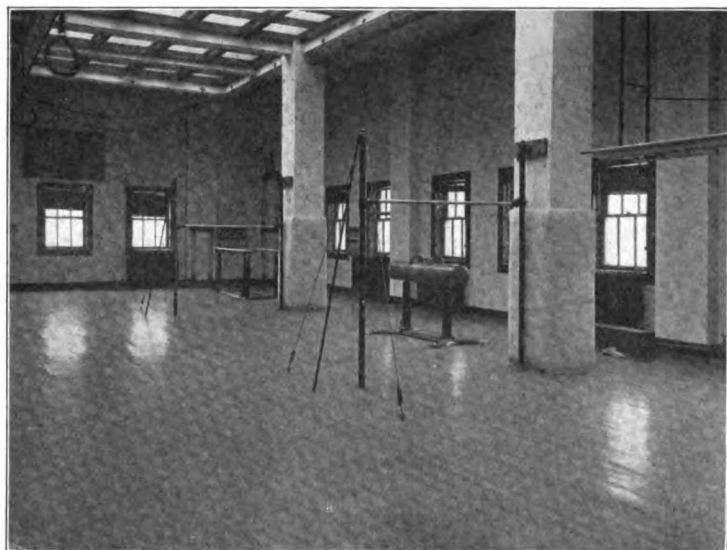


A GLIMPSE OF THE VESTIBULE, ABRAHAM LINCOLN CENTER.

West would kill him. He had studied hard, was frail-looking and delicate. They thought the rough life and the strain of the West would be too great.

Another call was from a good-sized church in the West, and still another from the small suburban town of Winnetka, near Chicago, which offered him only one thousand a year. With real modesty, he accepted this last call, but at the end of the year felt that he must strike for a larger field. So he moved to Janesville, Wisconsin, where for ten years he plunged into work with the same vigor shown by his father in battling with the primeval forest. During this time he became the Organizing Secretary for the Western Unitarian Conference, and his work as an itinerant began. He lectured, organized clubs, churches and study classes.

In 1880 he came to Chicago, and in 1882 moved to the South Side and hung out his sign. Without followers or financial backing and with a faith that seemed the height of folly he began preaching, telling what congregations that came that the services could be announced only from Sunday to Sunday. For five or six years he had no stated salary. Al-



THE GYMNASIUM, ABRAHAM LINCOLN CENTER.

ways keeping the enemy in the front, allowing no arrearages.

For two years he preached in a small hall which held only sixty people, then he moved to one a little larger, where he held forth for two more years. In the meantime he was building the combined church and home, across the way from the present Lincoln Center, with money contributed by friends all over the country. For eighteen years he worked and labored there, all the time dreaming of and planning for the greater work of the Lincoln Center, which is now an accomplished fact. It was in this little church that I first learned to know, honor, respect and love him. Here I worked with him often. Here Browning classes, Emerson classes,—every kind of helpful work was carried on, the fitting precursor to the work now being done across the way.

But Jenkin Lloyd Jones has had a far greater influence upon the religious thought of America than any one conceives. This grew out of the way the great Parliament of Religions was conducted during the Chicago Exposition in 1893.

I was in Chicago when events were

shaping for the holding of the great World's Fair. I was honored not only with the friendship of Mr. Jones, but also of the Rev. John Henry Barrows, who, it will be recalled, was the President of the World's Congress of Religions. As early as 1889, I had given a series of thirteen illustrated lectures in Mr. Jones' church on "The Religions of the World," which supplemented lectures, sermons

and Sunday-school teachings which he himself was giving and had been giving for several years. Dr. Barrows was much interested in these lectures and in his own library we talked about them. When the idea of the Parliament of Religions was suggested, it was taken up by the directors of the fair as another opportunity for glorifying the City by the Lake (for such a congress had never before been held in the world), and Dr. Barrows was asked to preside over it. Our talks had led him to know of Mr. Jones' great interest in and knowledge of the various religions of the world, and after the first meeting or two of the committee, in which it was clearly revealed that not a single person present, from the chairman down to the humblest member, had the remotest idea of what the congress should do or how it should go to work, Dr. Barrows privately asked the secretary—Mr. Jones—if he would formulate a suggestive programme, outlining work for the congress for a full week, carefully balanced so as to give all parties and interests a fair representation, and he would bring it before the committee. It must be remembered that Mr. Jones was a Unitarian minister and the major part of



READING-ROOM AND LIBRARY, ABRAHAM LINCOLN CENTER.

the members represented the orthodox Catholic and Protestant churches, so that it would have been impolitic, to say the least, for him to have offered a programme. With wise reserve he handed his suggestive plan to Dr. Barrows privately and when it was presented at the next meeting, Dr. Barrows offered it without any hint as to its author. The plan covered seven days of lectures and discussions and when it was read, those who were present will remember the enthusiasm which it aroused. Said one bishop: "If we can carry out one half of that programme, we shall have the most wonderful congress in the history of the world."

All know how the plan was carried out,—nay, how the seven days grew to seventeen.

During the progress of the Congress, all learned to rely upon Mr. Jones. All felt that he was the shaping power of the gatherings. Though he presided but

seldom, he was ever in evidence on the platform and in the vestibules and it was manifest that he not only had deep sympathy with the men and principles involved, but a close grip on the details, which were committed unreservedly to him and it is by no means in any spirit of belittling the great work accomplished by my now sainted friend, Barrows, that I unhesitatingly declare that the real accomplishment of the purposes of the Congress was owing to the clear understanding of its needs by Mr. Jones. Indeed, one layman who was present, seeing the way he handled the various and different phases of the work, then and there begged him to accept a position in business, offering him a salary of five thousand a year "as a starter."

This Congress was not only a manifestation of Mr. Jones' breadth of spirit and comprehension, but it had a marked and decided effect upon his own subse-



WISCONSIN RIVER, FROM TOWER HILL.

quent career. During this Congress he began to feel afresh the fetters of a denominational label, even as broad as the Unitarian Fellowship to which his church and he himself belonged. This was but another sect,—another body emphasizing the *difference* of the beliefs of men, and all his own preaching, all his teaching, all his writing, all the work of this Congress had been emphasizing the fact that the things to be emphasized were not the *differences* but the *harmonies*.

So he laid the matter before his congregation frankly and freely,—well I remember the day, for I happened to be present,—and said they must help him to be free. The Unitarian Denomination had been very kind in helping build the church they were then occupying and had contributed about four thousand dollars to that end. This, Mr. Jones said, must be repaid before they could think of independence, so in due time the money was raised.

Hence, when Lincoln Center was built and its work established, it was not as a sectarian movement. The church that worships there is not a member of any sect or covenant. It has no restricting creed. All ministers are welcome to its platform, so that they emphasize the common aspirations of mankind and glorify the means of attaining them.

The organized church that makes Lincoln Center its home with Mr. Jones as its permanent minister has this as a "Bond of Union": "We join ourselves together in the interest of morality and religion, as interpreted by the growing thought and purest lives of humanity, hoping thereby to bear one another's burdens and promote truth,

righteousness and love in the world." There is no religionist, be he agnostic, deist, atheist, pantheist, Christian, Buddhist, Mahomedan or Hottentot, who does not find in this a *working* bond, a means of union.

What Lincoln Center is can best be seen from the accompanying photographs and in the statement of its work by Mr. Jones' efficient assistant, Mrs. Edith Lackersteem.

The building is situated on the corner of Oakwood boulevard and Langley avenue, just across the way from the old building. It extends 108 feet on the boulevard and 118 feet on the avenue, offering seven and a half floors, built four square to the world with two fronts and no rear. From principle, as well as for economy, the architecture is severely plain. The absence of ornamentation is its attraction.

Its last schedule of activities published includes some thirty different counts and the working staff, published on the weekly bulletin, contains twenty-three names. It is open seven days in the week, employs three stenographers, keeps two telephone lines busy. It aims to be a spiritual power-house, from which will radiate as many helps as possible and towards which all human needs may tend.

The Gymnasium, Domestic Science,

Emerson Hall, Civics Room, Browning Room, Auditorium, Directors' Room, Rest Room, Picture Room, The Hill Reading Room, the Library, the Nancy Hanks Room, Reception Room, *Unity* Room, the Office, the Lincoln Center Shop, the Minister's Study, Manual Training, Dark Rooms, the Magazine Dispensary, are some of the titles in the bulletin that are more or less self-ex-

planatory. Sixteen workers and helpers are in permanent residence in the building. The whole plant represents an investment of over \$200,000, every cent of which is paid. The Annual Expense Budget is about \$15,000, which was provided for last year. Steps are now being taken by which the whole tangible plant will be transferred to a self-perpetuating Board of Charter Members, that will further emphasize its non-sectarian and inclusive character. The object set forth in the articles of the new incorporation is as follows:

"The advancement of the physical, intellectual, social, civic, moral, and religious interests of humanity, irrespective of age, sex, creed, race, condition, or political opinion, and in the furtherance thereof, the maintenance of institutions of learning and philanthropy."

Some of Chicago's leading citizens, men and women, have consented to accept positions among the charter-members. The inclusive character of the project is exemplified not only by the *personnel* of those interested, which includes Jew and Gentile, orthodox and liberal, but in the cordial way in which



UNITY CLUB LONGHOUSE, TOWER HILL.

it is adopted as a neighborhood utility and the cordial support it receives at the hands of neighboring clergy and church-members of all denominations. In the dedication programme appeared the names of representatives of all phases of religious life, reaching from the Salvation Army to the Ethical Culture Society. Four beautiful bronze tablets decorate and interpret the building on the exterior, as follows:

On the east front:

THIS BUILDING IS DEDICATED
TO PUBLIC SERVICE HONORING THE
MEMORY OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN,
DEMOCRAT.

On the west front:

THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN CENTRE
1905
LET US HAVE FAITH THAT RIGHT MAKES
MIGHT AND IN THAT FAITH DARE
TO DO OUR DUTY.

On the right of the vestibule:

ALL SOULS CHURCH
Here let no man be stranger.



WESTHOPE COTTAGE.

On the left of the vestibule:

THE HILL READING ROOM
Knowledge is the Surest Basis of Public
Happiness.

The second will be recognized as the closing sentence of Lincoln's great Cooper Union speech. The fourth, not so readily recognized, is from the writings of George Washington.

Tower Hill is Mr. Jones' one great, soul-absorbing recreation. It was his favorite point as a boy. During the Territorial history of Wisconsin lead was brought here in large quantities to the shot-tower, perched on top of a high bluff, from which the molten metal was dropped through a hole into the water below.

Eighteen years ago Mr. Jones returned to Tower Hill to find his favorite pine-grove burned off, owing to the spreading of the camp-fire of careless vandals. Then and there he resolved to buy up the land and thus gain possession so that he could establish a summer place. For years it had been the rendezvous of stray sheep, pigs and bad boys. The surveyors in platting the hill labeled the open space on their maps as Thistle Park, be-

cause it was nothing but a patch of thistles and sand burrs.

The Rev. W. C. Gannett, now of Rochester, and the Rev. S. S. Hunting, of Iowa, now dead, entered into Mr. Jones' plans. Indeed they, with others, were in his mind when his resolution was taken. He wanted a place of rest for weary preachers, school teachers of both sexes, people with small incomes and

few friends, where they could escape from the confinements of the city and come close to the heart of nature, living at the minimum of cost. A place where the offensive intrusion of "style" would be unknown, and there would be none of the fashionable dullness of the ordinary resort,—the place that announces itself with a capital R. He wanted to have a place where life would be reduced to the minimum of wear and tear, where it would be "bad form" for a lady to change her dress save in the interests of cleanliness and personal comfort, a place where men might go around in their shirt sleeves, a place, in short, where *men* and *women* are valued more than dress, fashion and show.

The plans were speedily formulated. The barren patch was planted out in trees and was soon a charming place of beauty. Nature is left alone. There is no cutting, no pruning even, save when necessary. There are no *weeds* at Tower Hill, for every flower that grows is God's flower, and is welcomed as such. The leaves when they fall are never swept up. There is no "landscape gardening" (thank God!). Everything is natural, unrestrained, wild. Where trees have come up spontaneously they have been

protected and cared for. In all there are eighty acres belonging to the Tower Hill Association.

During two months of the summer, Mr. Jones and others reside there and studies begin. There are three centers of study.

1. The first is poetry, in which the chief objects are Browning, Whitman, Emerson and Ruskin. 2. The second is religion in its undogmatic phases. A seven years' course is arranged, which covers the ground from the primitive man and the beginnings of religious feelings and emotions up to (or down to) the latest developments in Ruskin, Emerson and other modern prophets. 3. Natural studies. In these no books are used, and even a lens is not considered necessary. Things the children can catch in the air, on the trees, in the grass, on the sand, in the earth, are fine material for study. The golden digger is watched, the wasps are studied, the birds are named, and all without trap, net, gun or other weapon. Flowers are studied *on the stem*. Not only is there no shooting, no killing allowed, but there is no picking of flowers within the limits of Tower Hill. The country people, the farmers, their wives, children, and helpers, come there for Sunday inspiration, and university people, school teachers and preachers come and enjoy its privileges.

And need it be said that Jenkin Lloyd Jones is the moving spirit and controlling mind in it all? Here he is at home. His ancestral Welsh blood asserts itself. He has his bed put up on high stilts, so that he has a fine sweep of outlook over the river. His room has no front except mosquito-netting, and no window. There he lies, his eyes wandering over the range of river and tree growth where as a bare-foot-lad he used to hunt cows, and is "Jenk. Jones" to all the people for twenty miles around. And, by the way, that reminds me of another fine custom followed at Tower Hill. All name-handles are left behind in Chicago and elsewhere when the annual pilgrimage to Tower Hill is taken.

Daily Mr. Jones takes his gallop on his fine horse, "Roos"—the name suggests his love of Browning's "How they brought the good news,"—and goes to see his farmer friends. And how I wish there were space left to me to tell of the sermons he brings back to the city-dwellers as the result of these outings into the wild, rich, and beautiful out-of-doors of God. He preaches with realistic vividness the joy of loving nature, the blessedness of little, of common things, the inspiration that comes from meeting the poorest and hardest working of God's children. He demonstrates his belief in the dignity of labor by personally dignifying the laborer and his work; he radiates the spirit and power of the worker. He believes in the largeness of life and the largeness of men and women when they are free from the trammels of convention, artificiality and prejudice. He brings the uprightness of the pine's growth, the sweetness of the flower's odor, the modesty of the violet, the purity of the lily, the warm, red life of the rose, the natural joyousness of the frisking calves, colts, and lambs, the unrestrained vigor and power of the plough horses, the dash and energy of the blooded team horses, the clarity of the pure country atmosphere, the healthful healing of its balsamic odors, the "joy of mere living"—all these and a thousand other things, thoughts and feelings he brings home to his congregations when he returns from the country. His books, *Jess*, and its companion, *A Search for An Infidel*, are "Bits of Wayside Gospel" that have become classic, fit to reign in men's hearts side by side with the works of Thoreau, Gilbert White, Burroughs and John Muir. *Jess* was his gallant horse, given him by Chicago friends. The story is a beautiful tribute to the noble qualities of a noble companion, even though that companion be regarded as belonging to the "brute" creation.

No notice of Mr. Jones' work will be complete without mention of *The Faith That Makes Faithful*, the joint product

of William C. Gannett and Mr. Jones, whose friendships and coöperative sympathies are as the ties that bound David and Jonathan. This little volume, published over twenty years ago, has been translated into German, French and the Scandinavian languages. An English edition was published with a special introduction by Lady Aberdeen. It is now in its thirty-fifth thousand and is still selling. It would be hard to find a volume of sermons which has as wide a circulation and as long a life, and the reason is not far to seek: It deals with the simple fundamentals of the spiritual life and consequently reaches the needs of the soul from Catholicism to Agnosticism. "Blessed be Drudgery," "Faithfulness," "Tenderness," "A Cup of Cold Water," and "The Seamless Robe" are titles that are self-interpretative and indicate the quality of the book.

In religion Jones is broad without being weak; loving without being namby-pamby, stimulating without harshness or insolent domination; helpful and tender to the weak and erring and demanding of the strong that they shall do all they can to bear the burdens of the weak.

His strong point is Unity. Why enlarge on differences. The thing to do is to show the points upon which different churches are agreed.

On one occasion Frances Willard was introducing Mr. Jones to a W. C. T. U. audience. The great woman leader said: "It is my privilege to introduce to the W. C. T. U. one who is a member in good and regular standing. The 'W.' excludes him necessarily; we are not so

sure about the 'C.'; he does not always agree with us in our method of handling the 'T,' but he makes such an everlasting fuss about the 'U.' that we've concluded to let him in as a full member."

And that is his spirit. He extends the hand of brotherhood to all honest workers. He commends the motive of the Social Purity League, and yet openly and frankly avows his sympathy for a man whose work the League has not understood, has condemned and sent to prison.

It is in this clean-cut clarity of vision and broad catholicity of soul that those who know Jenkin Lloyd Jones find his charm and power. The professor of every religion and creed who seeks to live aright and according to the highest finds in him a warm friend and brother.

When Charles Wagner, the great Parisian pastor, whose *Simple Life* aroused the thought of America, was here preaching and lecturing, he made his home with Mr. Jones during his stay in Chicago. Together these two kindred souls tramped up and down the streets of the city, finding in each other a rich companionship. The same may be said of Prince Volkonsky of Russia, and Professor Bonet-Maury of Paris, and many another prominent visitor from over the seas who has found the same comradeship. He is a "comradely" soul, a radiating power for good, a furnace of love and helpfulness, and I can only regret that, in this poor and inadequate sketch, I have so incompetently presented so noble a man to the readers of *THE ARENA*.

GEORGE WHARTON JAMES.

New York City.

SOME RESULTS IN MUNICIPAL-OWNERSHIP IN GREAT BRITAIN.

BY H. GARDNER MCKERROW.

THE SEDUCTION of so many of our municipal boards of government by seekers after public franchises; the almost irresistible temptation to civic dishonesty by the unsleeping pressure of these conscienceless aggregations of capital, has led many earnest and clear-thinking men in this country to believe that the only way out of the slough of corruption which is disgracing American cities to-day, is by the municipal-ownership of public utilities.

There is a danger, however, that in our eagerness to be rid of "the ills we have" we may "fly to others that we know not of."

The results of municipal-ownership in other parts of the world do not seem from a strictly practical point-of-view, to prove that this theory contains the regenerative germ which we so grievously need.

It is not my intention to discuss the ethics of municipal-ownership of public utilities at this time, nor to analyze the feasibility or otherwise of applying this principle to American conditions.

It is a question which is coming rapidly to the front in this country, and it is one which has a special interest for every citizen who has taxes to pay or property interests to conserve.

In most of the public discussions on the subject, which have been becoming more and more frequent during the past two years, the advocates of municipal-ownership have clearly been more in evidence than its critics; their optimistic accounts of its operation in other countries have been laid before the American public in numberless ways, and we have been enthusiastically assured that the adoption of this principle will go far towards eliminating the increasing bur-

dens of what is commonly called "corporate greed."

Its opponents on the other hand have for the most part been people with a very palpable "axe to grind"; representatives of the large private corporations, gas companies, transportation companies, electric lighting and power companies, whose vested interests would be the first threatened, and whose judgment may therefore be regarded as distinctly biased.

The discussion has been for the most part academic and self-interested rather than business-like; on the one side theorists, college professors, enthusiasts with the Socialistic bee buzzing in their mental organizations have stood forth as its champions, while on the other, interested advocates, retained attorneys and special-pleaders have assumed the burden of the argument.

There is, however, a strictly business side to the problem, a side in which the taxpayer and the property-owner is chiefly interested, and which resolves itself into a question as to whether municipal-ownership of public utilities has so far proved itself to be, on the whole, profitable or not.

Certainly the most interesting field to Americans, for this consideration, is England, where the idea has been extensively developed, and where the commercial and social conditions and the scale of living are more nearly on a par with those of this country, than is to be found elsewhere.

It has been one of the fundamental principles of what we may term Anglo-Saxon forms of government, that there has been what Professor Hugo Meyer has called "The minimum of governmental intervention,—that priceless heritage bequeathed to us by our forefathers"—with private privilege and private in-

dustry. The infringement of this principle surely requires that every man who has something to lose whether it be property or labor should give the form and extent of that infringement his most earnest thought. To what extent should governmental interference with private industry, once allowed, be permitted? Where should the line be drawn? Where should it cease?

Some idea of what has been done by municipalities in England may be gained from what was to be found in the *Bristol Times* for November 7, 1906, in which the following list of professions and trades, carried on by the Bristol Corporation was given: "Baths and wash-houses, masons, carpenters, plasterers, plumbers, gas-fitters, excavations, hauliers, carriers, warehousemen, timber-running, sawyers, paviors, painters, engineers, architects, tar-paviors, wheelwrights, cart-builders, harness-makers, farriers, blacksmiths, nurserymen, makers of green-houses, grave-diggers, wharfingers, crange, electric light, gas light, pile drivers, money-lenders, meat markets, vegetable markets, lodging-houses, dredgers and solicitors, to say nothing of the customary occupations of schoolmasters, librarians, property assessors, and so on."

The Socialist party in England, which has made municipal-ownership its own, frankly stated in the programme for its recent attack on the London County Council in *The People*, its official organ, of September 30, 1906, that it looked for "Municipal workshops, municipal stores, municipal milk and bread-shops, municipal dairy farms, municipal cottages, free traveling to and from work, municipal coal stores and collieries, municipal farm colonies for the unemployed paid for by a direct tax on incomes derived from private industrial concerns, and municipal clothing factories." These are ingenuously termed "the stepping-stones" in the Socialist programme.

At a recent discussion at the Society of Arts in London, Lord Wemyss, addressing Mr. John Burns, one of the labor

leaders in Parliament, now President of the Local Government Board, and a member of the present Liberal Cabinet, said: "I should like to ask Mr. Burns whether it is his view that *all* private property, what I should call the instruments of production, should be in the hands of the State or the Municipality?" And Mr. Burns' answer was: "Yes, I most certainly do."

Can any intelligent man, whether he be what is called a business man or a working man, look upon this without pausing to ask himself whether the community would be altogether safe in entrusting its entire future to the control of a political body whose avowed aims are thus stated? Would it be to the advantage of the working-classes; not the skilled, self-supporting, self-respecting artisans be it noted, but the formless, inarticulate, untrained, uneducated masses which inevitably compose the lowest stratum of the social structure in all countries; to have the incentives for individual effort removed, and all the fundamental necessities of life provided by the community at the expense of the more intelligent and better-fitted classes?

The extent to which municipal control has been carried in England may be seen in the fact that there were in March, 1904, no less than 1,045 water undertakings owned either by the municipalities or by local boards, representing an invested capital of \$330,914,491; 260 gas undertakings, representing a capital investment of \$180,563,107; 334 electricity undertakings, representing a capital investment of \$155,728,000 and 162 tramways undertakings, representing a capital investment of \$136,556,540, giving a grand total of 1,801 municipal undertakings, with a capital investment of \$803,762,138.

Of course, the only justification for municipalities employing the ratepayers' money for such incursions into heretofore privately controlled fields of endeavor lies in an ultimate saving to the ratepayer, either by a reduction of the rates, or by the showing of adequate net profits on

the capital invested, as a result of operation.

The advocates of municipal-ownership are accustomed to point to individual instances of municipalities where, they claim, net profits on the conduct of such undertakings are shown. As a rule, in doing this they neither state the amount of capital invested, nor do they show the amount that is set aside for depreciation and renewals.

The Local Government Board in England issued in February, 1903, a return dealing with the earning capacity of undertakings conducted by 299 out of 317 municipalities in England and Wales (London excluded) operating with a population of 13,000,000. On these the capital investment was \$606,000,000, of which \$504,000,000 was outstanding indebtedness, while the total net revenue was less than \$1,900,000, or not quite one-third of one per cent., and even with this meager return, the total amount set aside for depreciation was less than \$1,000,000, or about one-sixth of one per cent.

The *Glasgow Herald* of August 23, 1906, stated that on a revenue of more than £5,000,000 from commercial undertakings, the Scotch municipalities reported a surplus revenue of just £85,904, or about 1.70 per cent.

If the same method of computing the costs of municipally-owned undertakings were employed which are the rule in private concerns, the profits would disappear in almost every case, and heavy deficits would be substituted. The municipalities in Great Britain are not subject to Government audit, and some of the methods of book-keeping employed are, to put it mildly, questionable to a degree. Fixed or establishment charges, legal and official expenses, are commonly charged to general expense instead of to the particular undertaking for which they were incurred, while in the majority of cases an entirely inadequate sum is set aside for depreciation.

Thus, at a meeting of the London County Council on October 16, 1906, a

report was made, after several months' delay, showing the cost of every street widening which had been undertaken in connection with the establishment of municipal tramways. This report gave a total expenditure for this purpose of £4,044,844, of which only £377,260—less than 10 per cent.—had been charged to tramway account. And this in spite of a definite understanding, previously established, that one-third should be so charged. The result of this is that 90 per cent. of this expense, undertaken solely on behalf of the tramways, has been charged, not against the undertaking itself, but against general London taxation.

In a recent official issue of returns it was stated that out of 171 municipal electric lighting departments, 57 set aside no fund for depreciation and renewals of plant; 62 set aside three per cent. or less, while 23 of this number set aside less than one per cent.

In electric street-railways, out of 60 plants, 18 make no provision at all for depreciation, 13 make no fixed amount, while 15 set aside what are called the "net" profits, which are for the most part non-existent. It is a matter of common knowledge among practical men that the depreciation allowance for plants of this kind should be five per cent.

Numberless instances of this might be given, but for the compass of this article it is only possible to give two or three well-authenticated examples to illustrate a method which is sufficiently widespread to be called common if not usual.

Bermondsey. Mr. R. Stewart Bain, the Managing Director of the London Electric Supply Corporation sent to the *Times* of the 21st November, 1906, a copy of a letter which he has addressed to the Local Government Board in regard to the electricity accounts of Bermondsey and Southwark. In regard to Bermondsey he states that his company made an offer for public lighting which would have shown a saving of £1,130, and also that expenses have been undercharged for the dust destructor, rates and taxes, law and parliamentary charges,

and depreciation, which would show a loss on the year's working of £4,332, instead of a profit of £3,660, as claimed.

Southwark. In regard to Southwark, Mr. Bain states that his company offered to supply electric light at a saving of £960, and that rates and taxes, parliamentary charges, and depreciation were undercharged, and that if the accounts had been properly prepared there is a loss on the year's working of £4,044 instead of a profit of £379. He maintains that in the case of both boroughs the amount charged for administration expenses is inadequate.

Islington. The *Journal of Gas Lighting*, November 20, 1906, states that the London County Council through their Finance Committee have been chiding the Islington Borough Council regarding their reserve fund, which has, it turns out, only a paper existence. The accounts for the last financial year showed a balance to the account of £14,139, but this is not represented by cash or investments, but only by book-debts and stores. This, as the Committee have pointed out, is not an effective or satisfactory reserve fund.

Under these conditions of book-keeping it is practically impossible to tell what profits, if any, are being made by the municipalities, except that it is a fair assumption that if each undertaking was made to bear its own costs, and to set aside a proper sum for renewals and depreciation, the announced net profits would be annihilated.

To give a concrete illustration of the way in which at least one well-known chartered accountant regards these methods, let me quote from the *London Times* of January 17, 1903, in which this gentleman writes regarding municipal book-keeping: "It is, unfortunately, so easy to juggle with municipal accounts that after much research and thought, I feel obliged to give up the task of analyzing the trading accounts of municipalities. One never knows where they are going to have you."

If, therefore, these propositions under

the ordinary accepted tests of commercial success do not show a profitable result, the only other justification for which we can look is that they shall result in a reduction of the rates. But here again municipal-ownership fails, on general averages, to justify its existence. Here again I will utilize only a few out of numbers of possible illustrations.

The *Western Mail*, Cardiff, on the 21st November, 1906, in an article on the return prepared by the Borough Treasurer of Preston, giving the amounts in pounds, by which profits from municipal trading have reduced the rates, states that: "The profits at Swansea are said to have reduced the rates by 8d. in the pound. The profits on the markets, telephones, slaughter houses, cottages, and estates owned, amount to £14,154, but the loss on the electric light, water works, town improvement scheme, dust destructor, and cemeteries, amounts to £25,906, or a net loss of £11,752. Instead of the rates being relieved by 8d. in the pound, they are really increased by something like 7d."

"In a rough statement in regard to Cardiff it is shown that the profits amount to £9,788, and the losses to £13,840, or a net loss of £4,052, so that the relief claimed of 1½d. in the pound vanishes altogether."

Mr. J. Whittaker, President of the City of Bradford Ratepayers' Association, said on October 4, 1906: "The increasing rates are driving industries away, making employment difficult to get, and causing many houses to be empty. No member of the Corporation would attempt to work his business on similar lines to those of the municipality."

Some of the methods which have been employed to show the benefits received by the rates from municipal trading are unique, thus, a recent report of the gas committee of the City of Nottingham shows that \$80,000* was taken from the

*In this and subsequent instances where figures are given in terms of American currency, \$5 to £1 has been taken, and the amounts given in round numbers.

depreciation fund, \$65,000 was borrowed, and thus \$135,000 was contributed by the municipal enterprises to the relief of the local rates. In Manchester, according to a public statement made by Lord Avebury (formerly Sir John Lubbock), the city council, desiring to show a contribution of \$250,000 to the local rates, and as there was no surplus which could be used for the purpose, raised the price of gas six cents per 1,000 feet, and so secured the funds.

Mr. W. Hunt, ex-elective auditor of Salford, in an article on the municipal finances of the Borough states: "The sum total available for relief of the rates from the 'Trading' departments of the Corporation during the past year amounted to £49,936. This would be gratifying if it were not for the fact that in order to avoid increases in the rates, the Finance Committee have from time to time appropriated sums which ought legitimately to have been set aside to avoid obsolescence in plant and machinery. This has especially been the case with the electric light and tramway undertakings." *Manchester Evening News*, October 9, 1906.

The amount of rates collected in England and Wales at two different periods give the following results:

1888-89,	\$187,500,000
1903-04,	265,000,000

an increase of about 93 per cent. in 15 years. And this in spite of the fact that in this same period of 15 years, Government grants to local rates have been as follows:

1888-89,	\$23,750,000
1903-04,	78,000,000

an increase of about 225 per cent. in 15 years, or more than treble.

In that same period the population in England and Wales has increased only from 28,143,000 to 33,378,338, or about 19 per cent., while the ratable values have gone from about \$750,000,000 to about \$975,000,000, an increase of 31 per cent. in this period, or just one-third of the increase in rates. This would cer-

tainly seem to show that municipal trading has not resulted in a reduction in the rates taking into consideration the relative increase of population and ratable values.

The first report of the Committee on Imperial and Local Revenue and Expenditure of the United Kingdom appointed by the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce on the 4th October, 1905, stated: "It is significant that whilst Imperial Expenditure exceeded that of local authorities up to the year 1888-89, the expenditure of the latter has since that year increased by leaps and bounds, so that in the year 1904-05 we estimate that the local expenditure of the United Kingdom was over \$150,000,000 in excess of that of the State. Some portion of the increased expenditure of the local authorities must be attributed to municipal trading operations, but it must nevertheless be borne in mind that these have not been instrumental in reducing local rates. On the contrary a closer examination of the figures would reveal the disquieting fact that the extension of municipal trading has been accompanied by an accelerated increase in local rates and Government contributions."

Another aspect of the situation which will at once seize the attention of business men is the astounding extravagance of the English municipalities and the enormous increase of the local debt. In 1888-89 the outstanding local loans of England and Wales reached the respectable figure of \$977,500,000; in 1903-04 they had risen to \$1,970,000,000, an increase of about 102 per cent. in 15 years.

In many cases expensive plants have been put down with a degree of reckless disregard of the first principles of commercial prudence as to payment therefor, which can only be regarded as against public interests, and which must inevitably put a heavy burden upon posterity, which will thus be left to pay for equipments long since worn out and thrown away, in addition to what its own immediate burdens may be.

In Huddersfield the tramways undertaking has worn out its third set of rails, although the first is not yet paid for, and will not be for forty years. In more than half of the electric lighting stations in London the plant is already obsolete, although the cost of the original equipment has not yet been paid.

Professor Roberts of Denver University, speaking of the City of Nottingham, says that at the present rate of earning and redemption of indebtedness, the municipal gas-plant will not be paid for before the year 2000.

Mr. D. Drummond Fraser, a banker in Manchester, addressing the Statistical Society, said recently: "The insatiable borrowing capacity of our municipalities is exemplified in the daily advertisements. It is self-evident that the floating capital of the country is being seriously impaired by its withdrawal from bank deposits into the fixed capital expenditure of the municipalities. Repayment can only be made by the municipalities by fresh borrowing, and floating capital is thus turned into fixed capital."

This mortgaging of the future has now attracted the attention of the Government and a distinct check to this kind of frenzied finance has been observable; measures have been undertaken to prevent municipalities from issuing loans for renewals until the original loans for equipment are paid off, and while this will entail heavy drafts on resources in ten or fifteen years from now, yet it is unquestionably a proper step, undertaken none too soon.

One of the most recent champions of municipal-ownership, Dr. Frederic C. Howe, is responsible for certain statements in connection with another phase of the question, which are apt to be misleading. These statements received the authoritative endorsement of the United States Government, having been delivered through the medium of the "Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor" from Washington, in January, 1906. They have more recently still been repeated in an article

by Dr. Howe in *Scribner's Magazine* of January, 1907. In the Bulletin, Dr. Howe makes the unqualified statements that "Every voter in England is a taxpayer or a property owner, and he feels his taxes because he pays directly. Local taxes are largely assessed against the tenant or occupier, and not against the owner. We have no appreciation in America of the commanding interest of the poorest householder or tenant in the tax rate," and again in the same publication he states, "Every voter is a taxpayer, the tax is paid largely by the tenant. As a means of stimulating interest in local matters, it is evidently satisfactory."

Dr. Howe leaves out of consideration altogether two classes of voters who are not direct ratepayers in the proper sense of the word, those who go by the name of "latch-key" voters, and those who are called "compound householders." In the former I am not especially interested at the present moment; the name is sufficiently expressive to show clearly what they are; I will simply state that they compose a very large class of those exercising the local franchise.

The growth of the principle of compound householding, however, is causing a great deal of serious apprehension among thinking Englishmen, and it is so absolutely the contrary of what Dr. Howe states to be the fact, that it is worthy of some special attention as bearing forcefully on the question of municipal-ownership.

Compound householding is a method whereby the rates are paid by the landlord, and not by the tenant, a corresponding charge being made against the tenant in the amount of rent he pays. As this is largely, if not exclusively, employed among the poorest and least intelligent classes of the population in the large cities, it is almost impossible to persuade a compound householder that he has any interest at all in the rates, or in what is done with the ratepayers' money. The tenant does, undoubtedly, pay the rate indirectly, but he is generally under the

conviction that he does not, and his interest in municipal affairs is correspondingly lessened.

This has become such an evil that the Poplar Borough Municipal Alliance in London has published a special rent card which has been prepared for the use of tenants; the use of which it is proposed to make compulsory, and which states in tabulated form what rate a tenant pays in the rent of his house, with the local rate stated at a given figure.

In London alone, in 1901, out of 703,000 assessments, 309,500 houses not exceeding \$100 ratable value, were occupied by tenants who were not personally called upon by the rate collector. Yet every one of these tenants had a vote. It is estimated that nearly half the municipal electors of the metropolis are not direct ratepayers, while the town clerk of Birmingham, Mr. Edward Orford Smith, in his evidence before the Joint Select Committee on Municipal Trading, stated that from 70 to 75 per cent. of the people of Birmingham lived in houses the rates of which were paid by the landlords.

Mr. Gladstone defended this system on the ground that it facilitates collection, but what advantage there may be in this direction is certainly not commensurate with the evil it engenders in removing the tenant from personal touch and interest in the local rates and the expenditure of the ratepayers' money.

A correspondingly great evil in the converse direction is the increasing burden which is being placed upon private corporations as contributors to the rates, but which have no votes and no voice whatever in the local policies.

Lord Avebury, speaking in London, on July 12, 1906, said: "The Midland Railway pays one-eighth of all the rates in Derby; one ship-building company pays one-sixth of all the rates at Jarrow, and yet they neither of them have a single vote. Thus, while thousands who pay no rates have votes, those who pay thousands in rates have none."

On the same occasion, C. J. C. Scott

said that: "The London and India Docks Company contribute \$625,000 a year towards local rates and taxes, without one vote, and in addition they make and maintain their own roads, and do their own scavenging and lighting."

The *Times* of September 21, 1902, stated that: "The local rates and taxes paid by railway companies in the United Kingdom rose from \$14,000,000 in 1894 to \$18,500,000 in 1900, while in local rates alone one of the great London railway companies paid \$380,000 in 1882, \$550,000 in 1892, and \$1,000,000 in 1901, without having any share in the control and expenditure of the money it provided.

There is a distinct movement coming into being in England in favor of some form of franchise for the corporations which contribute so largely to the rates, and to those who see impending danger in the abandonment of all forms of local government to collective control, this seems to open up the one promising avenue leading towards communal sanity and civil peace.

As an illustration of this I may cite an account given in the *Times* of August 3, 1906, in which it is stated that: "Mr. W. G. Rathbone, who presided at the meeting of the London and County Banking Company on August 2, 1906, referred to the strong feeling which had arisen among the public; and among some of the municipalities themselves, that local borrowing and expenditure had gone too far and must be checked, and suggested that in order that this reform might be carried out and made permanent the first essential seemed to be an amended system of representation, so that corporations like a bank should have some voice in the administration and some control over the expenditure of the rates which they contributed. The rates paid by their own bank last year, he mentioned, amounted to \$155,000. They had risen more than 25 per cent. in the last five years and were still rising."

And again, in the *Morning Post*, of

September 12, 1906: "At a meeting of the Association of Chambers of Commerce at Bristol, on September 11, 1906, it was agreed by a large majority to organize a deputation to the government complaining of the total disfranchisement of the owners of business concerns carried on by limited companies which are required to pay the rates and taxes largely made for them by non-ratepayers."

That the character of the service rendered by the public utilities under municipal-ownership in England has improved is not open to question. The facilities for lighting, for transportation, and other principal functions which have come into the province of municipal exploitation are indubitably better than they were before this principle became established. But whether even this benefit can be fairly placed to the credit of municipal-ownership is open to question.

In 1870 the Tramway Act was passed by the English Parliament, under the terms of which all charters for private street-railways had to be granted, an act which has been termed "On the whole the most disastrous legislative experiment in England during the last half century." It was constructed strictly with an eye to the eventual municipal-ownership of public utilities, a question which was even then appearing above the political horizon, for it provided for a right of purchase by the local authorities at the expiration of twenty-one years and this to be on a basis of arbitrary valuation of the tramways together with all property whatsoever, including the lands and buildings. In 1882 the Electric Lighting Act, containing the same compulsory sale clause, was enacted. In 1885 this period for the transference of private property to the local authorities was extended for another period, as regards electric lighting plants. But even with this extension every privately organized company had before it the certainty that it would eventually be compelled to relinquish its property at a valuation generally far below its real worth.

Private enterprise was stultified, and no aggregation of capitalists would venture to establish modern street-railway systems, or electric light and power plants, under such conditions. At a time when the rest of the world was advancing in these respects by leaps and bounds, England was for years at a standstill. In 1896 the United States had 10,000 miles of electric tramways; in England there were just 20 miles. In 1902 there were in the United States 3,620 electric stations, in England at that time there were 457.

Even where the compulsory sale clause did not operate no private charter could be asked from Parliament without incurring the overwhelming opposition of the Municipal Corporations Association, and the amount of pressure this organization was able to bring against such applications through individual representatives in Parliament seldom failed to accomplish the annihilation of such private measures. One member of Parliament said on July 12, 1898: "There is a feeling in the country that the municipalities are organizing themselves into a gigantic monopoly with a view to strangling private enterprise in regard to the supply of electricity, at the moment of its birth."

In the meanwhile English capital was promoting electric enterprises in Copenhagen, Brussels, Paris, Bordeaux, Geneva, Madrid, Genoa, Vienna, Berlin, Barcelona, St. Petersburg and Constantinople.

Yet the same municipalities which strenuously opposed the efforts of private corporations to secure themselves and their franchises were not willing to accept the same treatment themselves, and Glasgow, one of the most energetic of the municipalities in its insistence on the twenty-one-year clause, even yet steadfastly refuses to extend its municipal street-railways into the suburbs, unless it is granted a perpetual franchise for so doing. At the present time the public facilities for transportation, lighting and power in England are far behind what they should be for a country possessing

the wealth and population that is to be found there.

It is hardly a matter for surprise therefore, nor is it very much to the credit of the municipalities, if such progress as has been made under these circumstances, offers better facilities than were possible under the complete throttling of private enterprise and initiative.

Still another point on which I may dwell for a moment, although in doing so I am aware that I am trespassing on the ethical side of the question, and that is the influence of municipal employes in national and local elections. It is estimated that in London at least five per cent. of the registered voters are employed by the municipalities and this proportion as municipal enterprises are extended, is rapidly increasing throughout the country.

The *Melbourne Argus* of Australia tells us that as regards that country: "The State servants already constitute almost a clear majority of the names on the electors' rolls."

What a tremendous effect this class of voters, properly organized, might exercise in elections! Even Mr. John Burns has said that the only remedy for, and safeguard against this danger is the disfranchisement of municipal employes.

Concurrently, with this phase of the question goes the undoubted fact that under municipal-ownership the value of labor is depreciated, and the still more portentous fact that as the workmen come to control the Council rather than the Council the workmen, the latter gain

a positively autocratic control over their own rate of wages.

Mr. Keir Hardie, is reported as saying, in the Report of the Eleventh Annual Conference of the Municipal Employes Association: "As a Socialist he was naturally strongly in favor of organization among municipal employes and he was pleased to see the marvelous progress this Association had made. In going through some Parliamentary papers the other day, he came across one which fairly astounded him, for from it he learned that in this country there were over 2,000,000 municipal employes. As the total of wage-earners numbered only 14,000,000, this was very interesting. He had also found that in 1903, when there was a reduction in wages all round, the wages of municipal employes had alone increased—he might say, had doubled."

Surely the results, so far, in England; the stifling of private enterprise, which has been responsible for all the great advances in the comforts and conveniences of life, in all countries and in all ages; the extravagance and waste caused by amateur management of municipal undertakings; the growth of local indebtedness; the increase of local rates, and the significant dangers that municipal trading is giving birth to in regard to labor problems; are not sufficiently convincing and encouraging to justify one accustomed to estimate such things on a strictly practical basis, in giving the principle of municipal-ownership unqualified support.

H. GARDNER MCKERROW.

Boston, Mass.

MR. MCKERROW'S ARGUMENT AGAINST MUNICIPAL-OWNERSHIP.

BY PROFESSOR FRANK PARSONS, Ph.D.

Author of "The City for the People," "The Heart of the Railroad Problem," "The Railways, the Trusts and the People," etc.

SOME excellent illustrations of the stock arguments that are being used against municipal-ownership are to be found in the article by Mr. H. G. McKerrow. It consists mainly of statements in regard to some comparatively insignificant cases in which municipal-ownership has proved more or less unsatisfactory, and objections to municipal-ownership based on the claim that it has unduly increased the debt and taxation in Great Britain.

In regard to the first line of argument, it must always be frankly admitted that the record of municipal-ownership is not free from defects and failures, any more than the record of private-ownership, or the record of democratic government, or any other human institution. The question is not whether or no there have been some unsatisfactory results and some failures, but whether on the whole the results are superior to those secured under private-ownership in the same cities. In relation to this vital question Mr. McKerrow does not give us any facts, nor does he touch it in his argument.

If the exhibition of some undesirable results and failures were sufficient to discredit an institution, we might easily prove the folly of democratic government by recounting the history of free government in New York City, Philadelphia, St. Louis, San Francisco, and other places where grafters and incompetents have been allowed to administer public affairs. Such arguments, however, are not regarded as discrediting free government at all, but only as proving the necessity of safeguarding free institutions so as to secure honest and efficient administration.

The same thing is true in regard to the history of municipal-ownership. Unless

the conditions of success,—the careful selection of men who will give the city honest and efficient administration of its public works, and the entire absence of the spoils system and partisan politics from municipal business,—unless these conditions are attended to, municipal-ownership cannot be expected to succeed.

But in the great majority of British municipalities these conditions have been attended to and thoroughly honest and efficient administration of municipal water-works, lighting plants and street-railway systems has been secured. After an experience of many years the British public is practically a unit in favor of municipal-ownership of street utilities. In Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham and many other cities successes of the highest order have been achieved. This statement does not rest upon English authority alone, but is proved by the facts set forth in the Bulletin of the United States Department of Commerce and Labor for January, 1906, from which a few extracts will presently be made.

Mr. McKerrow does not tell us anything about the great successes that have been made, nor the almost unanimous feeling of the British public in favor of municipal-ownership, nor of the rapid movement toward municipalization of public utilities not only in Great Britain, but in Germany, Italy and other countries of the Continent, nor does he refer to the evidence adduced in the United States Bulletin just referred to or the Municipal-Ownership number of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, or any of the other authoritative presentations of the facts about municipal-ownership in Great Britain.

In dealing with the increase of debt

and taxation, Mr. McKerrow does not inform us that the increase of taxation is due to the increased expenditure for sanitary and educational purposes, under the requirements of laws passed by Parliament, and is not the result of public-ownership of water-works, lighting plants and tramways, as the reader would naturally infer from his statements.

The fact is that local taxes have greatly increased in the United States and Europe as well as in Great Britain, and that they have increased even more in cities where there has been little or no movement in the direction of municipal-ownership of lighting and transit than in cities where the municipal-ownership movement has been strong. The *English Municipal Year-Book* gives the tax rates for all British municipalities, and you have only to turn to the tables of local rates to see that the leading municipal-ownership cities have much lower tax rates than many municipalities where street services are still in private hands. For example: the tax rate in Glasgow is less than half what it is in a large number of places that have far less development of municipal-ownership. In London, where the increase of local taxes in the decade 1890-1900 was enormous—larger than in almost any other city, there was very little public-ownership, the city having no municipal gas-works, only partial municipalization of water-works and electric plants, and, until the last two or three years, practically all the street-railways were privately operated.

How fallacious is the whole argument about the increase of local taxation as made by the opponents of municipal-ownership will be made manifest by the following extracts from the United States Bulletin already referred to:

"In the large towns the street-railways, gas, water, electric lighting, and markets rarely, if ever, show a deficit. The complaint is more frequently made that they make too large a profit out of the consumer and use the net earnings to relieve

taxation rather than reduce the price or charge to the user."

Here are a few of the facts in regard to the contributions of city street-railways in reduction of local taxes, as stated on page 45 of the United States Bulletin:

City Tramway.	Annual Contribution in Relief of Taxes.
Leeds,	\$253,068
Manchester,	243,325
Liverpool,	156,122
Glasgow,	121,663
Nottingham,	63,265
Salford,	58,398
Hull,	55,965

Now take some of the facts in regard to the relief of taxes from city gas, from page 39 of the same Bulletin:

City Gas Works.	Annual Contribution in Relief of Taxes.
Belfast,	\$123,818
Birmingham,	265,351
Bolton,	107,394
Darlington,	41,365
Halifax,	44,903
Leeds,	78,448
Leicester,	228,764
Manchester,	291,990

All these payments in relief of taxes are in addition to the payment of ordinary taxes which are levied on all city works just as if they were private property.

On page 13 the Bulletin says:

"Local rates or taxes in Great Britain have increased in recent years, but this is attributable to improved sanitation, to expenditure for schools, health, parks, and slum-clearance schemes, which have been everywhere rendered necessary by the conditions of city life. Moreover, it is pointed out that many of these burdens were imposed upon the cities by act of Parliament, regardless of local wishes in the matter. The reproductive undertakings are rarely a burden on the tax rate."

The story is told in the following data from Sir Henry Fowler's "Return made to Parliament of reproductive municipal

undertakings" for 1902, the latest of these returns at hand:

City Plants.	No.	Average Annual Net Profit.
Water-works,	193....	\$438,608
Gas-works,	97....	1,921,415
Electric supply,	102....	*56,972
Tramways owned and worked by municipality,	29....	396,586
Tramways owned by municipality but leased and operated by private company, ..	16....	84,746
Total average net profit,		\$2,786,383

The Labor Bulletin goes on to say, on page 14:

"The average annual excess of net profits over net losses for the total 437 undertakings according to the above official report was £572,564 (\$2,786,383). The net profits were in most cases applied to the relief of local taxation."

The Bulletin further says, pages 17, 25-26:

"As a rule the wages, hours of labor, and conditions of employment under municipal control have been greatly improved. Along with this has grown up a jealous watchfulness on the part of the public, which would not tolerate any influence from its employes or efforts to exploit a department. The men themselves seem to recognize their official position, and as the public service is much sought after they are careful not to put their positions in jeopardy.

"An examination of the water, gas, tramway, electricity, and telephone undertakings (in so far as the latter have been municipalized) shows that the change from private to public operation has resulted in—

"1. Marked reduction in rates and charges to consumers.

"2. Greater economy in operation through lower interest charges, and great extension of use.

"3. In many instances a considerable relief to the burden of taxation.

*Some of the electric plants make a deficit and put the average on the wrong side.

"4. A coördinated municipal policy by which the city and its undertakings are made to work together and with one another. This is true as to health and cleanliness, in policing and lighting, in the administration of the streets and public places, in the unification of all departments working through the common body—the town council. Friction is eliminated, and one department is made to serve another and the public.

"5. A comprehensive housing policy has been rendered possible, and an ultimate relief of the tenement population.

"6. The condition of the very poor has been improved through cheap and abundant water, through cheaper and more available gas for lighting and heat, and through cheaper transit.

"7. The condition of the employes has been greatly improved. Thousands of men have been raised to a fair wage, and relieved from the fear of capricious dismissal. Their service has been dignified, and their standard of living improved, not only by better wages, but by shorter hours."

On pages 67 and 68 the Bulletin shows how municipal-ownership of street-railways in many cities reduced the hours by 48 per cent. and at the same time increased wages by not less than 42 per cent. Hours were cut from 70, 77, 84, and even 95 per week under the companies, to 54, 60, and 65 under city management, 60 hours per week being the rule under municipal-ownership.

In Glasgow municipal-ownership of street-railways greatly improved the service, made the tramway system, in fact, the best in Great Britain, reduced the rates by 33 per cent., and later by 50 per cent., cut the hours from 11 and 12 per day, or 77 and 84 per week, to 10 per day, and later to 9 per day, or 54 per week, and raised wages 15 per cent. to 25 per cent., with subsequent increases, so that now a man who has been three years in the service gets 65 per cent. more pay per hour than under the company régime.

In addition to all this the city trams have paid off about half the capital cost and are now worth five million dollars more in actual physical value than the remainder of the debt resting upon the works. The railways pay each year a large amount into sinking-fund and reserve, put \$125,000 to the public credit in the Common Good, and show a considerable surplus above all costs of operation, interest, taxes, sinking and reserve funds, and payment to the Common Good.*

A famous railroad president from the United States, familiar with street-railway systems in this country and in Europe, after examining the Glasgow tramways, said: "This is the best managed street-railway system I have ever seen."

The successes with municipal tramways in Manchester, Liverpool and other cities have been equally remarkable, and the British people believe they have abundant proof in their experience, not only with street-railways, but with lighting plants, that municipal-ownership pays financially, politically and morally.

Mr. McKerrow's paper from first to last shows a strong bias in favor of private-ownership—a bias indeed that leads him to omit all reference to the most important facts in the field of municipal-ownership and the facts which completely nullify the inferences that would naturally be drawn from his unqualified statements in regard to debt and taxation, must indeed be vigorous. Almost as regrettable as the omission of the data necessary to draw any true conclusions on the subject

*Mr. McKerrow carefully refrains from telling us anything about these important facts, but complains that the Glasgow management refuses to extend the street-railways into the suburbs. He does not tell his readers, however, that what he means by suburbs is the outlying towns and not the suburbs of the city itself, nor that the reason the Glasgow management does not largely extend the street-railways to outlying towns is the fact that the steam-railways, under the regulations of Parliament and the Board of Trade, give an excellent suburban service at exceedingly low rates—rates against which it is folly for the street-railways to try to compete. Where steam-railways carry passengers eight or ten miles out for a penny (2 cents) a trip, and run frequent trains, where is the use in

is the fact that Mr. McKerrow confines himself to the financial aspects of the question. But even if he had succeeded or could succeed in making out a case against municipal-ownership on financial grounds, it would still be true that the financial aspect of the question is by far the least important of all the great divisions of the subject. Strong as is the financial argument for municipal-ownership of franchise utilities, the political and moral arguments are far stronger. The chief cause of political corruption in our great cities is the pressure of the franchise-holding or franchise-desiring corporations upon the city governments, and the abolition of such corporate franchises means the removal of the chief cause of political corruption; and if public ownership and operation are properly safeguarded, as they are in Great Britain, no other form of political corruption will be incurred. From one end of the British isles to the other it is admitted, even by the most strenuous opponents of municipal-ownership policy, that the administration of public affairs in British cities is free from political corruption.

The arguments for municipal-ownership based on the improvement of the conditions of labor, the development of a stronger public spirit and better citizenship, the forming of a higher type of character through the substitution of higher coöperative forms of relationship among men in place of the lower forms of conflict and mastery that characterize the *régime* of private monopoly and competitive industry—all these consider-

duplicating the service by running out parallel street-railway lines? According to the Citizens' Union of Glasgow, the tramway management has already extended the lines further than the business men think is justified on financial grounds, in view of the splendid railway service which Glasgow enjoys. Nothing like the suburban service of the British railways is known in our country.

Equally forceful replies could be made to other points of detail raised by Mr. McKerrow in regard to different British cities, but enough has been said, we hope, in the text and in this note, to convince the reader that further investigation is necessary before accepting the conclusion that municipal-ownership has failed to justify itself.

ations and the relation of municipal-ownership to the general progress of civilization, form much more powerful arguments even than the splendid financial showing that is made by municipal-ownership under good management.

If you will select your agents carefully,

it is better for you to own a valuable property or be a partner in it than to have someone else own it all; and this common-sense principle applies to a city as well as to an individual.

FRANK PARSONS.

Boston, Mass.

EMERSON THE ANARCHIST.

BY BOLTON HALL.

S AID a conservative New York paper, the *Evening Mail*, commenting on the recent arrest of eleven Anarchists at a meeting called to eulogize Czolgosz:

"The adult Anarchist is past reasoning with and past reform. He is an enemy to society, worse than the Malay who runs amuck or the rabid dog. These rage openly and indiscriminately. The anarchist aims at the best and highest only, and strikes through the agency of dupes."

They do not know, these conservatives, that America's special pride and chief treasure, in literature and ethics; the bright, particular star of conventional and academic Massachusetts, Ralph Waldo Emerson, was an Anarchist.

Emerson was a great Teacher. His writings have the peculiar property, the same property as the Hebrew Scriptures, that you can find in them almost anything. There is no slur in this statement. Much can be found in the ancient philosophies and in the Hebrew Scriptures which in Emerson's writings shines to-day, forever new.

We must recognize that, as Emerson himself says, it is not instruction that we can give anyone; it is only provocation; nor can we teach anything to any body that he does not know for himself. Through experience we have to learn everything. We have to learn always through some experience of our own, or

of others which we have made our own. Sinton says that if we should pray for anything, it should be for more experience of whatsoever sort; for it is only through experience, the knowledge of good and evil, that we can learn, that we can appropriate to ourselves the truth.

Emerson was a teacher, not a doer; one who never professed to put into practice what he taught. You remember the story of Thoreau; when he was in jail because he would not pay his taxes,—contributing thereby to the government and to the support of its Mexican war and of slavery,—Emerson went to see him and said, looking through the bars: "What are you doing in there, Henry?" "What are you doing out there, Ralph?" said Thoreau. A serious question for all of us, but a question that did not trouble Emerson at all; he relied merely upon the idea he strove to plant. He says: "The key to every man is his thought. Sturdy and defying though he look, he has a helm which he obeys, which is the idea, after which all his facts are classified. He can only be reformed by showing him a new idea which commands his own."

I am not forgetting Emerson's influence for the emancipation of the slaves, for he helped the abolitionists in the destruction of slavery, and he set an example all the more suitable for our following because the work he had laid upon him was the same as that laid upon us,—the work of agitation. But he disap-

proved of heat in agitation, and never could see that the high praise of future generations will be given to many a man whom we have despised and rejected,—that has had a price upon his head.

Emerson, however, unlike Tolstoi, had a clear conception of what constitutes man. He takes pains, time and again, to show us that the nature of man is threefold and tripartite. There is the physical or material, then the spiritual, and then the mental; and no man can understand where one begins and the other ends. It is like the three joints of the finger, the physical, the spiritual and the mental; but it is more like an elephant's trunk where the root is the physical, the center is the spiritual and the tip the mental, each dependent upon the others, but with no division between them. Angels may sit in empty seats, but man must have the physical as well as the spiritual and mental, and none can divide the spiritual from the mental or even from the physical.

The stupidest book I ever read, I think, was Drummond's *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*. In this he gratuitously assumes that there are two separate classes of matter, organic and inorganic, and from that assumption he concludes that there is dead matter and live matter, and that in order to become live it must be kindled with fire from Heaven. He utterly fails to see and he later learned and said that he had failed to see that the crystal, the tree, and man are equally alive, that each has a definite desire and tendency, which, in spite of anything we can do, each will follow. The crystal may be broken into a hundred fragments; the oil may be scattered in a thousand drops, yet instantly every fragment and every drop asserts its peculiar nature and its will.

When you lay your razor away, the dead thing sharpens itself; its life has survived the terror of the fire, when it was first made, and the wear of the world and becomes sharp again. Why? Who knows? Perhaps because it has had its

life from the beginning; the life is in it and will assert itself.

It is not only the tripartite nature, the three states of man's nature, that we learn alike out of the Hebrew Scriptures and out of Emerson. There is something yet deeper. You will find its best exposition in the two Epistles of John. "I in you and you in me, that we all may be one." That is the solution of the theory of the world. Do not fret over the troubles of others; there are no "others," and do not fret over your own, for you know you could not do without them.

You who are familiar with Tolstoi's works are struck by his deep sense of the injustice of things, by that divine compassion for those who are suffering, for those less fortunate than ourselves, and those who are different from ourselves. He is bewildered by it all, and looks for the root of evil now in money and now in mind. That is because he looks from one point only.

Emerson never made the mistake of speaking to the physical as though it were the spiritual, or of talking from the standpoint of the mental as though he were talking from the standpoint of the spiritual. He spoke always as the spiritual man and always to the spiritual man, and he saw from that standpoint.

When we have realized the universality and the unity of Spirit we have solved the problem of the universe, we have justified the ways of God to man, and we have explained the suffering and have shared in the pain and the joy of others; we have the knowledge of good and evil; that everything that happens, everything that ever did happen, happened to you and to me, for we are all the family of God, and we are One. No man lives to himself, and no one of us even dieth to himself, for we are one in our best states and in our worst. Our most self-sacrificing deed benefits others, yet returns into our bosoms increased by the work it has done, and strengthened by the exercising. That is what Whitman meant when he said: "The gift is to the giver

and comes back most to him; the theft is to the thief and comes back most to him; the song is to the singer, and comes back most to him; the love is to the lover, and comes back most to him; and no one can see or understand any goodness or any greatness except what is in himself, or the reflection of what is in himself." That is the reason that we cannot give any instruction; we can only give provocation; we can only call out in some way what the person already knows. Now that intense sense of unity is what made Emerson an anarchist. He said: "The state exists only for the education of the wise man; when the wise man appears the state is at an end." He was only a theoretic anarchist. The method adopted by the abolitionists was to mitigate the iniquity of slave laws until they could be repealed. General Grant said: "The way to repeal a bad law is to enforce it." That was the view of a mere soldier. That course results in the oppression of the weak and the escape of the strong. The best way to repeal a bad law, the hardest blow that can be struck at a legalized iniquity, is to evade it, to do as they did in the slavery days,—steal away the slaves by night; persistently to do these things which are absolutely illegal, without regard to conventional conscience or rights of property, evading iniquitous laws and thus saving our suffering brethren from their sins. It is by such evasions of the law that we have practically repealed Prohibition, and by which we are now repealing taxation of personal property and the tariff.

We need legal restrictions because we think we need them. Helen Wilmans says: "He who wears a fetter needs it, and he who bears a kick deserves it." When we learn our real interest we dispense with statutes.

But until we know and understand, we need the law. Do I have to make a law for my fingers that they may bring the food to my mouth, that my throat shall swallow it and the stomach digest it, by saying that they shall do it for the

good of the rest of the members? No. Why? Because they are a part of the body and work for it instinctively, and because they and the body are one. We are one; "I and my Father are One." We and our Father are One. We used to need the law, but the law is of no further use to us, meaning by "us" the men and the women who really and truly know and love. "Between lovers there are no rights and no duties." Love is the fulfilling of the law, and therefore we see that love is all that is to be desired. If a husband and wife are one, could you imagine her saying "These are mine," or his saying that "This belongs to me"? No, it is only when they come into the divorce courts that you hear of divisions of property; it is only then that you hear of support and alimony. So long as we are one, we ask not from one another, but for ourselves and those who are with us.

We try to restrict, restrain or prohibit our every action. The life of even a little girl in the State of New York is controlled and regulated by no less than 21,260 statute laws.

From the standpoint of the Spirit, Democracy is not equality but Unity. Spirit is that universal and all-pervading Force, whatever it is, that moves the universe and moves in the universe. There is one definition in the Hebrew Scriptures of Love and there is one definition of God, and the definition of God is Love, and the definition of Love is God. The two are equivalent. Now when we think of the tripartite nature, the physical or material, the spiritual or emotional, and the intellectual nature as One, we lay the foundation of universal love. St. Paul vilified the physical nature as "the flesh," because he did not see that flesh and spirit are united,—are one. These are our internal natures, but there is external nature which still conditions and to some extent controls our inner nature. You do not get up in the clouds to preach your sermons there, or sail in the air and stay there, because you are a

land animal, and the great majority of mankind live upon the earth in their whole nature. Man is primarily a land animal and on the land, and by the land, he lives and could not live otherwise. We have great aspirations of the soul, lofty thoughts, for which our minds crave, but suppose some giant should lift us off the earth and say: "Now, what do you want,—greater spiritual insight, better education, universal suffrage, civil service reform, proportional representation?" "Yes," we would say, "all these are good, but first—that we may get back to the earth; restore us to our heritage, and let us live upon the land, and we will get these things for ourselves." That we may have the spiritual for which we long, we must first have the physical. We must live in love and in high thought, but we must first live upon the earth and upon its products. Therefore, just as Emerson's teachings forbade chattel slavery, so our teaching and preaching of these principles must forbid monopoly of land. The common ownership of that land upon which we live is the next step toward liberty. It is not possible that free men should live together like rats in a trap, as you and I, live under conditions that force us to take each other by the throat in order to live at all. When you go to the store and get things as cheap as you can, it means that some person has not got fully paid for his labor, which means that you are getting something for which the worker did not get an equivalent; that is to say you are a gambler. I am a gambler, too, betting upon the rise in land; that is my profession. But none of us can help participating in this taking each other by the throat. You cannot do otherwise; you have to live as the world is constituted. There is no distinction of guilty and innocent; we are one flesh, and until we can change conditions that make this unnatural strife, until we restore men to their natural environment, each must prey upon his fellows. I was talking with Wanamaker's manager one evening, and he was giving

us what the boys call "a song and dance" about how necessary honesty was in business, and what a great success it had been in that store. I asked him if it was honest to take goods for less than they cost, taking the cut-price out of the laborer's wages. "Well," he said, "we can't make any investigation as to the prices the laborers are paid. If we were to investigate as to trades-union wages it would upset trade completely; that is none of our business; we get the goods and sell them to our customers at fair prices, and are honest in all our dealings with them; we cannot see to it that the workers get an equivalent for their labor." So you see that in the first attempt to apply this principle of honesty he spoke of, it broke down. He believed in honesty to customers, but that is attained only by giving them the market-worth of their money in goods and getting pay for it; and this is possible under present conditions only by taking from the wages of the laborer.

It is not well that we should have thus to prey upon our fellows; that we should have a class of men like the undertaker, who looks through the list of deaths with joy, not because he is not a good man, but because he must provide for his wife and children; or the doctor who is delighted when people are ill, not because he hates them, but because he too must take care of his family. You know those words of Margaret Haile: "My babies cry for bread, for all the babies in the world are mine." And all the babies in the world are yours and mine. The babies must have a chance to live upon the earth.

"In the beginning God created the Heavens and the earth" and in the end you and I gave them to the landlord. The Hebrew Scriptures say: "Let the earth bring forth her increase abundantly to satisfy the desire of every living thing." Just think of that generosity. Are their desires satisfied? Multitudes of workers have to be contented with \$12 a month, because we and our fellows shut up the earth from which they should draw good

wages. While our physical constitution demands that all of us live upon the earth and satisfy our desires from it, we allow it to be appropriated by a few. "The earth shall bring forth abundantly" to satisfy our desires,—when we are allowed to get at it. We have permitted the shutting up of the earth so that there is not enough to go around.

We ought all to be wealthy. Suppose a man owns a factory filled with goods ready for the season's business, or a dealer has a large stock of these goods adapted to the market and ready to sell, but has not one dollar in the bank or one penny in his pocket, you would still say: "He is a comparatively wealthy man; he has a lot of goods for which there will be a demand." Now, where did he get those goods? Look at this little desk-bell. The steel, which first was iron, came out of the earth by labor. The nickel with which it is decorated was worked by the labor of men from the mine to the foundry and the machinery used there came itself by the labor of men from the earth. If you examine a piano you will find that the strings are made of copper. This came from the earth, too, by the labor of man. So did the wood and the varnish, all that goes to make it, came from the same source, the earth, by labor. Now, if we were able to get at the earth, we should be able to produce wealth in such abundance that it would not be worth our while to hoard it, and money would be so cheap that so far from refusing him who wanted to borrow, we would lend freely out of good fellowship, and if we could not get it back again, it would be easier to make more than to

exact payment from some one who did not want to pay or who could not afford to pay. The Socialists have shown that did we save only the wastes of our present "civilization" as we call it, two to four hours work per day would produce the things we now use or consume. Now, suppose in addition to this, every one of us were free from the restrictions and restraints on production made by our laws, how easy it would be to gain wealth. The vacant lots in Flatbush and Harlem, and the land lying between the City of New York and Morristown and White Plains is more than sufficient to employ all the idle labor of the town; more than sufficient to give everyone a job with wages that would make him rich. This question of land-ownership, and consequent waste-land, is a question that no one can overlook; it is the taproot of social misery.

How was it that Emerson did not carry his principles—principles that he enunciated so clearly—into land agitation? "While any man is without land my title to mine and your title to yours is vitiated," he said. Why did he not carry this to its logical results?

The question that was up for settlement was the question of chattel-slavery; there was as yet abundant land that could be had for less than it was worth; "free land," as we called it. "Uncle Sam was rich enough to give us all a farm" and the time was not yet ripe to force that question of the right of all men to the use of the earth.

That was left to you and me.

BOLTON HALL.

New York City.

EVILS OF GOLD INFLATION.

By GEORGE H. SHIBLEY,
President National Federation for People's Rule.

THE PRICES for living are rising faster than are the prices for labor. This is demonstrated by actual experience and by statistics. Dun's index number shows that the price level for commodities at wholesale on December 1st was over 49 per cent. higher than on July 1, 1896—the lowest point reached during the past century. And Bradstreet's tables are to the same effect. They show that the average wholesale prices for products are now more than 50 per cent. higher than ten years ago.

But the *total* cost of living has not gone up so much, for the prices we have quoted are for products at wholesale. House rent has risen much less except in rare instances, while the prices of some of our living expenses are fixed in amount, for example, gas, car-fare, newspapers, etc. The net rise in the cost of living is placed at 40 per cent. by Byron W. Holt, the noted economist.

On the other hand, the average rise in money wages for these ten years does not exceed 20 per cent. "This means," says Mr. Holt in an editorial in *Moody's Magazine* for December, "that wages have risen only half as fast and half as much as have prices. It means that whereas \$1.40 is now required to buy what \$1.00 bought in 1896, the average workingman has only \$1.20 with which to purchase what sells for \$1.40. It means that there is a tremendous 'rake-off' for somebody." Mr. Holt continues: "As there are about 30,000,000 workers in this country, receiving an average of about \$600 each per year, the total wage bill amounts to about \$18,000,000,000. If this is 120 per cent. of what the same earners would have received in 1896, they would then have received \$15,000,000,000. But to buy what they could then have bought with \$15,000,000,000, the wage-earners of to-day would have to have \$21,000,000,-

000. Hence the difference between what our wage earners actually get and what they should get, on the 1896 basis, is \$3,000,000,000 a year. *This amount represents, approximately, the 'rake-off' that must go to somebody.* It is the price our workers and consumers are paying for the kind of prosperity that we see on all sides. As to who gets it we will not undertake to say, though we have some suspicions. The main fact is that this vast amount, through a price-and-wage juggle for which nobody in particular is to blame, is yearly extracted from the pockets of our workers and spenders."

It is this \$3,000,000,000 a year that is making riches for certain classes. It is the unfairness and injustice measured by this \$3,000,000,000 that is largely responsible for the prevailing discontent that is breaking out in so many places and ways. More than anything else this fundamental injustice in the distribution of products is creating unrest and dissatisfaction.

This is the dark side of our era of stimulated industry superinduced by a rising price level, caused by a continuous inflation of money and credit.

Professor Norton, of Yale University, in an article in the *Yale Review*, points out the possible remedies, the only practical one being the regulation of the supply of money so as to maintain a stable average of prices for products at wholesale. In other words, the people, acting through their government will have to keep out the increasing flood of gold by closing the mints. This would mean the establishment of the Multiple Standard, the ideal system.

To install a law for this stable price level for commodities (a condition that would raise real wages and promote business in general) there is needed a direct-vote system for public questions. Such a system can be installed as the result of

the 1908 campaign, for already 107 members of the Congress elected this year are pledged and twelve states have been carried for state systems of direct voting by the people. This winter an active campaign is being waged in the other state legislatures.

Furthermore, the direct-vote system will enable the people to terminate government by injunction, child-labor, private-monopoly prices, political graft and other evils. The total amount filched each year from the American people by the few who are running the machine-rule system of government is simply

enormous. Added to the three billion dollars loss in wages from the gold inflation there is a billion dollar loss to widows and orphans from the shrinkage in the value of contracts for payments of life insurance, and about two billion dollars of loss to the people from trust prices, a total of \$6,000,000,000 annually, or about \$360 per family per year—\$30 per month, \$1.15 per working day. Is n't it high time for the wide-awake citizens to turn in and help along the Initiative and Referendum movement?

GEORGE H. SHIBLEY.

Washington, D. C.

A GIFT OF FATE.

BY KENTON WEST.

THE WOMAN'S face was pale and worn, and she trudged on as if weary and discouraged. The wind swept around the Flatiron building and flapped her skirts in mocking glee, and the corners of her shabby shawl escaped from her thin, detaining hand and blew out straight behind.

But her mind was so busy with some potent, compelling thought that she paid scant attention to these discomforts.

Yes! it had been ten years since she had seen Broadway.

How changed everything was!

The whole city seemed like an alien, foreign thing to her sensitive, wistful vision—painfully unlike that which she had seen in many a restless, homesick dream.

With every step of the way along this half-familiar, half-strange Broadway, there had traveled with her a vivid memory, a memory that stung her with a harrowing sense of grief, that seared her soul with remorse as with fire. To-day in this free air of Broadway, it seemed as if she could not bear the pain of this remembrance of the despair and the passionate protest against fate which had prompted the terrible deed that had changed her life: In a moment of frenzy

and agony of spirit she had killed her little child—and for ten years there had been steadily growing in her heart a desperate longing, a passionate fervor of love which no one but a child could satisfy.

How empty her arms seemed to-day. Her mother-heart was hungry. She wanted not only to love, but to be loved by some innocent child.

But fate had no sacred and lovely gift in store for a woman like her. By her own sin she had forfeited all right to such love.

Who could ever love her?

She shuddered at the thought of those weary wasted years that had been spent in prison.

Here she was in this big, heartless, selfish city with no friend to help, no friend to guide, no one who would understand.

Who would trust her, let her have just one honest chance to build up her life into some faint semblance of its former beauty and purity?

In spite of the dreary maze in which her thoughts were wandering, she could afterwards recall with startling vividness how it all happened. But it happened so

unexpectedly, so swiftly that at first she was almost stunned.

A clang,—a flash,—a wild dash of the hurrying crowd,—then a huddled form struck by the big “red devil” of an automobile.

There was confusion, terror, danger, an imperative call for help—then the discordant clang of the ambulance.

Finally the woman found herself the center of an excited group of people who were trying to comfort a bewildered, frightened boy who was sobbing out that his nurse had been taken away in the “albulance” and he could n’t remember where he lived.

The woman stood there a moment—timid, uncertain, awkwardly self-conscious; then all thoughts of self were suddenly swept away by a rush of sympathetic tenderness, an overwhelming desire to be of help.

Some subtle expression of her emotion must have flashed from her face to the heart of the child, for the next moment he flung himself into her arms, begging her to take him home and not let anything hurt him.

With the touch of those clinging hands around her neck a swift sense of authority and power came over her. Her whole personality was transformed. Holding the child tightly and comforting him, she imperiously dominated the crowd; got free of a stupid policeman who sought to magnify his office; roused into alert activity the dulled intellects of the police in the nearest station; sent telephone messages and messenger boys; and herself worked with superb, untiring energy.

Finally, just at dusk, she reached a large house on Riverside drive, to find there a suffering, anxious mother, who treated her with lovely courtesy as well as substantial gratitude, and when at last she turned to go, the little boy clung to her, sobbing out that she must not go, that he loved her, that she *must* stay with him, that he would lock the door and keep her always for his nurse.

The woman looked at the child piteously, then her lips quivered.

He had said he loved her, he loved her!

“Oh! I cannot bear it,” she sobbed, and she covered her face with her hands.

“Do not go just now,” the mother said, gently; “come in here and let us have a little talk.”

The woman had a dim sense of a beautiful room full of books and pictures, but the mother’s face with its tenderness was to her more beautiful than everything else.

By skilful questioning and delicate tact the mother drew from the lonely, homeless woman the whole miserable history of her wrecked life, and her hopelessness of the future; and it was not alone the sympathy, the sisterly feeling, but the *understanding* shown by the questioner, that comforted and warmed her poor, benumbed heart.

The nursery-fire cast a soft, beautiful glow through the spacious room. The woman sat beside it, the little boy on a footstool at her feet.

“Hurry up that story before Mamma comes up from dinner,” he said, his face eager and excited. “Tell that story my other nurse began, about a big pirate that came in the dark, and made all the little boys and girls chatter their teeth and——”

“No, dear. Do n’t let us have anything dreadful like that. The dark is n’t full of pirates. The dark is so soft and sweet and peaceful, and it makes little boys and girls feel sleepy. And when they are asleep the lovely fairies come and sing to them and kiss their eyes—and then they dream of flowers, and love, and green fields.”

“He will make the darkness light about thee,” murmured Mrs. Chesterfield to herself, as she paused in the open doorway.

That first night the woman went to sleep with the little child beside her,—his mother trusting her!

KENYON WEST.

Montclair, N. J.

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

PUBLIC-OWNERSHIP IN GREAT BRITAIN.

MR. McKERROW in his extremely clever attack on public-ownership of public utilities as found in Great Britain, which we publish in this issue, makes some observations which call for passing notice and which it was impossible for Professor Parsons to touch upon in the brief space to which we felt compelled to limit him on account of the length of Mr. McKerrow's paper.

The main arguments in Mr. McKerrow's contention are so thoroughly and, in our judgment, completely answered by Professor Parsons that it is not our purpose to touch upon them, further than to revert to a point which is strongly emphasized,—namely, the increase in the debt of the cities of Great Britain. By inference the critic of municipal-ownership would have us believe that this increase in indebtedness is largely if not chiefly due to public-ownership of public utilities, while as a matter of fact the great increase, as Professor Parsons points out, is owing to the conviction on the part of present-day civilization that it is the paramount duty—that it is the highest wisdom, of the community to improve the sanitation, improve the educational advantages, and in various ways benefit the community at large, in order that the menace of contagion and various physical diseases, as well as moral degeneration, may be minimized.

What is true of the increase of indebtedness of the cities of Great Britain is true of the increase in indebtedness of various cities. Take Boston for example. The annual appropriations in Boston in 1886 were \$5,808,412. The appropriations for 1906 were \$15,613,516, a net increase of \$9,805,104 in the twenty years. The rapid increase in the debt of Boston has been a subject of general discussion for many months. Ex-Mayor Thomas N. Hart, in a discussion of the question of a new charter, before the City Club on the evening of February 14th, pointed out the fact that the gross debt of the city to-day is not very far from \$140,000,000. Yet Boston is one of the most backward of all cities in regard to public-ownership. Indeed, outside of the defeat of

the attempt to relay the tracks on Tremont street, which would have enabled the Boston Elevated Railway Company to evade paying into the city treasury a considerable revenue from cars going into the subway, there has been no conspicuous instance in many years wherein the interests of the street-railway company as well as that of the lighting trust have not substantially had their way. We cite this case merely to show how easy it is for a special-pleader to draw inferences that superficially appear plausible and yet are wholly unwarranted when all the facts involved are considered.

Mr. McKerrow, though a most charming gentleman, has a strong bias against public-ownership, and his fondness for dwelling in the tents of those who are recognized as chief among the special-pleaders of private ownership of public utilities seems to have led him, perhaps quite unconsciously to himself, into employing not only their terminology, but also the special methods of those whom he so happily characterizes as "having an axe to grind," "representatives of private corporations," etc. A man may have no personal or financial interest in a great question such as that under consideration, involving the interest of a class and that of the people as a whole, and yet if he remains in the camp of the classes who are vitally interested in continuing to reap harvests from the benefits of private monopoly of public utilities, and hears constantly the various specious arguments which the paid attorneys advance, while reading the ingenious sophistries and exhibitions of jugglery with figures in which there is constantly an over-emphasis of certain relatively unimportant facts as well as conclusions unwarranted by the evidence, as is done systematically by papers like the *London Times**

*In October, 1902, the *London Daily News* made a most circumstantial exposure of the *London Times*' series of attacks on municipal-ownership. It charged that this great reactionary or Bourbon journal, that has for years been the advocate of special privilege and various forms of oppression, had lent itself to a systematic furthering of the financial interests of a ring of Anglo-American

and other journals that are confessedly special-pleaders for public-service corporations, he will be almost certain sooner or later to lose the proper sense of proportion when viewing the subject, and will come to look to these special-pleaders for opinions and guidance when he essays to express his own biased views, even though these same writers may have been thoroughly answered and their conclusions as thoroughly discredited as have been those of Professor Hugo Meyer of the Chicago University or those of the London *Times*.

In reading Mr. McKerrow's paper we are driven to the conclusion that such is the case with this writer, though he may be unconscious of the fact. Thus, for example, on the threshold of his discussion he raises the familiar alarmist cry by quoting Hamlet's well-worked phrase. In this he adopts one of the tactics almost invariably employed by the upholders of monarchy, aristocracy, plutocracy and all other class interests that seek special advantages at the expense of the masses. The special-pleaders know that the people are always timid; that the untried path will not be taken till the evils which the public has borne become intolerable and they always, or almost always, raise the alarmist cry and exhibit a bogy-man to frighten the unthinking and prejudice the more thoughtful so that they will approach the subject with a bias in favor of the existing order.

Mr. McKerrow seems to be laboring under the idea that the advocates of public-ownership are for the most part academic. On the one side, to use his words, are "theorists," "college professors, enthusiasts." This sound very familiar. One might almost imagine these were the words of Mr. Burdette, the

capitalists known as the British Electric Traction Company. The managing director of this company was Emile Garche. The *News* pointed out that one of the catspaws of the British Electric Traction Company was "the Industrial Freedom League, which includes Garche among its financial supporters," and on its council were Morgan and Company and other directors and shareholders in the Traction Trust or combine, and also Mr. C. F. Moberly Bell, who was at that time the manager of the London *Times*. The *News*, after showing how liberally the *Times* had drawn from Garche's *ex parte* pamphlets, asks the question: "Is England to turn, at the bidding of the *Times* and the British Electric Traction Company, from the safe paths of coöperative municipal effort and deliver itself, bound and helpless, to the Pierpont Morgans and their trusts?" Mr. McKerrow in citing the London *Times* seems to be almost as unfortunate as in quoting from Professor Meyer and Roberts.

hired attorney of the Electric Lighting Company. But do they square with the facts? Let us see. In Great Britain the great father of the public-ownership movement and the man who gave it its master-impulse was the Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, who, as Mr. McKerrow must admit, is one of the most successful and eminently practical business men of the realm. Perhaps the man who next to Mr. Chamberlain has done most to influence the public mind in favor of public-ownership of public utilities in Great Britain is Mr. John Young, who when Glasgow took over her tramway service took charge of the street-railways, and in spite of the doleful predictions of the friends of private-ownership made such a splendid success of the municipal investment that opposition to public ownership of street-railways practically disappeared in this greatest city of Scotland. Is Mr. Young to be classed as merely an academic theorist or an enthusiast? Let one fact in addition to his success with the Glasgow tramway-service answer this question. When Mr. Yerkes wanted a man to manage his street-railway interests in London, whom did he select? Some one of the shrewd, practical business men who had helped him acquire millions upon millions of dollars in the Chicago street-railways, or some one of the heads of the great public-service corporations in America or England? No; the one man in all the Anglo-Saxon world that Mr. Yerkes selected to take charge of his street-railway interests was Mr. Young, the head of the municipal tram-service of Glasgow.

Another man who has exerted a positive influence over public opinion in favor of public-ownership by the splendid results of his labors is Mr. Bellamy, the manager of the municipal street-railway service of Liverpool.

In America we have no stronger or more able champion of public-ownership than Mayor Tom L. Johnson of Cleveland, who made millions of dollars out of private-ownership of street-railways.

And so we might easily extend the list and show that the charge so glibly and regularly made by the attorneys of the privileged interests like Mr. Burdette, and which has been taken up and repeated by our contributor, is without the foundation in fact which the claim implies. The advocates of public-ownership have, we think, as a rule only accepted it after careful examination and painstaking investigation of the pros and cons and after studying

the question from the view-point of its practicability as a sound business enterprise, from its relation to civic morality or honest government, and from the view-point of the general public weal, such as insuring better service and the turning into the public treasury for general improvement or reduction of taxes of moneys which at the present time are being poured into a few private pockets and employed for the enrichment of the privileged few and the corruption of the people's representatives. In many instances those who to-day are most strenuous advocates of public-ownership have begun their investigation with marked prejudice against public-ownership. The Hon. Frederic C. Howe, whose great work, *The City the Hope of Democracy*, is one of the most masterly volumes on municipal government that has appeared, states that when he began his investigation it was with the strongest bias against public-ownership, but his research soon forced him to change his views. When we personally began our investigation of this subject our prejudices were all on the side of private-ownership, but the evidences and arguments of such men as Mr. Young and Mayor Johnson, the survey of the whole field, the comparison of results under private and public-ownership as they relate to public finances, civic ideals, the general weal and the interests of the citizen as a unit forced us to change our view.

In the case of Professor Parsons, he is a man whose education as a lawyer, historian and economist was supplemented by that of a civil engineer at Cornell. He has ever been conspicuous for his judicial attitude in all his investigations. Personally we know of no writer who so resolutely refuses to express an opinion on any question until he has examined both sides of the subject, as Professor Parsons. Moreover, his knowledge of the subject is based on exhaustive personal investigations which have taken him all over Great Britain on two separate occasions, the last being as a member of the committee sent over by the Civic Federation, at which time great pains were taken to obtain all the facts from the foes as well as the friends of municipal-ownership. He is therefore probably the best-equipped thinker in America to-day to discuss this subject authoritatively.

It is a curious fact that though Mr. McKerrow seems to have so poor an opinion of the value of the views of college professors or academic writers, when they advocate public-ownership, the

two Americans behind whom he takes refuge for confirmation of his views should be two academicians—two college professors, one Professor Roberts of Denver University, the other Professor Hugo Meyer of Chicago University. Evidently the academician, theorist or college professor who sees matters as the public-service corporation magnates desire the public to see them is not so untrustworthy to Mr. McKerrow as if he championed public-ownership. And in passing it may be well to point out that the master-spirit in Denver University is Boss William Evans of Denver, the head of the street-car interests and the master-spirit in what is known as the Utility-Trust. The unsavory record of this trust and its sinister influence in politics, no less than its shameful exploitation of the people, are too well known to our readers through the admirable papers of the Hon. J. Warner Mills to demand further notice. Professor Roberts voices what Mr. Evans wished voiced.

The Chicago University is the creature of the master-spirit of the Standard Oil Trust, the most shameless and law-defying monopoly in America, whose chief benefactors are interested in the great lighting corporations in the various cities. Professor Bemis a few years ago was a professor in Chicago University. He wrote a strong brochure in favor of public-ownership of lighting plants, and was shortly after relieved of his position in the Rockefeller University. Professor Meyer has written a brief for private-ownership and naturally enough remains in high favor with the University. Notwithstanding the fact that his claims have been so mercilessly dissected and exposed by many able critics, such as Professor B. H. Meyer, Professor John R. Commons, Professor Frank Parsons and others, our contributor quotes him as an authority.

Another point which Mr. McKerrow makes and which it was impossible for Professor Parsons to touch upon in the limited space assigned, is the claim that the advocates of public-ownership are Socialists, and the implication that those who advocate public-ownership of public utilities favor public-ownership of all sorts of business enterprises. Now as a matter of fact, the strongest and ablest advocates of public-ownership with whom we are acquainted are not Socialists, and in many instances they are strongly opposed to Socialism. Men like Mayor Tom L. Johnson, Hon. Frederic C. Howe, Mr.

Louis F. Post, Mr. Henry George, Jr., Justice John Ford, Justice Samuel Seabury, Professor Frank Parsons, Mayor Dunne of Chicago and scores of other leaders of the public-ownership movement are not Socialists, and most of them are pronounced individualists. They hold that public-ownership of public utilities or natural monopolies is wise and necessary, but they do not favor public-ownership of business enterprises that are not in the class of public utilities. This point was very clearly brought out by Mayor Johnson and Mr. Louis F. Post in their arguments which we quoted in our editorial in the February ARENA.

Furthermore, in noticing this question one fact should not be lost sight of, and that is that where public-ownership has been fairly tried there is an overwhelming sentiment in favor of it. Now why is this? If it were such a menace as the special-pleaders for private-

ownership of public utilities would have us believe, there would be an overwhelming opposition, for the general discontent of the people would be quickly stimulated by the lavish use of money to encourage such opposition, by those conspicuously unselfish (?) patriots, the public-service magnates, who are ever anxious to save the cities from the peril and menace of municipal-ownership by bravely incurring all the risks of bankruptcy and other multitudinous perils that the attorneys for special privileges would have us believe lurk in the way of public-ownership. But the fact is that public-ownership of public utilities has on the whole proved such a pronounced success that the cities of Great Britain are overwhelmingly in favor of it, and nowhere is the public sentiment so strong as in such cities as Glasgow, Liverpool, Birmingham and Manchester, where public-ownership has been most complete.

PROSPERITY AND THE PEOPLE.

FOR MANY months a systematic effort has been made on the part of plutocratic dailies, weeklies and monthlies to deceive the public by statements and inferences that in the light of the pertinent facts involved are untrue and unwarranted. The public is continually being informed of our great prosperity, while it is dazzled by an impressive array of figures accompanied by glittering generalities. Then follow long lists of corporations which have increased the wages of the workingmen in their employ, while the higher prices paid to the farmers and producers for their products are also dwelt upon at length.

Now all these things may be true, and yet the people as a whole may not be as prosperous as in earlier years, and the gulf between the few very rich and the producing millions may be steadily widening.

The worthlessness of the special-pleading so industriously put forth in favor of present conditions lies in the fact that the writers who hold briefs for the plutocracy only give one side of the situation. The fact that the increase in wages is not nearly so great as the increase in cost of living that has paralleled this raise is carefully ignored, while the further fact that large classes of the employed

and professional men who are not in the service of privileged and favored corporations have had little or no increase in their salaries, is also ignored. As a matter of fact, the increase in return for work or service on the part of the millions of laborers is trifling in comparison with the enormous increase in the acquisition of wealth enjoyed by the few having monopoly rights and enjoying special privileges. It is doubtless true that the farmers are receiving more for their products than they did some years ago, but the percentage of increase is far less than that which the railways and trusts are realizing before handing these products over to the consuming masses; while the fact that the increase in the wages of other manual laborers is entirely out of proportion to the increase in the cost of living is apparent when we examine the facts.

According to Dun, as is pointed out by Mr. Shibley, "the price level for commodities at wholesale on December 1, 1906, was over 49 per cent. higher than on July 1, 1896. And Bradstreet's tables show that average wholesale prices for products are now more than 50 per cent. higher than ten years ago." Allowing for living expenses not included in these lists and where the increase has not been so marked, such as house-rent, the living ex-

penses are somewhat reduced. According to the editor of *Moody's Magazine*, the net rise in the cost of living is 40 per cent., and he further points out the fact that wages have risen only half as fast and as much as have the living expenses.

It will be immediately seen that the consideration of these facts changes the whole face of the situation and thoroughly invalidates the cry of general prosperity; while when we further remember that tens of thousands of persons who receive fixed salaries and are not employed by the over-rich and privileged corporations, have experienced little if any increase in salary, the misleading character of this general cry is still further emphasized. To this last class the present conditions are in many cases marked by severe privations. They see the swollen fortunes growing still more unhealthily large of the special privileged few and the great gamblers of the Street, while their little savings are rapidly diminishing, when they have not already disappeared.

Furthermore, in many companies where there are enormous returns and where the people are being victimized by the monopolies, the laborers have had no increase in wages anything like commensurate with the increase in salaries of favored officials and the increase in dividends to stockholders. This fact was well brought out by L. W. E. Kimball, the New England Organizer of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, in an article in the *Boston American*, in which he stated the following suggestive facts:

"I present for the consideration of your readers a table of figures that gives an illuminating example of the manner in which public-service corporations distribute prosperity.

"Rate of dividend and president's salary paid by the Edison company from 1898 to 1905:

Year.	Rate of dividend. Per cent.	President's Salary.
1898,	7½	\$10,000
1899,	8	12,000
1900,	8	15,000
1901,	11	20,000
1902,	10	25,000
1903,	10	30,000
1904,	10	30,000
1905,	10	30,000

"Increase in the rate of dividend, 38 per cent.

"Increase in salary paid to president of Edison company, 200 per cent.

"Increase in wages of small wage-earners of the Edison company, little, if any.

"Increase in the cost of living, 30 per cent. to 40 per cent.

"A consideration of these figures would seem to indicate that there is something the matter with our much-vaunted national prosperity.

"They would seem to indicate that our modern captains of industry take but little thought of the rank and file, so long as they secure for themselves a satisfactory amount of prosperity.

"One feels inclined to ask why the humbler, though no less faithful employes, should not share equally in the company's prosperity with the stockholders and high salaried officials."

The case cited by Mr. Kimball is typical. Our great industrial corporations, trusts and public-service companies are as a rule not only earning large dividends on stock issues, but the stock in a large number of corporations has been so watered as to make the dividends on the actually invested capital so enormous that were it not for the permitted outrage of stock-watering the extortion would not be tolerated.

Again, favored officials are paid princely salaries out of all proportion to the service rendered, and in addition to this they enjoy enormous indirect benefits for which the people pay. In conversation recently with a gentleman who had for many years been employed in the auditor's office of a leading New England corporation, our friend said: "The very large salary paid the president of our road is, I think, much in excess of any salary he could earn in any great business enterprise that was not in the nature of a monopoly where it was possible to extort wealth at will from the people. But the salary is only one of the benefits which he enjoys, for which the people have to pay and which materially lessen his living expenses. He has a magnificent private-car at his disposal, which is used by himself and family and friends. When they take trips this car is splendidly provisioned with the best of food and an abundance of extras, such as high-priced cigars. Now all this comes out of the earnings of the company, which means from the traveling public, and, in the

last analysis, from the producing and consuming masses.'

Again, when this official and other favored individuals want to use the express companies, they get the goods dead-headed, and the enormous amount of goods every year franked or dead-headed by the express corporations would doubtless amaze the people. Yet in the end who pays for this? The general shipping public.

Thus present economic conditions at every turn favor the privileged classes and compel

the masses to bear indirect burdens. And this, together with the systematic gambling with stacked cards in Wall street and the juggling with the people's money through the connivance of bankers, by the high financiers, is steadily widening the chasm between the plutocracy and the people, between the privileged few and the highly-paid officials in government and the public-service corporations and monopolies, and the rank and file of the nation.

THE RENAISSANCE OF THE IDEALS OF JEFFERSON AND LINCOLN IN THE UNITED STATES.

A Frenchman's Prediction of a Great Moral Uprising in the United States.

A FEW months ago a friend of ours, a young man who has done excellent work in battling for the cause of civic righteousness and genuine democracy, was spending a few weeks in Paris preparatory to returning to America. He had spent almost two years in Europe, studying social, economic and political conditions on the Continent, and his labors brought him in touch with many of the foremost statesmen, publicists and scholars of the Old World. One evening he was the guest of an eminent French historian and publicist who is an enthusiastic admirer of America. During the course of the conversation the host questioned his guest in regard to present-day conditions in the Republic. He wished to know exactly how things were from one who personally knew the facts and who was thoroughly competent to present them. Our friend frankly described to him present-day political conditions in our great cities, states and the nation, explaining how in recent years the plutocracy had made giant strides toward the control of government in all its ramifications. He pictured the apparently irresistible advance in the control of great municipalities by privileged interests, through the control of partisan machines manned by unscrupulous and corrupt politicians. He pictured the riot of corruption as it had long existed in great American municipalities, the power which predatory wealth was exerting over the press, and its demoralizing effects as seen in great business enterprises, such as the insurance investigation revealed. He fur-

thermore described how state after state had fallen the prey of conscienceless bosses backed by great public-service corporations, and how the national government had more and more responded to the overt and covert campaigns of various privileged and class interests, until the United States Senate was manned by special-pleaders and prominent representatives of the interests that had long been warring against the rights and the interests of the masses. And finally, he expressed the gravest apprehensions in regard to the future, because the plutocracy was so firmly entrenched that its power seemed to be well-nigh invincible. It was perfectly organized and its influence was rapidly extending over the press, the university, the pulpit, and, indeed, all public opinion-forming agencies.

When he had finished, to his great surprise the Frenchman exclaimed, in substance:

"You are altogether mistaken, my young friend, in your conclusions. I am a historian and I know, too, something of the moral fiber of your people. In the last fifty years your people have not been brought face to face with any great moral issue in such a way as to arouse the national conscience. But of late years there have been many exposures and sporadic uprisings. All of these have been gradually educating the public mind along one line, centering the public consciousness on one great moral issue, as more than a half century ago it was centered on chattel slavery. Now the hour will come, and it may come soon, just as it came when the founders of your nation became invincible under moral

compulsion and shook off the power of Great Britain, and later as it came when the issue between slavery and freedom had to be squarely met; and when this approaching hour for moral action arrives, your people will rise in their splendid might and assert their rights. They will speak for justice, equity and freedom, and they will break the power of the new slavery or oppression and destroy the corruption that is so threatening the life of free institutions."

We believe the French scholar was right. We have never despaired of the Republic, even when the moral lethargy of the people seemed greatest and when the claims of material prosperity seemed to overshadow the demands of ethics and the fundamental principles of free government as cherished by the fathers. We have never lost sight of the fact that the cause of freedom in America never looked so dark as it did just before the great victories were won which led to the establishment of the Republic; that the outlook for the cause of fundamental democracy in England never since the dawn of the democratic epoch looked darker than just before the passage of the great Reform Bill in the early thirties and the enactment of the important economic legislation in 1846; and that the cause of freedom in the anti-slavery agitation never looked so hopeless as it did after the Dred Scott decision, yet subsequent events showed that that period was merely the dark hour before the conflict that was destined to destroy slavery.

The Gathering Together and The Onward March of The Forces of Free Government.

To-day, while it is idle to attempt to ignore the power, the determination and the confidence of the plutocracy, he must be blind indeed who fails to see the multitudinous signs that point to the gathering together and forward movement of the hosts of fundamental democracy; and just here let us explain that when we say "democracy" we do not use the word in its narrow or partisan sense, but rather as opposed to plutocracy, reaction and class-government.

During the past six or eight years there has been a steady rise in the tide of pure democracy throughout the nation. This has not been so apparent in great political victories as in the multitudinous signs that ever precede the uprisings of a free people when the

hour for choosing draws nigh. Still, the past few years have not been barren of positive and significant political victories. The various uprisings for pure government and more just conditions throughout the length and breadth of the land have voiced the fact that the people are awakening.

Wisconsin, under the magnificent leadership of the able and incorruptible statesman, Robert M. LaFollette, has made marvelous strides toward a return to the democracy of the Declaration of Independence. Missouri, under the leadership of Governor Folk, is making an equally splendid record. But even more important than such victories under the leadership of exceptionally able and disinterested statesmen has been the great triumph for popular government won by Oregon, through the introduction into the organic Constitution of the State of ideal provisions for bulwarking free institutions and meeting the changed conditions of the present time that were undermining democratic government. Oregon, it will be remembered, in 1902, by a majority of over 62,000 against less than 6,000, voted for the adoption of the initiative and referendum. This amendment to the Constitution was later upheld by the Supreme Court of the State and in successful operation it has destroyed the lobby and the mastership of privileged interests throughout the commonwealth.

Since the victory in Oregon there has been a steady advance movement in favor of the introduction of these ideal democratic measures for the preservation of the principles of a democratic republic. In 1904 Nevada adopted a Constitutional amendment similar to that of Oregon, and last year Montana embedded a direct-legislation Constitutional amendment in her organic Constitution. In 1906 the electorate of Delaware, by an overwhelming vote, declared in favor of the advisory initiative and referendum, and Illinois, so far back as 1901, had passed, under the title of the Public Policy Law, a measure providing for the advisory referendum.

Every victory of this character is a triumph for the fundamental principles upon which a democratic republic rests and a defeat of the forces which have during the past fifty years been persistently seeking to establish the unrepresentative and subversive rule of predatory interests and corrupt political machines in the place of popular government. And these victories, from the Pacific to the Atlantic, indicate the important fact that the American

electorate is at length coming to a general recognition of the vital importance of this great progressive movement that will do more than aught else to destroy graft, political corruption and the exploitation of city, state and nation by corrupt predatory wealth.

The People's League of Delaware.

Our readers will remember that Delaware, which so long rested under the odium of Addicks' corrupt spell, last year surprised the nation and heartened the friends of good government everywhere by declaring in favor of the advisory initiative and referendum. That this evidence of the awakening of the conscience element of Delaware was not temporary in character is seen from recent developments. There is at the present time a rapidly growing organization which under the name of The People's League of Delaware, is fighting for "the welfare of the people and the honor of the state." As in the case of the movement for the initiative and referendum in Delaware, the successful advance of this movement has been largely due to the persistent, earnest, unselfish and lofty statesmanship of a few high-minded friends of free institutions, most prominent among whom are such influential and earnest citizens as Alfred O. Crozier, Francis I. du Pont, Hervey Walker, Rev. J. B. Turner, John P. Holland, and Morris N. Webb. Of Mr. du Pont's effective work in the victorious campaign for the initiative and referendum we have already spoken. In the successful development of The People's League special credit is due to Mr. Alfred O. Crozier, the President of the League.

Early in January the League was formed for the avowed purpose of furthering the moral and material welfare of the state and to aid in securing and retaining for the people the direct control over their own affairs by the most practicable and effective means. Its specific objects as stated in the constitution are:

"1. To promote the moral, educational and material welfare of the people and the honor and glory of the state.

"2. To help instill high ideals of personal honor, generosity and integrity, stimulate civic pride and public spirit, and increase respect for orderly government and law and loyalty and patriotic devotion to the republic and its institutions.

"3. To aid in destroying the power of graft and corruption and in marshaling organized public sentiment for the protection of the people.

"4. As the fundamental and vitalizing principle of the republic is self-government, and as actual, direct and continuous control by the people is essential to their welfare, the society will support all practicable efforts to lodge and retain that power in the citizenship."

Largely owing to Mr. Crozier, the leading temperance workers who are fighting for local option, have joined heartily in the work of the League. Before a recent convention of temperance workers Mr. Crozier appeared, making an admirable address and pleading for fundamental conditions that would render the triumph of public sentiment possible. During this address he said, when speaking of the evils of the dram-shops and the importance of a local-option law:

"There should be no division of opinion over the demand of the people for a chance to vote upon the matter. That is their fundamental right. To deny this, or the decision of the majority, whatever that may be, is to repudiate the one great principle upon which rests republican government.

"Jefferson taught his great party, and Jackson emphasized it, that the safety and perpetuity of the republic depends upon the power of control being retained in the people themselves. This is meaningless if we deny their request for opportunities to use this power direct when they consider it necessary for the protection of their homes and interests and for the safety of their wives and children upon the public highways.

"The immortal voice of Lincoln led in laying the foundations of the great Republican party upon the same solid rock."

Shortly after the organization of the League, the officials were able to make the gratifying announcement that the membership then numbered one thousand, embracing very many of the most popular and influential citizens of the state, and that from the outlook it was confidently expected that within a few weeks the League would embrace over six thousand members.

One of the first aggressive acts of the League was to attack the corrupt lobby which has been such a disgrace to Delaware in recent years. In speaking of the League's aim in

this direction, one of the leading Wilmington dailies of February first said:

"There are distinct indications that the people of Delaware are heartily tired of having their State absolutely ruled by corrupt predatory corporations for their own selfish ends by means of their mercenary lobbyists. These enterprising individuals not only serve their corporate masters well in misruling the people, but they also inspire the introduction of 'strike' bills against honest corporations and legitimate business to extort money which they represent to be necessary to defeat such bills."

The measure advocated by The People's League to prevent the further scandal of this corrupt and corrupting lobby is similar to the law enacted in New York.

On January 14th the League addressed a communication to the Senate and House of Representatives of Delaware in which it earnestly memorialized for the passage during the present session of the General Assembly of the following:

"1. A law requiring lobbyists to publicly register with the Secretary of State the names and addresses of themselves and each of their employers under suitable regulations and penalties as is required by law in many other states. They should be required to state upon the record each bill they favor or oppose.

"Those with an open, honest purpose or honorable retainer will not object to thus following the practice required in the courts of disclosing publicly the cause in which they appear. Others should be regulated or abated on the ground of public policy.

"2. Suitable legislation establishing the Initiative and Referendum as demanded by the people at the recent election by the remarkable vote of 17,405 for, to only 2,134 against the measure; or eighty-seven to only thirteen per cent.

"You will, no doubt, as the chosen representatives of the people, fully and gladly respond to their will, seeing that the provisions are such as to work no injustice to the people of any part of the state.

"3. Submission of Local Option, as asked, to the vote of the people. This organization favors the measure, not on the ground of temperance, but as the people's constitutional right.

"The principles of self-government, and

the right of the majority under a Republican form of government to express its will and have it respected, are sufficient, we believe, to induce you to respond to the general desire of the people on this matter, however much individual opinions may differ on the merits of the question itself."

Mr. Crozier's Appeal for a City Charter with The Recall as Well as The Initiative and Referendum.

There is at the present time a prospect of a new charter for Wilmington, and the forces of darkness and light are already in conflict. Predatory interests are seeking to prevent the introduction of measures that would protect the interests of the citizens. The League is looking forward hopefully to securing a model charter. In an interview published in the *Wilmington Morning News* of February 4th, pregnant with vital truths that are applicable to all American cities, Mr. Crozier said:

"The underlying controversy, concealed as much as possible, is between those who desire the people to rule in fact, with an actual voice in their own affairs, and those who, through lack of confidence in the people, or who have sinister objects in view, are unwilling that the majority of the people shall have any real power, except the right to vote away entirely all of their control over their own affairs for four years, putting the same absolutely and unrecoverably in the hands of officials who, after their selection, are entirely independent of the people, and who may have secretly sold out the people and bound themselves hand and foot to the predatory corporations for corruption money with which to secure their own election or appointment.

"Two years is long enough to take the serious risk of being misruled. Four years would not be so objectionable if the charter also provided that every public official could be removed at any time by the affirmative vote of a majority of the electors. This would at once secure direct responsibility to the people and would never have to be used, for no official would chance disgrace by doing things which would outrage the sense of the majority and bring upon him the penalty of dismissal as an inefficient or unfaithful public servant.

"Who will oppose this plain, simple, just and necessary provision? Only those seeking to become sworn trustees for the people and who think they may in office want to do

something the great mass of the people would resent if they had a chance. Or those unfair corporate beneficiaries of the people's favors who have made millions here from gifts of public franchises and intend at all hazards to continue to enjoy them and their constantly enhancing value without paying thereon one single penny of tax to help relieve the overburdened home-owners of Wilmington or the growing needs of the public treasury; or those who have for twenty years ruthlessly violated their plain charter provisions by excessive and illegal charges for the inefficient service they render to the public to an amount said to aggregate more than a half million of dollars.

"These can afford to spend tens of thousands of dollars to elect officials who will serve them provided the people can be deprived of all control over such officials for four long years.

"One simple clause thus making all officials responsible to the people would work a miracle in the government of this city and be an example that would make our fair city famous and a model to be followed by others all over the country. It would put a premium on official honesty instead of, as now, encouraging dishonesty.

"Gladstone once said: 'It is the duty of government to make it as easy as possible for men to do right and as hard as possible for men to do wrong.' We reverse this wise precept by our method of making public officials our masters instead of our servants.

"The charter should contain specific and unambiguous authority to tax franchises as property at their true value, as is done in New

York, thanks to the efforts of President Roosevelt while he was governor, and in most other states.

"The charter will, of course, contain a broad and honest provision establishing completely the principles of the initiative and referendum. Omission of this would be an amazing outrage after having been adopted by the people themselves by an almost unanimous vote. If this is not put in, in legal and effective form, the people will know just whom to hold responsible.

"Recalling Lincoln's celebrated words of wisdom, and changing them to fit local conditions, we justly say to our predatory corporations and their hireling band of corrupt and corrupting legislative and political lobbyists: 'You will fool some of the people all of the time. You have fooled all of the people part of the time. But hereafter you cannot fool all of the people all of the time.'"

The work which the patriotic band in Delaware is doing can be duplicated in other states and municipalities where there are a few high-minded patriots who are willing to consecrate their best energies to the cause of fundamental democracy at the present crucial hour in the history of free institutions in the New World; and certainly there is no labor more needed or more worthy to command the unselfish devotion of patriots than that of stimulating the moral idealism of the people and restoring the government to the people in such a way as to again make the Republic in fact as well as theory "a government of the people, by the people and for the people."

THE ALLEGED OVERWHELMING DEFEAT OF THE GERMAN SOCIALISTS IN THE RECENT ELECTION.

A TYPICAL illustration of the untrustworthy character of the daily press when commenting on news about which the plutocracy does not wish the people correctly informed was seen in the way the late German election news was given out, and especially in the long editorials dealing with the alleged crushing of the Socialists of the Empire, which, according to the writers, was indicated by the returns. The one fact on which all these comments were based was the substantial reduction of the representation of the party in

the Reichstag, it being cut down from 79 to 43, a fact which on its face would seem to warrant in a measure the scare headlines and labored editorials which sought to convey to the public the news that Socialism had received a great set-back, that its adherents were deserting it in a wholesale manner, and that it would from now on be a dwindling power.

Such and many similar gloomy predictions, that were merely representative of the wish of the masters of the writers, appeared in daily,

weekly and monthly periodicals from ocean to ocean; yet the fact was that owing to the shamefully inequitable and unjust electoral system that has been in operation for the past forty years, the Socialists, who polled 3,240,000 votes, secured only 43 representatives in Parliament; while the Conservatives, the Kaiser's party, which polled only 1,120,000 votes, elected 80 representatives to Parliament.

But this fact of decreased representation is but part of the story. The Socialist vote at the last election was a little over 3,240,000, or almost a quarter of a million votes more than the party polled in 1903; and this enormous gain in four years does not represent merely the increase in the number of *bona fide* Socialists throughout the realm, for the reason that at the 1903 election the Liberals and Radicals, where they felt the Socialists had a better chance of election than any one they could nominate, supported the Socialist ticket in preference to giving the autocratic government and the reactionary Clericals an opportunity for using a pronounced victory to render possible the sinister plans in regard to the further limitation of the people's rights and popular government that the Kaiser had imprudently threatened. The result of this in

1903 was that the Liberal and Radical representation was greatly reduced and the Socialist representation was abnormally augmented. This year the Liberals and Radicals held the field and have materially increased their representation, while the Socialists have lost seats that by the aid of the Liberal votes they carried at the preceding election. But while this is true, as noted above, the Socialist vote shows a net gain above the augmented vote of 1903.

Furthermore, all the government, commercial, social and reactionary influences were centered against the Socialists in the recent election, and a systematic attempt was made, not only to harass and discredit the Socialists, but to bring all persons holding their tenets into disgrace. When one remembers how much a powerful government, a hereditary aristocracy, a great capitalistic press and other reactionary influences in society can do when they unite, it is amazing that over 3,240,000 voters dared to stand up and be counted for social democracy.

We give these explanatory facts in answer to many inquiries from friends as to the real truth touching the German election and its significance.

SENATOR LODGE'S LATEST INSULT TO AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE.

SENATOR Henry Cabot Lodge appears to believe that the people have lost the power to think for themselves and that they are ignorant of the contents of the Constitution. His amazing presumption of popular ignorance in this respect entitles him to pre-eminence among all the persistent upholders of privileged interests and boss-rule in the United States Senate. Our readers will remember our calling attention to his amazing utterances in his oration in Brookline, when he claimed that Direct-Legislation would foster mob-rule; that if it was introduced we might expect a mob to appear at Beacon Hill and seek to awe the legislators. They will also remember Edwin Markham's *exposé* of the sophistry and absurdity of Senator Lodge's alarmist cry in this respect—a cry that any school-boy of ten years of age, who knows anything whatsoever about the nature of Direct-Legislation, knows to be exactly

the reverse of the truth. It is inconceivable that Senator Lodge is so ignorant as not to know that not only does Direct-Legislation not foster mob-rule, but that the chief results that follow its introduction are (1) the rendering of corruption and boss-rule impossible; (2) the preventing of all danger of mob-rule; and (3) the safeguarding of the people from the evils of corrupt legislation or hasty and ill-advised laws. These are facts that in the nature of the case would follow the introduction of Direct-Legislation, and they are the conspicuous results of the operation of Direct-Legislation where it has been employed, as in Switzerland, Oregon and elsewhere.

It is, perhaps, not surprising that Senator Lodge fears the introduction of Direct-Legislation, for in its triumph he sees his power as a boss imperilled. He has long been the master-spirit in one of the most perfectly organized political machines in the United

States—a machine which since Boss Lodge has been reinforced by Senator Crane in its management is said to be as perfect and as powerful as was the Pennsylvania machine in the palmiest days of Quay's domination. But what is astounding is that any United States Senator should so insult the intelligence of American citizens as to presume that they know nothing whatever of the nature of Direct-Legislation. Mr. Lodge's presumption, however, does not end here. Not only does he seem to consider the American public hopelessly deficient in power of reasoning, but he evidently imagines that they know nothing whatsoever about the contents of their own Constitution; for in his eagerness to prevent the people of the various commonwealths from saying who shall represent them in the United States Senate, he recently raised another alarmist cry quite as amazing, when we consider his audience, as his absurdly untrue comments in regard to Direct-Legislation.

When recently addressing the Yale Law School, Senator Lodge said:

"Just now there is a movement on foot to bring about the election of Senators by popular vote. If successful, it will inevitably be

followed by proportional representation in the Senate."

Now to see the absurdity of this utterance one has only to turn to the Constitution of the United States, which says:

"The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this constitution, or, by application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several states, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by Congress; . . . provided that no state, without its consent, shall be deprived of equal suffrage in the Senate."

The Boston *Herald* in editorially commenting on Mr. Lodge's reckless statement well asks:

"Does Mr. Lodge seriously expect that every state in the Union will consent to having a new representation under which the smaller ones shall not have 'equal suffrage in the Senate' with the larger?"

THEOLOGICAL UNREST AND SPIRITUAL AWAKENING THROUGH-OUT CHRISTENDOM.

A Word-Wide Religious Revolution.

NOT, we think, since the great political reformation has there been such widespread unrest or such general symptoms of a coming religious awakening as to-day. There have been times when certain nations have come under the compulsion of spiritual idealism, when great leaders awakened the sleeping conscience and sounded the emotional depths of the people, as for example, when Whitefield and the Wesleys electrified England and profoundly influenced the current of national life; but these awakenings have usually been confined to localities or nations. Now, however, a world-wide unrest is in evidence.

In Catholic lands, such as Spain and Italy, for example, the power of the church over the masses is waning in a marked degree. In

France that power seems to have departed to as great a degree as in Mexico, where the church, as in France, allied itself to the monarchical and reactionary forces and thus proved itself to be out of rapport with the republican and popular ideals of free government.

On the other hand, in Germany and England Catholicism has in recent years made substantial gains, drawing to itself many conservative minds who dare not think for themselves and who, becoming alarmed at the broadening horizon of religious truth accepted by the great and masterful religious leaders, have taken refuge in the arms of Rome. There is nothing surprising in this. Always in times of unrest, when scientific investigation and the increasing intelligence of the world have compelled a revision of religious ideas and concepts that have long been pop-

ular, we find two classes of individuals in the church, one frankly accepting the demonstrations of science and the larger revelations that come with increased knowledge, holding that science is necessarily the handmaid of Deity and a revealer of God's truth, and accepting the larger and nobler vision which advancing civilization has rendered possible; the other refusing to investigate or to accept the new conception, seeming to imagine that the acceptance of the newer truth would destroy the fundamentals of true religion. This mental attitude was quite as marked in the days of the Great Nazarene as it is evident to-day.

The story is told of one who had been imprisoned in a cave for thirty years. Finally he was dragged into the glorious sunlight, when he screamed and fled back into the dark recesses, crying that the sunshine poisoned him. So there is ever a large number of timid souls who are blinded by any new revelation of truth and who wish to be told what they are to believe, rather than to search for themselves, and who, whenever humanity steps to a higher vantage ground of truth, where the horizon broadens and the boundaries that seemed fixed and unchangeable when the race was in the valley disappear, fly back to the valley, fearful of the light on the heights and distrustful of an eminence that extends the horizon. To such minds any new truth, which shows that old conceptions must be modified to harmonize with the later revelation, is regarded as destructive. They do not understand that though the appreciation and conceptions of the child might be true in so far as its comprehension could grasp a great truth before it entered its teens, when it reaches manhood the earlier conceptions would be ridiculously inadequate. So with the race. As the truths of the universe are unfolded a broader interpretation is demanded. When Galileo and Copernicus made their discoveries the same terror seized the timid ones as is evident among those who to-day tremble at the broader concept of religious truth rendered necessary by the later revelations of science; but their fears proved groundless and the brave thinkers who resolutely set to work to harmonize the old truths with the new revelation of Divine truth were the apostles of true religion and the servants of God, though denounced as heretics by the dominant religious thought of their time.

And to-day, while there is rushing to and fro in the religious world and while those wedded to ancient concepts and arbitrary dogmas demand that authority usurp the seat of reason, the mighty drift and sweep of the world's thought is toward that liberalism which affords newer, broader, deeper and richer spiritual appreciation of life and its meaning.

Higher Criticism and The New Theology in Germany and Great Britain.

In Germany and in Great Britain at the present time the liberal movement is very much in evidence. In the former land, under the bold and masterly leadership of Professor Otto Pfleiderer of the University of Berlin, the liberal spiritual movement is rapidly growing. Professor Pfleiderer's writings, notably his masterly critical work, *Christian Origins*, are exerting a far-reaching influence on all the more thoughtful minds who place truth above dogma.

In England the spread of liberalism among the broad wing of the State Church is very marked. Various causes are operating to further this spread of reverent liberalism. Perhaps next to the influence of critical or scientific methods of research in the domain of physical science, archæology and the investigation of all matters relating to the early church and the origin of the books of the New Testament, the one thing that has exerted the most marked effect in recent years on many leaders in the English church has been the results following the long, painstaking investigations of the English Society for Psychical Research, under the guidance of such eminent and careful investigators as the late F. W. H. Myers, Professor Sidgwick, Sir William Crookes, Sir Oliver Lodge and many other scientists and critical investigators scarcely less eminent.

The awakening in the State Church, however, has been no more remarkable than the spiritual unrest and expanding thought among non-conformist denominations. This unrest has at last crystallized into a distinct movement that is known as the New Theology, and its most conspicuous leader is the Rev. R. J. Campbell, successor to Joseph Parker as minister of the City Temple, London. Around Dr. Campbell's head of late a storm has been raging, owing to his outspoken utterances in regard to the nature of God, the character of sin and the destiny of the human soul.

The Religious Ideals of Dr. Campbell and The Leaders of The New Theology.

A short time since Mr. Campbell gave an outline of the belief held by those who represent the New Theology, which was published in one of the London dailies. In this confession of his faith the distinguished non-conformist clergyman, among other things, said:

"We believe man to be a revelation of God, and the universe one means to the self-manifestation of God. The word 'God' stands for the infinite reality whence all things proceed. Every one, even the most uncompromising materialist, believes in this reality. The new theology in common with the whole scientific world believes that the finite universe is one aspect or expression of that reality; but it thinks of it or him as consciousness rather than a blind force, thereby differing from some scientists. Believing this, we believe that there is thus no real distinction between humanity and the Deity. Our being is the same as God's, although our consciousness of it is limited. We see the revelation of God in everything around us.

"The new theology looks upon evil as a negative rather than a positive term. It is the shadow where light ought to be; it is the perceived privation of good; it belongs only to finiteness. Pain is the effort of the spirit to break through the limitations which it feels to be evil. The new theology believes that the only way in which the true nature of good can be manifested either by God or man is by a struggle against the limitation; and therefore it is not appalled by the long story of cosmic suffering.

"The new theology watches with sympathy the development of modern science, for it believes itself to be in harmony therewith. It is the religious articulation of the scientific method. It therefore follows that it is in sympathy with scientific criticism of the important religious literature known as the Bible. While recognizing the value of the Bible as a unique record of religious experience, it handles it as freely and as critically as it would any other book. It believes that the seat of religious authority is within (not without) the human soul. Individual man is so constituted as to be able to recognize, ray by ray, the truth that helps him upward, no matter from what source it comes.

"The new theology, of course, believes in the immortality of the soul, but only on the ground that every individual consciousness is a ray of the universal consciousness and can not be destroyed. It believes that there are many stages in the upward progress of the soul in the unseen world before it becomes fully and consciously one with its infinite source. We make our destiny in the next world by our behavior in this, and ultimately every soul will be perfected.

"The doctrine of sin which holds us to be blameworthy for deeds that we cannot help, we believe to be a false view. Sin is simply selfishness. It is an offense against the God within, a violation of the law of love. We reject wholly the common interpretation of atonement, that another is beaten for our fault. We believe not in a final judgment, but in a judgment that is ever proceeding. Every sin involves suffering, suffering which can not be remitted by any work of another. When a deed is done, its consequences are eternal.

"We believe Jesus is and was divine, but so are we. His mission was to make us realize our divinity and our oneness with God, and we are called to live the life which he lived."

A further utterance, somewhat more conservative in tone, was given out by three prominent members of the New Theology League as their personal views:

"The ultimate reality and the one hope for man is the Holy Love of God, who, though transcendent, is immanent in nature and humanity, but supremely in Jesus Christ.

"God is the Father of all men, and all men are implicitly his children, made in his image and at unrest till they live for him alone. The germ of divine life is in every soul. The story of the Fall is, in Dr. Dale's words, 'an inspired myth,' conveying a vital religious truth. By man's sin he has strayed from God, but even the prodigal is still God's child. His very remorse is 'the sign of the inextinguishable divinity within his soul.'

"The Bible is the record of God's progressive revelation, but it has a human element, and all its parts have not equal spiritual significance.

"Jesus Christ was God incarnate in the flesh. The question of the Virgin Birth does not touch the fundamental position of Evan-

gelical Theology. Our theory of the process cannot affect the fact of the Incarnation. Seeing Christ we see the Father. The whole life of Christ was a divine self-sacrifice to awaken and develop the latent divinity of man.

"The Atonement is an eternal process, and is set forth in all its fullness in the life and death of our Lord. All who love and suffer so as to lift men to God are helping 'to fill up that which is lacking in the sufferings of Christ.'"

Theological Unrest in The New World.

The recent heresy trial of Dr. Crapsey in the Episcopal church has served to emphasize the growing liberalism of clergymen and the laity in that church, rather than to emphasize a reactionary tendency. True, Dr. Crapsey was convicted, but Bishop Cox, who boldly admitted that he entertained the same views, remains in good standing, and the request that he be tried for heresy was declined by the proper church authorities; while the numerous expressions of sympathy with Dr. Crapsey's views by prominent Episcopalian clergymen and laymen show how thoroughly a large portion of the church is in *rapprochement* with his views.

No less marked have been the evidences of the general broadening of the religious views of other denominations in recent years, notably the Congregationalists and Methodists, while the phenomenal growth of Christian Science and the profound hold which it has taken on the spiritual aspirations of its members indicate the general character of the

breaking away from the old dogmatic ideals and the eager reaching out for new spiritual truth that shall prove more vital to the human soul in the present stage of its development.

And herein lies a chief fact of interest and value in the revolution against the old order. If the apostles of the new religious concepts had been content to wrangle over creeds, or if the revolt were confined to the intellectual plane alone, it would be valuable, of course, for all efforts to gain a clearer apprehension of truth are important; but it would hold far less interest for those who believe that the hope of civilization lies in the arousing, cultivation and development of moral idealism and spiritual enthusiasm in the people. But happily for humanity, all these new movements represent that vital spiritual enthusiasm that makes a religion or a movement an upward-impelling force for its disciples.

To-day, as in the time of Jesus, while the upholders of the old dogmas are concerned with the letter of the law and are as intent on proving their theological points as were the Pharisees of old when they sought to discredit Jesus because they did not find in the Scripture that any great prophet should come from Galilee, the upholders of the higher and broader spiritual concepts are appealing to the moral sense of the people and striving to so imbue each follower with lofty idealism as to compel him to live the higher life. This gives special interest and value to the great spiritual awakening that is marking the liberal and new religious movements within and without the elder churches.

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM NEWS.

BY RALPH ALBERTSON,

Secretary of the National Federation for People's Rule.

Direct-Legislation Bills Before The State Legislatures.

IN QUITE a number of states this year the movement for establishing and safeguarding popular government by means of the direct-vote system has attained enough strength to become the dominant issue with the state legislatures. In some of these states the people have by an advisory vote declared in no uncertain majorities their desire for this

system. Political parties have declared for it. Governors and other leading men are advocating it, and it is only a question in some of these states what form the new system shall take. This however is a most vital question, for the success or failure of direct-legislation depends to a great extent upon the form of the law by which it is established. We have space here for but the briefest synopses of the pending measures.

Maine.

THE statutory provision for the initiative and referendum pledged by the Republican party was submitted to the Maine legislature by Representative Weeks of Fairfield. At the hearing on the bill held by the judiciary committee, many prominent and representative men appeared in its support and no one opposed it.

The bill provides that no act or resolution of the legislature shall take effect until ninety days after adjournment, except emergency measures and others of specified character, passed by a two-thirds vote of both houses. And if not less than seven thousand electors petition within the ninety days for reference to the people of any such suspended acts or resolutions, it shall be done at a general or special election, and if the act or acts are ratified by a majority of the popular vote, they shall take effect nine days thereafter.

The electors may propose to the legislature for its consideration any measure except a constitutional amendment, by pasters attached to the official ballot, or by petition. And any measure thus proposed by not less than ten thousand electors, unless enacted by the legislature at the current session, shall be submitted to the electors, together with any amended form, substitute or recommendation of the legislature, in order that the people may make a choice or reject both. The majority vote carries. In case there are competing bills and neither receives a majority, the one receiving the most votes shall be re-submitted if it has a third of the total vote cast. Initiated bills enacted by the legislature shall not be referred unless there is a provision to that effect. The legislature may order a special election on any measure subject to the vote of the people. The veto power of the governor does not extend to referred bills, and bills initiated by the people and passed by the legislature without change, if vetoed shall be referred to the people at the next general election. The governor may, and on petition of fifteen thousand electors, shall order a special election on either initiated or referred bills. The city council of any city may establish the initiative and referendum in municipal affairs.

Michigan.

A CONSTITUTIONAL amendment for the initiative and referendum and recall, drafted

by the State Federation of Direct-Legislation Forces, has been introduced in the House by Representative Norton and in the Senate by Senator Bland. It provides for the initiation of statutes or constitutional amendments upon petition of 30,000 and the referendum of any but emergency measures upon a petition of the same number. For the recall of a State official a petition of 50,000 is required, one-half of whom must have voted for the person who is to be recalled. Thousands of letters and petitions are being sent in to the legislators at Lansing asking for the submission of this constitutional law to the voters at the April election. "Two hundred thousand intelligent men and women," says the *Lansing Journal*, "are actively engaged in the campaign for direct-legislation in this state."

Minnesota.

GOVERNOR JOHNSON in his message to the legislature this year said:

"I would call your attention to the merits of the advisory initiative and referendum. This permits the people of a state, county, city, village, or town, to express their views upon questions affecting their organizations. The advisory initiative and referendum is but a step farther than the right of petition, and is not binding upon their officers. The enactment of a law providing for an advisory initiative and referendum can be accomplished without a constitutional amendment, and I am firmly of the opinion that such legislation is desirable."

In accordance with the Governor's recommendation, Senator Fitzpatrick has introduced a bill for an amendment to the state constitution, providing for the full initiative and referendum in State affairs.

Massachusetts.

THE Public Opinion Bill which is advocated by the Massachusetts Public Opinion League, with the support of all the direct-legislation forces of the state is reported to have good prospects of becoming a law. It provides for a purely advisory initiative and referendum in state, cities, and towns upon petition of three per cent. of the voters, that being the percentage required to constitute a political party. Pledges for the support of this measure were received by the league from a majority of the members of the legislature before election.

Indiana.

REPRESENTATIVE E. A. Baker of Elkhart county, has introduced a bill requiring ratification by referendum, of all public utility contracts and franchises. The bill takes the form of an amendment to the cities and towns law of 1905.

"Under the law the people have nothing to say concerning the letting of valuable franchises or the making of big public contracts, and they would be at the mercy of corrupt councils or boards," said Mr. Baker. "This is one of the most vicious features of the law. Complaints are coming from every section of the state on this score. Here in Indianapolis I understand there is agitation against renewing the contract with the Indianapolis Gas Company at a price of ninety cents a thousand feet, yet the people could not help themselves if the Board of Public Works and the Council were determined to go ahead.

"I would amend the cities and towns law so that all such contracts and franchises shall be put before the people for approval and not before the common councils. Such an amendment would eliminate all possibility of graft in contracts and franchises."

The City of Wilmington Secures The Mandatory Initiative and Referendum.

As the fruition of the work of the Initiative and Referendum League of Delaware, and of the Peoples' League of Delaware, referred to at some length elsewhere in this issue of THE ARENA, at the session of the legislature just ended, the city of Wilmington has secured the mandatory Initiative and Referendum.

Much credit for the passage of the bill is due to the patriotic, statesmanlike and intelligent labors of Representative Frank R. Paradee, Republican, and Senator Thomas M. Monaghan, Democrat. The full text of the bill which was promptly signed by Governor Lea, and is now law, follows:

"Sec. 1. On application addressed to The Mayor and Council of Wilmington, signed by citizens of the City of Wilmington, qualified to vote at the last preceding election for the mayor of the said city, aggregating in number not less than ten percentum of the whole number of votes cast at such election for such mayor, asking for the submission to the peo-

ple of the said city of any question relating to the affairs of the said city, for an expression of opinion thereon, such question shall be placed before the people at the next city election. Every person signing any such application shall put or have put after his signature the designation of the election district in the said city in which he was qualified to vote at the last preceding election for mayor of said city.

"Sec. 2. Such applications shall be filed with the mayor at least sixty days before the election at which such question is to be submitted, and the persons signing such applications shall be considered *prima facie* as citizens qualified to vote at the last preceding election for the mayor of the said city.

"Sec. 3. It shall be the duty of the said mayor, not less than twenty days before the city election at which the said questions are to be submitted, to transmit the same to the persons who may then have the duty of preparing ballots for the said election; and it shall be the duty of such persons to prepare separate ballots to be used at the said election, containing the question so to be submitted as aforesaid, with the words 'yes' and 'no' printed at the foot of such ballot; that is to say, following the question to be voted upon as it appears upon the ballot, the words 'yes' and 'no' shall appear in the following form: Yes, | No, Any person qualified to vote at such city election may cast a vote in favor of such question by placing a cross opposite the word 'yes,' and any such person desiring to vote against the same may do so by placing a cross opposite the word 'no.'

"Sec. 4. The said ballots shall be prepared, counted, canvassed and returned in the same way as provided by law in relation to ballots cast at the said city election.

"Sec. 5. It shall be the duty of the persons so required by law to furnish ballot-boxes to be used at the city election, to furnish a separate ballot-box for each election district in said city, in which separate ballot-box the ballots herein provided for shall be cast, and said ballots shall not be commingled with the other ballots used at such city election.

"Sec. 6. It shall be the duty of the election officers in each election district in the said city to count the said ballots after the same have been cast, and to make return thereof in all respects as provided by law in relation to bal-

lots cast at the said city election, provided, however, that the number of ballots cast for or against the said question shall be entered upon separate sheets to be furnished for that purpose. Certificates, showing the result of the said vote, shall be made in the manner as now provided by law in relation to certificates of the vote cast at the city election, which certificates shall be certified, returned and delivered in all respects as now provided by law in relation to the city election.

"Sec. 7. The expense of printing said ballots, procuring the ballot-boxes, and all expenses connected with the taking of the said vote shall be borne as is provided in relation to other expenses incurred at the said city election.

"Sec. 8. Should any questions submitted to the qualified electors of the City of Wilmington, as provided in this Act, receive a majority of the votes cast thereon at the said election and the subject be within the corporate powers of the said Mayor and Council of Wilmington or of any department or branch thereof, then it shall be the duty of the City Council, or of any commission or any other official or officials of the City of Wilmington having jurisdiction therein, to adopt, without unnecessary delay, such ordinances, rules or regulations as may be necessary for putting into effect the popular will thus expressed. The failure of any member of such City Council, or Commission, or of any official of said city to perform any duty herein imposed upon him, or the obstruction, hindrance, or delay by him of the adoption of any ordinance, rule or regulation as herein provided for, shall be deemed a misdemeanor and be punishable by a fine at the discretion of the trial court. Conviction of such an offense shall operate to remove the person so convicted from any municipal office he then holds, and render him ineligible to hold any position as an official or employé of the City of Wilmington for a period of five years from the date of such conviction."

The House of Representatives voted unanimously for this bill. In the Senate, but one man—Dr. Thomas C. Moore, of Smyrna, from the First Senatorial District of Kent county—enjoys the distinction of having opposed the will of the people of the state and also of the voters of his own district, in which, last November, on the Initiative and Refer-

endum, the vote stood: "Yes," 452; "No," 237; a majority of 215 votes.

At the November election the vote of Wilmington, on the Initiative and Referendum, was "Yes," 10,501; "No," 781.

The Betrayal of The State Advisory Initiative and Referendum in Delaware.

AT THE late biennial session of the legislature of Delaware there closed, for the time being, a battle fraught with deep significance to the people of the state.

As related in *THE ARENA* for December, at the recent election held on November 6th last, the following separate ballot was required by law to be given to every voter at the same time the regular ballots were handed to him:

"Shall the General Assembly of the State of Delaware provide a system of Advisory Initiative and Referendum?"

Notwithstanding that apparently organized opposition tried to defeat the proposition by systematically withholding the separate ballots from the voters except when they insisted upon having them, this proposition received the tremendous majority of 15,271 votes, a majority that would have been decisive to all representatives and senators who honestly intended to represent the people who elected them, and not the enemies of the people or the holders of special privilege.

A bill, embodying the purpose expressed in the ballot was introduced in the House of Representatives by Hon. Frank R. Paradee.

Eighteen representatives (the exact number required by the Constitution of the state) voted "yea." Here is the honor-roll of the men who respected the will of their constituents: Benjamin B. Allen, Dr. T. O. Cooper, Chauncey P. Holcomb and Joseph E. McCafferty, Democrats; Charles S. Conwell, Alex. P. Corbitt, William H. Evans, Darlington Flinn, Gamaliel Garrison, Jeremiah E. Harvey, James A. Hirons, Richard Hodgson, Robert Keenan, Oliver A. Newton, Frank R. Paradee, Howard Rash, Isaac V. Richards and Wilmer C. Staats, Republicans.

Twelve *mis*-representatives disobeyed the will of a majority of their constituents. Their names follow, together with the vote of last November for and against the Initiative and Referendum:

How His Constituents Voted Last
November on the Initiative
and Referendum.

	"Yes."	"No."	Majority.
William H. Baggs, Rep.,...	327	108	219
Richard T. Cann, Jr. Dem.,	153	33	120
T. L. Cooper, Dem.,	123	14	109
Luther S. Cabbage, Rep.,	366	13	353
William H. Elloit, Rep.,	154	2	152
Albert Harrington, Dem.,	419	18	401
Edward P. Knotts, Rep.,	151	43	108
Joshua J. Lambdin, Dem.,	69	3	66
John W. Messick, Rep.,...	34	25	9
J. C. Palmer, Rep.,	187	43	144
Wm. H. Richardson, Rep.,	416	24	392
William G. Williams, Rep.,	112	5	107

Here are the names of the absentees: John P. Wilson, James L. Donovan and Henry O. Bennum, Jr., Republicans; and Herman C. Taylor and Noah H. James, Democrats.

After the bill passed the House of Representatives it was sent to the Senate, where Senator Thomas M. Monaghan, of New Castle county, asked for the necessary unanimous consent to have the bill taken up by the Senate sitting as the Committee of the Whole, and without which the bill could not be reached before final adjournment. Senator David C. Rose, Democrat, *mis*-representing the Sixth Senatorial District of New Castle county, objected, and thereby defeated the will of a majority of 15,271 sovereign voters of the State of Delaware. Senator Rose is a hold-over member. He cannot, however, urge that as a reason for his action, because 359 voters in his district last November instructed him to vote for such a measure, while only 191 voted "no"—a majority of 168 in favor of the bill his objection had killed.

Wisconsin.

THE LEGISLATURE of Wisconsin has three important direct legislation bills before it. Assemblyman Elver's bill authorizes common councils of cities to submit ordinances to the people without petition and requires them to do so upon petition, no measure having been negated by a referendum to be passed within three years. Assemblyman Thompson of Madison has introduced a much better bill establishing both initiative and referendum upon county as well as city affairs. This bill is framed upon the best models and should be adopted. Senator Theodore W. Brazeau has introduced a joint resolution for a constitutional amendment reserving to the people the right to require by a five per cent. petition that any law passed by the legislature

shall be submitted to the people before going into effect.

Missouri.

GOVERNOR FOLK in his message to the legislature said: "Government by the people is best where the government is nearest to the people. I hope you will adopt a resolution for a constitutional amendment providing for the initiative and referendum in legislation. This will eliminate the incentive for corruption in legislative affairs, for the control will then rest with the people. Wherever the initiative and referendum has been tried—and it has in Oregon and other states—the result has been most satisfactory. It puts an effective stop to bribery in legislative halls, for bribery of legislators would be useless where the people are the final arbiter of a measure. I regard this as of much importance in the final elimination of corruption, and the establishment of true representative government."

In accordance with his request, the second resolution introduced in the House was a constitutional amendment embodying these principles. The Direct-Legislation League of Missouri has sent the indefatigable S. L. Moser to Jefferson City to lobby for it, and Dr. W. P. Hill, president of the Direct-Legislation League is furnishing the members with elucidating literature. He thinks it is almost sure to pass at this session. The amendment is similar to those introduced for this purpose in other states, conforming in general terms to the Oregon law. It is reported to have been prepared by Governor Folk himself. Two other Direct-Legislation bills have been introduced, one of them by Senator Cooper, with the endorsement of the State Federation of Labor. How much better if all the reform forces had adopted the suggestion of the National Federation for People's Rule and united upon a bill before the meeting of the legislature.

Pennsylvania.

EX-SENATOR William Flynn of Pittsburg, is the author of a carefully-drawn bill which has been introduced into the legislature by Representative McCulaugh of Pittsburg. This bill is beyond question the best as yet submitted in any state, being modelled very closely upon a bill recommended by Mr. George H. Shibley of Washington. It is

destined to accomplish effective direct-legislation, without encountering difficulties involved in securing a constitutional amendment. It provides the initiative and referendum upon terms similar to those of the Oregon law, and also provides in case of the use of the initiative for the submission of a rival bill or competing bill by the legislature, the two bills to be chosen between by the people. It also provides for the submission of arguments to the voters, and applies to cities and towns as well as to the state.

Mr. Flynn has long been an advocate of direct-legislation, and his bill shows careful study of the subject. He is a leader of great power who has had long experience in practical politics, and his advocacy of this bill is full of significance for the State of Pennsylvania. He has the hearty endorsement of the Pennsylvania Referendum League and of many prominent men in the state.

Rhode Island.

A CONSTITUTIONAL amendment establishing a constitutional initiative in ten per cent. of the voters is now before the legislature of this state. Ex-Governor Garvin, Ex-Chief Justice Matteson, Bishop McVickar, and other prominent men are giving it their hearty support, and a strong case was put up for the bill at the committee hearings.

Oklahoma.

THE REPORT of the committee on the initiative and referendum was formally adopted by the constitutional convention on January 26th. The chapter is short and will be found in full in the April number of *Equity*. The Oregon law is closely followed. The application of the principle to local affairs is provided for, and the law is made self-operative. The sentiment in the new state is practically unanimous in favor of these safeguards of popular liberty, and while the provisions are not without defects the country may well look for a better government, cleaner legislation, and a purer democracy in this new sister state who now takes her seat in the front row.

West Virginia.

THE CAMPBELL bill providing for the initiative and referendum in this state has been defeated in the Senate.

California.

SENATOR Caminetti, the Democratic member from Jackson, has introduced a constitutional amendment for the initiative and referendum. Under the amendment the legislative power of the state would be vested in the Senate and Assembly, as at present, but the people would "reserve to themselves the power to propose laws and amendments to the laws, and to enact or reject the same at the polls, independent of the legislature. They would also reserve the power to approve or reject at the polls any act of the legislature.

The amendment provides that no more than eight per cent. of the legal voters—taking the last general election as a basis—shall be required to propose any measure by petition, every such petition to include the full text of the proposed measure.

The referendum may, according to Caminetti's amendment, be either by petition signed by five per cent. of the legal voters or by the legislature itself, but this is not to apply to laws necessary for the immediate preservation of the public peace, health or safety. The power of the Governor is not to extend to a measure referred to the people.

Assemblyman J. O. Davis has introduced a similar measure in the House, but his bill goes somewhat further than the Senator's in enlarging the present law extending direct-legislation to municipalities.

Referendum in Chicago Traction Fight.

NO BETTER justification for the Illinois "public opinion" form of referendum need to be found than that furnished by the recent chapter in the Chicago traction controversy. After the people had spoken repeatedly and in great majorities for public-ownership, after they had elected officers pledged to make no settlement of the traction question without a referendum provision, the Board of Aldermen, defying the will of the people, and ignoring their own pledges, passed the settlement ordinances in an attempt to finally settle the matter upon very questionable terms. Only ten days remained in which, under the law, a referendum petition of eighty-seven thousand names should be filed to give the people a chance to pass upon these ordinances at the spring election. The papers of Chicago, the traction interests, and all their sympathizers, declared that this petition could not be secured. But it was. Petitions bearing

an aggregate of 313,306 names were secured in that short time. Says *The Public*:

"It was a rude awakening that of the Chicago newspapers and aldermen and lynx-eyed "business" men when their loud assertions that the people wanted no referendum on the traction ordinances was met with the biggest and strongest and cleanest set of petitions ever filed for a referendum vote. The time had been reduced to a minimum, in the expectation of making the effective circulation of the petitions impossible. The petitions had been clamorously denounced as saturated with fraud and forgery, and the conspirators, to make good, had "planted" upon the petition-collectors scores of thousands of false and forged signatures. One of their methods was to "plant" whole sheets of names with no genuine signatures upon them and so keyed as to enable men in the secret to pull them out of a pile of sheets apparently at random. Had this trick prevailed, some three hundred sheets, "taken at random," would have been exploited by the subsidized newspapers as proof of fraudulent "saturation." But Mayor Dunne himself had the inspection done, and after all suspicious sheets had been thrown out, one hundred and forty-one thousand signatures remained. From this number a large deduction was made as allowance for joke names, individual frauds, and errors, which reduced the unimpeachable list to one hundred and twelve thousand. Afterwards additional sheets with over sixty thousand signatures came in and these were not inspected, for it was unnecessary. At once there was a painful silence. It was that kind of silence after noise which awakens the heaviest sleeper. The "business" interests, the clubs, the newspapers, realized that public opinion is not confined to the "Loop."

California Cities.

THE NEW city charter of Alameda has been approved by the legislature. This is a progressive document and contains the referendum feature which is now being incorporated in all modern charters. By the adoption of a new charter at the election Tuesday the city of Santa Cruz brought itself into the front rank of up-to-date municipalities. Its charter embodies the latest ideas in municipal government, including direct-legislation. The "recall" proposition which was put to the voters separately was carried by a vote of five

to one. This shows the sentiment of the people in regard to resuming the right of self-government.

Government by Commissions.

WHAT is known as the Galveston plan of governing cities by commission is being agitated in many parts of the country. A bill providing for the system is said to be likely to be passed in the Kansas legislature. With the initiative and referendum the commission system might prove a great improvement over many of our existing city governments, and without the provision of direct-legislation it would be a step in the wrong direction, in the direction of autocracy rather than democracy.

Miscellaneous Items.

REFERENDUMS are being taken by the people in the towns and cities throughout the country to a far greater extent than can be realized by those objectors to the system who say that the people will not vote or that they do not care or who claim that the introduction of the system involves an impractical revolution. In addition to the referendum votes otherwise mentioned in the last and current numbers of *THE ARENA*, the papers have brought to us during the past two months reports of 117 referendum votes, a large number of which were upon questions of finance and public policy.

THE CITIES of Joplin and Springfield, Missouri, are agitating for a new charter containing provisions for the initiative and referendum and recall. This is in line with Governor Folk's message, and there seem to be good chances of success.

THE CITIZENS of Davenport, Iowa, have overwhelmed the mayor and aldermen with petitions that certain franchises to erect and operate gas, electric light, and power plants, be submitted to a vote of the qualified electors.

THE CITIZENS of Rutland, Vermont, took a referendum vote on the question of a new city charter on February 5th.

Two referendum liquor bills are before the Alabama legislature, one giving counties local option and the other permitting them to choose

between the licensed saloon and the dispensary system.

THE PITTSBURG *Leader* is demanding that the pending street-railway franchise in that city be submitted to a vote of the people.

WESTBROOK, Maine, is to have a new charter with a provision in it for the referendum.

THE VOTERS of Northampton, Massachusetts, are to take a referendum on certain important amendments to the charter of that city.

BILLS to revise the charter of Grand Rapids are before the Michigan legislature, one to establish the initiative and recall, the city already having the referendum, and the other to put into effect the non-partisan system of municipal elections demanded by the people at the last election.

THE AUTHORITIES of Cleveland, Ohio, have decided to submit the question of repairing the great Central viaduct to the test of a popular vote. The repairs will require a special bond issue.

THE CENTRAL Labor Union of Brooklyn, after listening to an address by H. B. Maurer, Secretary of the New York Referendum League, unanimously and enthusiastically instructed their legislative committee to coöper-

ate with the Referendum League in its work.

BILLS are before the Massachusetts legislature providing for the abolition of capital punishment, and for the annulment of the lease of the Boston and Albany railroad to the New York Central, both of them with referendum clauses.

A BILL is before the New Jersey legislature providing for the extension of civil service to state, county, and municipal officeholders, with the referendum clause attached. Another bill before this legislature provides for the referendum in each town on the question of opening saloons on Sundays.

THE Referendum League of Buffalo, of which Mr. Lewis Stockton is president, is striving to have a system of direct-legislation, direct nominations, and recall, incorporated in the proposed new charter of that city.

THE PEOPLE of Manitoba, Canada, voted ten thousand to seven thousand on the referendum for public-ownership of telephones.

THE Board of Aldermen of Brockton, Massachusetts, have passed an order to allow the people to petition for a referendum vote on any important matter that comes before the city government. It is understood that this order really confers the right of referendum in all such matters as franchises.

RALPH ALBERTSON.

PUBLIC-OWNERSHIP NEWS.*

By RALPH ALBERTSON.

A Legal Decision.

AN IMPORTANT decision affecting municipal-ownership was recently handed down by the Supreme Court of Georgia in *Baker vs. Carterville*. Baker enjoined the city from issuing bonds on the ground that the notice served for a bond election was not

sufficiently explicit to apprise the voters of the city's purpose and, besides, that the city had no right to embark in a commercial and manufacturing enterprise. The court has confirmed the judgment of the lower court in denying the injunction.

New Electric Light Plants.

THE MOVEMENT which has resulted in the very general public-ownership of water-works systems, and in the universal acknowledgment that water-works ought to be owned and

*This department is to be prepared by Professor Frank Parsons, but Professor Parsons is at present recovering from a serious illness; and until he is able to take upon himself the preparation of the department, Mr. Albertson has kindly consented to do the work.

operated by the municipalities, has become so general that we do not consider the details of the news of sufficient significance to call for space in this department. The fight for public-ownership of street-cars has only just begun and is largely confined to a few localities where it is full of interest and significance. The great fight, however, that is being waged to-day in municipalities throughout the land, between the public-service corporations and the people, is on the subjects of electric lights, gas, and possibly telephones. Probably few people realize how many victories are won for the people's cause in this struggle. While many of the towns and cities which are establishing their own plants are among the smaller-sized communities, the movement is gaining strength as well in some of our metropolitan cities. During the past two months we have received news of steps being taken in establishing municipal electric-light or gas plants in the following thirty-seven cities and towns:

Newman, Sandersville, Bremen, Edgewood, Georgia; Hagerstown, Marion, Indiana; Covington, Coventry, Kentucky; West Monroe, Rowlesburg, Zwolle, Louisiana; Minneapolis, Deer River, Minnesota; Pawpaw, West Virginia; Ashland, Wisconsin; Panama, Tama, Iowa; Lumberton, Apex, North Carolina; Elburn, Maple Park, Illinois; Senatobia, Mississippi; Freemont, Blue Hill, Tekamah, Nebraska; Argenta, Ada, Arkansas; Herington, Kansas; Centralia, Jefferson Barracks, Missouri; Arlington, Ohio; Aberdeen, South Dakota; Davison, Newport, Michigan; Seneca, South Carolina; Baker City, Oregon; Brownsville, Texas.

In addition to the above, reports have reached us during these two months of extensions and improvements being made in municipal electric-light or gas plants in the following places:

Richmond, Virginia; Bloomington, Sterling, Illinois; Athens, Bryan, Hamilton, Ohio; Newton, Iowa; Thief River Falls, Minnesota; Jacksonville, Florida; Bainbridge, Elberton, Thomasville, Georgia; Franklin, Louisiana; Salem, Oregon; Morristown, Tennessee; Newcastle, Indiana; Pasadena, California.

Cleveland's Street Cars.

AFTER a long and bitter fight the Cleveland Electric Company has been compelled to accede to Mayor Tom L. Johnson's first demand

and the people of Cleveland are now enjoying three-cent car-rides throughout the city. An armistice has been arranged between the old company and the city pending the granting of the expired franchises. This was brought about as a result of a number of legal decisions the principal one of which, filed in the United States Supreme Court, held that some of the most important of the Cleveland Electric Company's franchises had expired. The Municipal Traction Company, which is the holding company organized for the purpose of getting possession of the traction properties to turn them over to the city when State legislation can be secured making this possible, is now negotiating with the Cleveland Electric Company for purchase or lease of its properties; and the "Concon" is quite willing to negotiate. That municipal-ownership will be the result there is very little room for doubt, and that Cleveland may yet succeed, before Chicago, in the repatriation of her traction utilities is not at all improbable. Concerning this movement, Mayor Johnson has recently said:

"The principal advantage in municipal-ownership is the removing of the public service from the influence of an interest that never sleeps, that never rests, but is constantly alive to the interests of its stockholders, which are averse to the public interest. This influence, I think, is the chief cause of bad government, for so long as you offer such an immense price in the way of public franchise grabs, franchise-seekers will be sure to corrupt your government. It is not the benefit of low fares, nor betterment of service, that stimulates me to what is called an attack on public corporations, but it is the purification of the political situation in the great cities. Remove that handicap and you give the municipality opportunity to accomplish great things to make the city a better place for people to live in."

South Norwalk, Connecticut.

ONE OF the most instructive instances of municipal-ownership in this country is furnished by the Municipal Electric Works of South Norwalk. Under the able management of Mr. Albert E. Winchester, the general superintendent, this plant, now more than fourteen years old has made a splendid demonstration of economy, efficiency, and good service.

During the first six years the plant furnished

city light only. Since 1898 it has done commercial lighting.

The total liabilities of the plant, according to the statement of January 1, 1907, are \$74,694, and against this there is a surplus of \$47,905. Last year's receipts were \$39,077; operating expenses, interest and depreciation amounted to \$26,493, leaving a net gain of \$12,584, or 10½ per cent. on the entire cost of the plant.

The Commissioners estimate that, allowing for all items, including interest and depreciation, the cost of the street-lights last year was \$6,540, which is \$1,526 less than they would have cost if paid for at the rate charged Norwalk by a private company, i. e., \$74 per lamp-year; (the average for the state is \$83.71); and that on the same basis the total saving since the starting of the plant has been \$21,478.09.

Burlington, Vermont.

THE BOARD of Electric Light Commissioners has made its first report covering a year's service of the plant. The total earnings of the plant are \$24,136, and the expenses, including interest on bonds and all operating expenses, have amounted to \$20,204, leaving a net gain for the year of \$3,932. During the year there have been installed and maintained sixteen additional street-lights, making a total of 234 arc lights. For these sixteen lights only \$103 in excess of the previous year's cost has been credited to the plant. Considerable new equipment has been added during the year.

Springfield's "Failure."

THE DAILY papers are making much of the so-called failure of the municipal electric-lighting plant of Springfield, Illinois. The reason for this noise is that a private company has had power enough with the city council to get an electric lighting franchise. The facts are that Springfield owns a plant for public lighting only and has no power to do a commercial lighting business, and this plant has been under a lease to a private corporation. The city is at the mercy of the monopoly politicians who have not been successful at serving two masters. Slight as has been the element of public-ownership in this case, it still has reduced the cost of street-lighting from \$137.50 per arc light per year to less than \$60.

Street Car Killings.

THE DIFFERENCE between Europe and America in the valuation of human life is emphasized with startling distinctness by John P. Fox, in an article entitled "The Needless Slaughter by Street-Cars" in the March number of *Everybody's Magazine*. Mr. Fox, who has made a study of street-railways on both continents, gives some statistics which are appalling. In London, for instance, but 27 deaths against 227 for Greater New York, were caused by street-cars for a year's period, and in Liverpool, where the lines are owned and operated by the city, 4 people only were killed by the tramways in 1905. The various companies of Greater New York reported for 1905 a total of \$3,103,002 paid out in damages and litigation expenses. This is equivalent to 60 million fares a year. The total amount of expenses paid out by the whole of Great Britain for the same period was \$591,000.

The exceedingly small number of deaths caused in Liverpool is due to the use of a very effective and inexpensive fender which is in use on all the cars. Mr. Fox says that he has tried in vain for several years to induce the Boston Elevated Company and other of our privately-owned American companies to adopt this simple device, but they invariably plead poverty. In evidence of the success of the Liverpool fender, this comparison is given: 1898, 41,000,000 passengers carried, 7 persons killed; 1905, 119,000,000 passengers carried, 4 persons killed.

Of the 344 persons who had fallen on the tracks of the cars not one had been run over and killed. German cities, notably Berlin, show practically the same proportion of accidents as Liverpool.

In the use of power-brakes the European lines are greatly superior to ours—there is not one great city in Europe on whose cars hand-brakes only are to be found, while in New York city there are but two or three cars out of 2,000 upon which power-brakes are used.

Concerning the question of ownership, Mr. Fox says: "As it is there seems to be no hope of a perfect street-railway service until the time comes for municipal-ownership, under the stimulus of which the English cities are pushing so far ahead of us and upsetting all our notions of what municipalities can accomplish. The English municipal street-railways are the safest, the cheapest to ride on, the

most economically managed, the most progressive and furnish the most seats."

Canadian Railways.

A LARGELY signed petition from the merchants and other citizens of St. George and St. John, N. B., to the Board of Trade, asks that the New Brunswick Southern Railway be taken over by the Intercolonial Railway and made a part of the Government system. There is much dissatisfaction with the service under private management. It is owned by the Russell Sage estate.

According to a statement made by H. R. Emmerson, minister of railways and canals, the government is planning to absorb half a dozen or more lines which connect with the Intercolonial.

The newspaper organ of Minister Emmerson, commenting on the proposed purchase of private lines, says: "It is within the bounds of possibility that the forward movement will not stop until a government railroad setting the pace in good service and serving as a regulator of rates for all other lines, reaches from ocean to ocean, a great transcontinental road in the interests of the whole people, not of a few capitalists, a railroad whose motto is not all the tariff the traffic will stand, but the lowest rates and the best service the revenue will stand."

In addition to the Intercolonial system, the government owns the Prince Edward Island Railway. Some time ago the Canada Eastern Railway, running partly across this province, from Chatham to Fredericton, was purchased by the government.

Italy's Railways.

IF THE American railroads were nationalized, says the *New York World*: if a man could ride from New York to Philadelphia for 75 cents; if a drummer could buy for \$240 a ticket to tour all New England for a year, riding when and where he chose; if a passenger could go from Bangor to Chicago for \$7 on a board seat or for \$17.50 in a parlor-car, we might understand the interest which the railway experiment of the Italian government is creating.

Less than three months' trial of the new state schedules, which went into effect November 1, leaves no doubt of their popularity. Passenger travel is fast increasing and the gross income leaps upward in spite of cheaper

rates. As a railroad manager Italy is up-to-date and ambitious. It has borrowed the zone tariff from Hungary; from England the policy of running third-class cars on express trains, which the French and even the Austrian railways have not yet adopted; from Switzerland its cheap monthly tickets, and from Germany the endeavor to reckon indirect as well as direct benefits of cheap transport.

On the other hand the equipment, taken over from the private companies about a year ago, is so very poor that the service is bad. The cars are old and dirty. The trains are not on time. The engines are fit only for junk, being from 20 to 30 years old. The government recognizes the difficulties. A loan of \$200,000,000 has been voted for railway improvement, and this will be expended with that cautious economy which has of late years turned the Italian deficit into a surplus.

Japanese Railways.

THE RAILWAY Nationalization Act passed by the Japanese government about a year ago was no sudden revolution, but rather the carrying out of a long-cherished purpose of the government, according to Henry George, Jr., in an article in the *Times Magazine* for February. The Japanese government has always looked upon the railroad as a steam public highway, that should, like every other public highway, belong to the public. In granting private charters therefore the government was careful to enforce honesty in the financial operations of the corporations. Debenture bonds and mortgage bonds were alike forbidden. Railroad shares could not be acquired except by the payment of money. The stock could not be watered. Severe restrictions were placed about the chartering or hiring of a railroad to others than the company chartered for the purpose. This prevented the wheel-within-a-wheel game which is so well played in the United States. Rates were fixed by law; third-class passenger rates could not exceed one cent a mile. The government retained strict control of the management and reserved the right of purchasing the line with all its appurtenances at the end of twenty-five years. Meanwhile the government itself built the more expensive lines which were not so attractive to private capital, and has therefore been in the field of railroad operation. Mr. George says that he is persuaded that the

private service is as good as it is mainly because the government service sets a high standard which the other must follow.

In taking over about 3,000 miles of private line the government is paying twenty times 11 per cent. of the cost of construction. This will amount to about \$210,000,000, which the roads themselves it is estimated will pay in thirty-two years' time. The annual profit of the lines after the complete redemption of the loan is estimated at \$26,500,000.

Among The Towns and Cities.

THE MUNICIPAL plant of Alameda, California, has just reduced the price of electricity to private consumers from 10 cents to 7 cents per thousand kilowatts. The rate to the city itself was reduced from 6½ to 4½ cents.

THE MUNICIPAL gas-plant of Bellefontaine, Ohio, had a prosperous year. Expenses were paid, two miles of mains built, nearly \$5,000 was added to the sinking-fund for interest on bonds, and a balance of nearly \$5,000 remained in the treasury at the end of the year.

THE ELECTRIC lighting plant belonging to the village of Skaneateles, New York, has cost \$28,743, of which \$4,121 has been paid out of revenue from the plant. The plant has paid all its operating expenses, paid for extensions amounting to \$5,700, interest on bonds, and \$3,000 on capital account.

A RECENT act of the Vermont legislature rules that "obligations created for a water-

supply, sewers, or electric lights shall not be taken into account" in the determination of the permitted indebtedness of a city.

THE COST per arc light of 2,000 c. p. in Grand Rapids (municipal works), allowing for taxes, depreciation and interest is \$57.25, somewhat less than last year.

It is found that the 2,000 c. p. lamps furnished by the private corporation in Terre Haute develop only 1,500 c. p. The city is refusing to pay the lighting company's bills, and claiming the right to collect \$6,000 a year for the deficiency in light for the past five or six years.

THE CITIZENS of Groveland, Massachusetts, have voted overwhelmingly in favor of the establishing of an electric light and power plant. This plant will do a commercial business as well as the city lighting.

THE CITIES of Cambridge and Holyoke, Massachusetts, are asking the legislature for power to establish their own ice-plants.

SAN DIEGO, California, under municipal-ownership has brought the cost of water lower than any other city on the Pacific coast.

NEW YORK City's ferry from the Battery to Long Island pays wages, says the *Herald*, from 25 to 50 per cent. per capita higher than the ferries operated by the great railway corporations.

RALPH ALBERTSON.

NEWS OF THE COÖPERATIVE SOCIETIES.

BY RALPH ALBERTSON,

Secretary of the Coöperative Association of America.

The Co-operative Association of America.

THE GREAT department store at Lewiston, Maine, which was established by Mr. Bradford Peck, and which through his foresight and public spirit, was transformed into a coöperative store, as the first local plant of the Coöperative Association of America, has recently issued its semi-annual report, showing the business to be in a healthy and

prosperous condition, and the spirit as well as the form of coöperation to be firmly implanted in the organization.

The Coöperative Association of America has been described at length in previous issues of *THE ARENA*. Several changes in the plans and method of the association have been made. It is no longer proceeding along the Rochdale line of distribution of profits among

purchasers, but is confining itself strictly to its original plan and purpose of building up a people's trust, and therefore is conserving its energies and perfecting its own organization. The Co-workers Club, who have practical charge of the management of the big store in Lewiston, is a truly coöperative body of faithful workers. During the past year they have so managed this business, that they have been able not only to lay aside the reserve and contingent funds that are required by the trustees of the property, but also to increase the surplus of the institution many thousands of dollars, and to give themselves vacations of two weeks in winter and two weeks in summer, on pay, and then vote to themselves dividends of five per cent. upon their wages. This is a form of coöperation which provides for the security of the investment as no other form does, by placing it in trust. It furnishes a stimulus for effort which is not to be found in the competitive system, and it points the way to a larger organization of industry, in farms and factories, as well as stores, along coöperative lines.

The treasury statement is as follows:

ASSETS.

The Great Department Store,.....	\$150,000 00
Real estate,.....	34,000 00
Stocks and bonds,.....	11,350 00
Notes receivable,.....	25,125 00
Furniture and fixtures,.....	500 00
Loans to co-workers,.....	2,843 77
Taxes unexpired,.....	171 55
Cash,	144 29
	<hr/>
	\$224,134 61

LIABILITIES.

Bond issue,.....	\$139,650 00
Mortgage payable,.....	6,500 00
Notes payable,.....	11,000 00
Certificate of deposit,.....	2,245 00
Coöperative exchange deposits,.....	69 25
Store members,.....	429 00
The Great Department Store deposits,.....	4,486 36
Members' deposits,.....	211 74
N. H. Branch deposits,.....	2,009 03

Surplus Fund:

Industrial College Fund,.....	1,189 94
Health Resort Fund,.....	237 61
Founders' Fund,.....	8,221 45
Pension Fund,.....	84 20
Contingent Fund,.....	15,230 00
Reserve Fund,.....	32,621 03
	<hr/>
	\$224,134 61

Report of Co-operative Stores.

THE TWELFTH biennial report of the Wisconsin Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics, Part I., is a monograph on The Co-operative Store in the United States, by Ira B. Cross. Mr. Cross goes into the history of the coöperative movement in the United States very briefly indeed, making mention of about a score of the more prominent efforts to establish store-keeping coöperation, nearly all of which are understood to have failed. Among the causes for the starting of coöperative stores, he cites farmer and labor movements, sentimentalism, socialism, and the growth of social solidarity. As causes for the failure of coöperative stores he discovers a larger list, chief among which seem to be lack of coöperative spirit and other lacks. But Mr. Cross is not utterly discouraged. He says:

"Many of these causes will be and are now being removed by the evolution of the industrial world. Coöperative leagues are organizing the movement upon a firmer basis than ever before. Experienced managers are being engaged by the coöperators to conduct the business for them. Wholesale houses for the coöperative systems exist in the Mississippi Valley and upon the Pacific Coast. But above and beyond all the rapid growth of social solidarity, the American people can not help to give the movement a more solid basis, a basis upon which in future years it will be possible, though not necessarily probable, that the greatest coöperative movement that the world has ever witnessed may be raised."

In the tabulated report given at the end of the account, three hundred and fifty-two stores are mentioned, with more or less data concerning each. These stores are located in the following states: Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Washington, Wisconsin. This is the most up-to-date bulletin on the subject, and credit is due to Commissioner Beck for bringing it before the public.

The Rochdale Wholesale Company of California.

AT THE last annual meeting of the directors of the Rochdale Wholesale Company of Oakland, California, six new local coöperative companies were admitted to membership. The manager's report showed the company to be in a prosperous condition, notwithstanding the earthquake calamity which with the attendant fire loss compelled the company to move from San Francisco to Oakland. The business of the last six months showed a net gain of \$1,353, which overcomes the fire loss, and with the apportionments paid in by the local companies restores the capital. Real estate recently bought has greatly enhanced in value. The company is getting an increasing trade in Oakland from non-members. Fourteen new organizations were formed in various localities of the State during the past year.

Stockholders in this company, regardless of the amount of stock held, can have only one vote. The shares are one thousand dollars each. Nine of these shares have been subscribed by individuals, and nearly one hundred by local Rochdale companies.

This is the only Rochdale wholesale in the United States, and it is a very important feature in the coöperative movement, for without wholesale stores the isolated efforts of local coöperative stores are greatly handicapped.

The Napa Rochdale Union.

MR. J. M. MOORE, in a letter to the *Co-operative Journal*, says that until the past year this company has been unfortunate in its management and sustained serious losses, but under the new management of 1906 there has been an increase in the business done of over \$8,000 and a net profit of \$1,897. As this gain did not quite pay the losses of the previous years the members voted unanimously not to pay any dividends this year but to leave it all in the business until all losses are covered.

Healdsburg, California, Rochdale.

THIS company began business in July, 1900, with a small membership which has steadily increased. The total investments have been \$7,046, and the net earnings \$5,760. Much of the money included in the first figure was only lately invested. Eighty-one of the shares held by members have doubled themselves by their earnings. The

extent of the earnings depends of course on the amount of the individual's trade. From the full list of the earnings of each of the 160 members we quote the following:

W. J. McClendon,.....	\$100 00	\$104 05
J. W. Gladden,.....	55 00	86 77
W. F. White,.....	100 00	125 96
W. M. Bell,.....	20 00	45 68
Mrs. S. Swaygood,.....	5 00	68 47
C. Sarginson,.....	5 00	54 12
A. R. Gallaway,.....	100 00	108 57
G. R. Harrison,.....	25 00	44 72
J. W. Rose,	50 00	116 42
Mrs. Harmon,.....	100 00	69 52

Corning, California, Rochdale.

THE Rochdale grocery store at this place was organized in 1903 with 31 members. The present membership is 221 and the paid-up capital stock \$10,354. The store did a business of over \$60,000 in the year 1906 and distributed net profits of \$2,753. Capital stock is subscribed by members in shares of \$5 and multiples thereof. Mr. W. L. Spicer secretary of the company, says:

"I think that we, the people, are being forced into coöperation as a defense against the encroachments of organized capital, and as I think the Rochdale Coöperative System has proven the best and most successful tried so far, I am doing what I can to make it a success, and I believe, in fact I know, that the only things to make Rochdale stores successful are proper management and a loyal membership."

Granges Co-operating Again.

THERE is a decided movement among the Granges toward real coöperation in one form or another. The Michigan State Grange has worked out a plan for coöperative buying and selling among the patrons, which has proved most successful. The State Grange authorized the establishment of a Grange information bureau, under the direct control of the committee on coöperation. To meet necessary expenses a fee of one dollar was fixed for each Grange in the State enrolled in the bureau. A monthly information bulletin is issued, and five copies sent to each Grange. In every enrolled Grange there is a bureau correspondent, who lists the produce for sale, and the wants of its members, and reports the same to the central bureau, and in turn the Granges are advised of prices on farm supplies of every sort. Any member of an en-

rolled Grange can list items free, and have all the benefits of the bureau's source of information. There are 3,500 names on the list. Last spring over \$11,000 worth of seed was purchased. One grange saved over \$35 on one car of cedar fence posts. One member bought a flock of sheep through the bureau. It is giving great satisfaction.

Iowa Farmers' Elevators.

ONE OF the most successful lines of coöperative effort in America is the organization of farmers' coöperative companies for the coöperative selling of their products. The farmers' coöperative movement in Iowa has in a short time reached proportions that command attention, and concerning which, something at least, should be known, even by the college professors.

Starting with the parent society at Rockville, Iowa, in 1889, it grew to seven companies in 1902, with a membership of nine hundred farmers, and a capital of fifty thousand dollars. In 1903, four new societies were formed, in neighboring Iowa towns. In these years the movement had to meet the fiercest opposition from the trust-builders, and their allies the railroads.

In the darkest days of 1904, when it appeared as though every terminal market would close its doors to the farmers' elevator consignments, representatives of the few farmer elevators then in existence in Iowa, met at Rockwell, and organized the Iowa Association of Farmers' Elevators. A few months later they met in Ft. Dodge, Iowa, to perfect their organization, there being represented there thirty farmer companies. From this beginning the coöperative grain business has grown, until to-day it controls the price of grain in the entire north half of the State. There are in operation and in the process of organization over one hundred and thirty companies. The growth of the movement in some localities has been phenomenal. In Cerro Gordo county, the home of the "farmers' elevator," there are now eight associations. Even more rapid progress has been made in other places. In Calhoun county the first association was formed in 1905. In July, 1906, there were fifteen coöperative elevator companies in Calhoun county with others in neighboring counties.

There is to-day invested in the coöperative grain and coal business in Iowa alone over

one million dollars, the capital stock being owned and controlled by about twenty thousand farmers. "This splendid impetus has been brought about," says the *American Coöperative Journal*, "by the awakening of the people to a realization of the intolerable conditions existing in their midst. The movement is just in its infancy. It holds unlimited possibilities for the future. It is the people's hope—the solution of the difficulty confronting the people of the grain-belt states, or for that matter those of any state."

The Farmers' Grain Company, Omaha.

THE Farmers' Grain Company is a corporation organized under Nebraska laws to enable farmers to coöperate in the selling of their grain. The authorized capital is two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, divided into shares of one hundred dollars each. Stockholders are limited to the ownership of one share each for each individual, thus placing all stockholders on an equality in the ownership and control of the company. Stock is not accessible, and sold only at par. It has its personal representative on the Kansas City Board of Trade, and the president, Mr. C. Vincent, owns a seat on the Omaha grain exchange.

A Co-operative Creamery.

THE ANNUAL meeting of the Stockholders of the Tulare (California) Coöperative Creamery, was held recently for the election of officers, and the reports for the year show the company to be in a prosperous condition. The company paid out \$246,000 to its patrons during the year 1906, an increase of more than \$100,000 over the previous year. Besides paying interest on the capital, and dividends to members, the organization provides a purely democratic system of industry for the dairy-men.

The Industrial Union.

MR. ANDREW McCONNELL of Birmingham, Alabama, is organizing the Industrial Union in Alabama cities. A charge of one dollar a year is made as a membership fee. The purpose of the union is to promote coöperative buying by securing wholesale prices for the consumer, to save middlemen's and retailers' expenses, which is, in effect, the saving made by the Rochdale stores. Discounts of from twenty-five to thirty per cent. are secured to

the members, and the Union collects two per cent. of the discount to cover expenses of management. In Gadsden two hundred families have joined the Union and discounts on all kinds of merchandise have been secured, averaging twenty per cent., and fifty per cent. on doctors' bills. It is claimed of this organization that it does not take the risk of failing as in a coöperative store, and that it does not give the chance for graft as did such enterprises as the old Farmers' Alliance.

The Canadian Co-operative Concern.

THIS is a general department store located at Hamilton, Ontario. Mr. J. P. Whelan is president and general manager. It is conspicuous among the larger commercial houses of the city. Its growth since its establishment, about a year ago, is marvelous; with its recent extension it has 18,500 feet of floor-space. It requires about 60 clerks. The stock is held mostly by farmers of the surrounding country. Mr. Whelan is a merchant of years of practical experience, and his ability and enthusiasm insure a certain measure of success. The stock of goods includes everything in groceries, clothing, home-furnishing goods, furniture, carpets, hardware, etc., a complete and varied assortment. We hope soon to receive the first annual report of this society.

Canadian Farmers Co-operate.

IN 1894 a movement was started in the apple-producing regions of the Dominion of Canada, to organize the farms for the coöperative marketing of their products. By consolidating shipments they at once got better terms from the railroads, and better treatment by the fruit-brokers. The next step was the opening of central packing-houses for each district, so as to enforce common standards of sorting and grading. The third step enforces a system of inspection of orchards for the best results. So efficient has this coöperative organization proven to the orchardists of Canada that there are now over thirteen thousand members representing ten per cent. of the apples shipped, ranging in value from two million dollars to four and one half million dollars a year.

Negroes' Co-operative Store.

THE REV. H. TAYLOR, pastor of the Shiloh Baptist Church (colored) of Elizabeth, New Jersey, has established a coöperative store

among the people of his parish along the lines of the successful coöperative organizations of negroes that are now so flourishing in various parts of Virginia and Maryland. These negroes have been wise enough to attend closely to the financial end of their coöperative enterprises and directly following upon the organization of a store they usually start to do their own banking and insurance business.

Hartford Co-operative Ice Company.

THE Coöperative Ice Company of Hartford, Connecticut, after making a brave struggle for independence, sold out finally to the ice-trust, with an agreement from the trust that members of the Coöperative were to purchase ice at \$3 per ton. Very soon, however, the trust began to charge them \$6 per ton and the members brought suit. The decision of the court just rendered holds the trust to its agreement.

Co-operative Farming in Europe.

FROM a report of the German consul in Belgrade, Consul General Richard Guenther of Frankfort derives the information that the coöperative system is making rapid progress among the farmers in Servia. At the end of June last there were 508 agricultural coöperative associations existing in that country. Of these 105 were established within one year. The total number of members is 17,858. The Central Union, representing these associations, last year expended \$53,000 for implements, seeds, etc.

Consul J. E. Dunning of Milan states that there are now a total of 222,000 farmers' leagues in the whole of Italy, including 43,000 in Sicily. The relative commercial importance of these leagues is increasing rapidly with every year, as is also their number.

At the close of 1905, 17,162 coöperative farming associations existed in the German empire, comprising a membership of over one million farmers; 16,230 of the above number of associations were confederated. Out of the 9,411 associations operating in Prussia, 6,059 facilitated credits to farmers, 776 attended to the supply and demand, and 1,728 to dairying. In Bavaria, 2,613 of the 3,294 associations furnish credits to agricultural undertakings, 234 to attend to supply and demand, 247 to dairying, and 200 to various other purposes, all however fostering

mutual assistance to husbandmen and thus redounding to their benefit.

The German coöperative associations of credit expend loans amounting to, on the average, from \$71,410,000 to \$73,340,000 annually. In 1905 the coöperative bodies

for the creation of demand purchased fertilizers, forage, seed, coal, and other items amounting to \$12,062,500. On the other hand the centers of supply and dairying realized over \$965,000 on their transactions.

RALPH ALBERTSON.

"THE SECOND GENERATION."*

A BOOK-STUDY.

I. A GENERAL CHARACTERIZATION OF THE NOVEL.

THE SECOND GENERATION, David Graham Phillips' latest romance of American life, is in all essential respects his strongest and best novel. It is more finished from an artistic view-point, more comprehensive and definite as a social study, and more satisfying as a romance of life and love than any of his previous works; while its presentation of contrasting views of home life under the egis of plutocracy and of democracy is without question the best thing yet produced in American fiction. It is as strong and almost as realistic or true to life as one of Zola's masterpieces or one of Tolstoi's great romances while it is absolutely free from every suggestion or hint of the sensualism, grossness or coarseness which is the great blot on the works of Zola, and from the ascetism and extreme austerity of the great Russian's writings. It is a romance of present-day conditions in America, throbbing with the life which we know, see and feel, but which only the artist, the poet or the novelist—only the man of imagination, can so picture as to make us feel for the time that the author is dealing with real flesh and blood men and women that he has known and known intimately.

II. THE ART OF THE BOOK.

The Second Generation marks a decided advance in Mr. Phillips' writings when considered from the view-point of literature or as an art work. We have on several occasions noted what we considered to be a real defect in our novelist's writings—the making of one character overshadow or dwarf all other

personalities in the work. Thus in *The Plum-Tree* and *The Deluge*, for example, we have distinctly great or colossal figures that are among the best drawn characters in American fiction. But they are Gullivers among Lilliputians. They absorb the reader's interest and hold his attention so completely that he feels comparatively little interest in the other characters, especially when that interest is not intimately bound up in the fate of the dominating personality. The right relation of the characters is destroyed and the proportions are wanting. The romances lack background.

In this novel Mr. Phillips has overcome these defects in an admirable and artistic manner. True, we have a great dominating personality in the opening chapters of *The Second Generation*. Hiram Ranger is a colossal typical figure and while he is present in his physical person he overshadows all other characters; but almost with our introduction to this true, sincere, and wise American of the old school, we hear the solemn fiat of the learned physician: "Set your house in order," and the hour soon comes when the great man passes from the stage, leaving his children and their companions to fill the boards. Still, such has been the impression of the character of Hiram Ranger made upon the mind of the reader, such the art of the novelist throughout the subsequent chapters, that this colossal figure is ever present, though so subordinated as to let the other characters take their proper places and largely engross the interest of the reader. Here we have a truly artistic treatment. The proportions are preserved. The great spirit permeates the story and broods over the chief characters, and as in the opening chapters, so in the closing lines, Hiram Ranger's personality is dominant. But dur-

*"The Second Generation." By David Graham Phillips. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 334. Price, \$1.50. New York: D. Appleton & Company.

ing the unfoldment of the romance it is present more as a pervasive influence, and so heightens instead of detracts from the interest of the leading characters in the romance.

The author also at all times makes the interest of the reader in his characters a paramount consideration. He gives a vivid and striking picture of certain phases of present-day social and business conditions; he drives home vital truths and impresses great lessons but this is always done in such a way as to add to rather than detract from the interest in the story.

III. AS A SOCIAL STUDY.

Heretofore Mr. Phillips has been content for the most part with revealing in a faithful and graphic manner present-day political, business and social conditions that are inimical to democracy and destructive to the moral integrity of the individual. Thus in *The Plum-Tree* we have the most faithful and realistic picture of present-day political conditions under the mastership of the "interests" or the plutocracy, which owns the political bosses and directly or indirectly manipulates the party machines, that has been written.

In *The Deluge* we have an equally powerful and truthful picture of the methods of the master-spirits of our commercial feudalism, who in Wall street, the citadel of the plutocracy and high finance, operate those colossal and diabolical "confidence games" that are the scandal of the Republic, gambling with stacked cards, and who, through stock-watering, inflation and depression of stocks, and the control of public utilities, are able to plunder the millions of producers and consumers while crushing competition and reaping immense wealth coming and going.

The Plum-Tree and *The Deluge* take us behind the curtains in American politics and the world of high finance, and reveal all the odious practices and secret methods of the plutocracy in its double rôle of master of American politics and of finance.

In *The Cost* we have vivid glimpses of the plutocracy at work, both in politics and in Wall street. In these and most of his other books the author's master-purpose has been to familiarize the American readers with the facts—the serious and alarming facts—that are threatening the life of the Republic.

In *The Second Generation* Mr. Phillips has gone farther. With the skill of a surgeon he inserts the lance and lays bare one of the great

eating cancers in the body politic; or, to change the figure, he uncovers the *débris* around the reservoir of democratic government and shows one great stream of poison whose influence is contaminating the Republic. Nor does he stop with this. It is important to throw the searchlight on the hidden sins and dark places where the plutocracy works in secret, and show the public the enemies of a democratic republic busily engaged in destroying free institutions for individual advancement and enrichment; it is important to definitely point out the different streams of death that are poisoning the reservoir of democracy; but it is also important to show the demands of the hour, and in the present work our author first pictures in a most striking manner the destructive influence of inherited wealth, in that it injures the moral and frequently both the mental and physical fiber, of those who come into possession of money they do not earn; while its influence tends to create the curse of classes, placing one body of citizens completely out of touch with the millions of wealth-creators and in every way fostering conditions that are inimical to democratic government.

Next he shows that through honest coöperative work and through educational methods that shall make every child pay for his schooling by labor with his hands in some industrial pursuit that shall be productive and useful in character, the right relation of the young in regard to work and to each other will be established and the old order will be reinstated.

Joaquin Miller in his beautiful social vision, *The Building of the City Beautiful*, shows that most of the avoidable misery and social inequality in the world to-day arises from man's attempt to evade the carrying out of the first great law of God, said to have been uttered as the gates of Eden were closing against the awakened man and woman: "In the sweat of *thy* face—not in the sweat of the face of another—shalt thou eat bread till thou returnest to the ground."

Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace, the greatest living physical scientist of England and one of the most fundamental social philosophers of the age, in his masterly paper in the January *ARENA*, struck a telling blow at the inheritance idea which Mr. Phillips so clearly and forcefully elucidates in this novel. In showing how the railroads should be taken over by the people, Dr. Wallace in *THE ARENA* paper restates a demand which he made fifteen years

ago: that social justice and the requirements of free and equitable government make it imperative that all citizens of the State shall enjoy equality of opportunities; that, to use the great scientist's own words, "some social arrangement must be made by which the individuals may start in life with an approach to equality of opportunities." Dr. Wallace reinforces his position by quoting Herbert Spencer's law of social justice, which is that "each individual ought to receive the benefits and evils of his own nature and consequent conduct, neither being prevented from having whatever good his action normally brings him, nor allowed to shoulder off onto other persons whatever ill is brought upon him by his actions."

Dr. Wallace continues: "For it is quite clear that both Herbert Spencer's formula and my own imply, not only equal opportunities of nurture in infancy and education in youth, but also equal opportunities to earn a livelihood; and this absolutely forbids the inheritance of wealth by individuals. Private bequests, above what is sufficient to give nurture and education, must therefore be abolished, and the surplus used to give all an equal start in life. This economic equality follows from Spencer's law of social justice. For by inheriting exceptional wealth a person receives what is in no way 'due to his own nature and subsequent conduct,' be its results either evil or good. If, therefore, we accept Spencer's law of social justice as being sound in principle or adopt the formula of 'equality of opportunities' as being anything more than empty words, we must advocate the abolition of all unequal inheritance of wealth, since it is now shown to be ethically wrong, inasmuch as it dignifies unearned wealth and a consequent life of idleness and the pursuit of pleasure as one to be admired, respected and sought after."

The method pursued by Mr. Phillips in presenting the two great economic facts—the demoralizing influence of the inheritance of great wealth, and the importance of each man being engaged in some useful and productive work—evinces consummate skill and reveals the fact that the author is not only a fundamental thinker and a democrat after the order of Jefferson and Lincoln, but that he has been a close and painstaking student of social and industrial conditions. The facts which he points out are of great importance to thoughtful and patriotic Americans at the

present time, and happily for the interest of the general reader, they are, as we have before observed, so woven into the web and woof of this story as to enlist the sympathies on the side of the great truths presented and increase rather than detract from the general interest in the romance.

IV. THE NOVEL AS A STORY.

The story opens with a fine pen-picture of one of the truly great Americans of the older day. Hiram Ranger in youth had been denied the benefits of the fine educational advantages that are the lot of most American boys and girls of our time; but he had improved the meager opportunities within his reach and what he lacked in intellectual education he made up in sturdy character, sterling moral worth and in tireless industry. He early mastered the flour-milling business and built up a fine trade in the old days before the railways and the thieving trusts and monopolies joined in their infamous conspiracy to ruthlessly destroy the men who were not in their secret and corrupt rings. When the business became so great as to require a coöperation, Hiram Ranger personally learned all parts of the industry so that he could make a flour barrel as well as the most skilled workman in the shop. He showed his men that he knew the work and that he regarded work as honorable and uplifting.

The opening chapter in the story introduces us to the grand old man whose personality permeates the romance. Hiram Ranger is a typical character, representative of the old American successful business man, who by honorable means, persistent industry and strict regard to business methods rose to a commanding position in the business world. Over against the father is presented the son, Arthur Ranger, who is also a typical figure, representing the newly-rich young man who goes to the great colleges of the East, gets into the society of other young men whose parents are very wealthy, and soon becomes the victim of a poisonous environment, reactionary in nature, inimical to democracy and destructive in its influence upon the moral fiber and essential manhood of its victims.

Hiram has just been repairing a piece of machinery that the men were unable to mend. When he emerges from under the great machine with which he has been working, he suddenly notices his son Arthur standing before him. The youth is dressed in the latest

extreme styles of the city. He is smoking a cigarette, and there is a supercilious smirk on his naturally manly face. The surprise of the father is as great as his disappointment is bitter at seeing his son becoming such a caricature of a man. He supposed Arthur was at college, but the boy explains that he has been "plucked" and so has come home. The truth develops, that the youth has become a member of that set of newly-rich men's sons who are the curse and disgrace of our great institutions of learning,—the young men who become fast, and with plenty of money are a distinctly demoralizing influence in the colleges of the present time. He has failed in his examinations and so has returned home, and, fearing his father's anger, he has stopped at Cleveland and brought Adelaide, his sister, home from a fashionable finishing school to be a buffer between him and his father's anger.

The daughter had always been the very apple of Hiram Ranger's eye. She had left home a beautiful, innocent and natural girl. She has returned like her brother, with head filled with the false and vicious ideas of the fashionable newly-rich who long for class-distinctions, entertain contempt for the ideals of their parents and for democratic simplicity and sincerity, and who love to patronize those who work and those they are pleased to characterize as "trades people." Adelaide has brought home with her a pet monkey to amuse herself with.

The astonishment and disappointment of the father with the change that has come over his children is too great for words, and just at this moment a terrible shadow settles over his being, for in lifting the great machines he has strained himself, and from that hour he experiences great pain in his body—pain so great, indeed, that he is led to consult a famous old physician in the city, who after an exhaustive examination frankly tells him that it will be best for him immediately to "set his house in order."

Mr. Whitney, the partner of Mr. Ranger, has moved east, and in addition to looking after the business of buying grain and lumber and selling the finished products of the mill, he has joined the "high finance" group, becoming one of the "insiders" among the great Wall-street gamblers who systematically play with loaded dice. He has acquired much wealth thus through indirection, in addition to the money which the great flour industry

has earned for him. His wife has developed into a woman of fashion, living an artificial and affected life—a life of pretence, in which she is ceaselessly endeavoring to ape the aristocrats of the Old World. The Whitneys have two children, Ross and Janet, and during the past two or three years these children have become engaged to the Ranger children, much to the satisfaction of their parents.

Hiram Ranger, shortly after he receives the fateful warning from the learned physician, has a slight shock of paralysis, and during his convalescence a neighbor in calling on him points out the fact that all the young people of the town who are waiting for their parents to die that they may inherit fortunes, are becoming worthless or worse than worthless. They are failures in life when regarded from any true standard of measurement; failures, indeed, from even the materialistic view-point of earning money. The one seeming exception, John Dumont, on examination is found to be no exception. He has acquired great wealth by using the wealth inherited from his parents, but he has done this, not by using it in such a way as to earn it legitimately, but by entering Wall street and engaging with the high financiers in rigging and working the market—in other words, in gambling with stacked cards.

These facts set the old man to thinking very seriously, and the frivolity, artificiality and lack of appreciation for sterling worth evinced by his own children leads him to bequeath his fortune to a local college, on condition that it shall be so used that those who are educated shall during their education learn some wealth-creating trade or work their way through college, so as to learn not only to do some useful labor, but also so that the recipients shall feel a real and sympathetic interest and kinship with all the workers and appreciate the essential dignity of labor, as should be the case in a free government,—aye! as must be the case in a genuine democracy. The wife is well provided for during her life, and the daughter receives two thousand dollars a year, but the son is given a lump sum of five thousand dollars and the opportunity to learn his father's business as his father had learned it, and later the chance to buy the business on favorable terms.

It was only after a desperate struggle that the father brought himself to practically disinherit his children. He wanted to do *the easy thing*, but he had in his being the stern

moral idealism of the old Covenanters, and his reason and conscience told him that the hope of his children lay in his taking the course he settled upon. The reason for his action is thus given:

"I make this disposal of my estate through my love for my children and because I have a firm belief in the soundness of their capacity to do and to be. I feel that they will be better off without the wealth, which will tempt my son to relax his efforts to make a useful man of himself, and would cause my daughter to be sought for her fortune instead of for herself."

When the father dies and the will is read, the two Whitney children, largely under the influence of their frivolous, worldly-wise and spiritually blind mother, break off their engagements with Arthur and Adelaide. The former goes to work as a laborer in his father's mill; the latter marries an old child-sweet-heart who is a teacher in the school which has received Hiram Ranger's bequest. It is with the unfolding of their characters under the healthful stimulus of honest productive labor and the influence of a high-minded and genuinely noble-hearted young man who is a democrat to the core, that the book is chiefly concerned.

Arthur in time comes under the influence of a wonderfully beautiful and intelligent young woman who is a physician. The two grow together and become part each of the other, making an ideal union. The chapters devoted to the courtship of Arthur and Madeline are only less attractive than those that show the gradually expanding life and love of each after marriage, when each is a tower of strength to the other. Indeed, there are few chapters in modern fiction more beautiful or ennobling in influence than those concerned with the unfolding life of these two young people, especially after marriage.

With Adelaide and her husband, Dory Hargrove, the son of the president of the college, the life-story is far different. The girl from her early childhood had deeply respected young Hargrove and she knew he loved her; but she accepted his offer of marriage more through pique at being thrown over by her affianced lover, Ross Whitney, who weds an unattractive and selfish but immensely rich girl, than because of any real love she feels for young Hargrove. The poison-virus of soul-

destroying fashionable and reactionary life, that Adelaide had imbibed in the years at her finishing school, when she associated only with the children of the very rich, and the still more baleful influence of people like Mrs. Whitney and her son, whose only gods were self and gold, have distorted her whole view of life. She is out of key with the sane, true, wholesome and elevating democratic ideals which are the governing impetus in her husband's life. The beautiful-useful has far less charm for her than the beautiful-useless; and so for a time an insuperable barrier seems to stand between the husband and wife, while the temptations so rife in the world of the money-worshippers come to Adelaide during the absence of her husband in Europe. The story of the young wife's blind gropings for the light of happiness—blind, because of the fatal light that had envired her years when away from home—is told in a natural and deeply interesting manner.

Then there is a third love-tale in the work—a beautiful story, but with a sad ending. All these tales are so woven together as to develop and increase the interest on the part of the reader in the great ethical and economic truths impressed with the unfolding art of a young master.

Nor is this all. The contrasts found in the closing chapters are very suggestive. Here we have in bold antithesis the full-orbed happiness of Arthur and Madeline, of Adelaide and Dory,—the fitting fruitage of a union with love blossoming under the democratic ideals of life—the ideal of all for all, and the ghastly hollowness of the life of Ross Whitney and his mother, which is the natural fruitage of gold madness and the exaggerated egoism that is so markedly present in plutocratic circles. Seldom have we read anything more effective as showing the utter hollowness of the materialistic life of the dollar-worshippers, or anything that better illustrates the conscience-destroying and soul-dwarfing influence of an empty and selfish existence—an existence unilluminated by any high, serious and noble purpose, than is found in the death scene of Charles Whitney and the family quarrel between mother and children over the fortune of the dead high financier.

The Second Generation is not only Mr. Phillips' strongest and best novel; it is the most virile and vital romance of the present year.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.*

Looking Forward. By Philip Rappaport. Cloth. Pp. 234. Price, \$1.00. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Company.

THIS WORK is based on the theory of historic materialism or the progress of life, government and civilization by evolutionary law instead of by chance, caprice or some outside agency apart from orderly unfoldment in accordance with unerring cosmic laws. It is devoted to an examination of the origin and growth of the family and the State, special emphasis being placed on the status of woman. It is an extremely valuable book, because it is fundamental in character and rationalistic in method of treatment. There is, therefore, no appeal to emotionalism, sentimentality or prejudice that would tend to cloud the reason or obscure the unbiased judgment, as is the case with most volumes that deal with the status of woman. And whether one agrees with the author as to his premises or in regard to all his conclusions, no one, we think, can read the book without gaining a clearer, broader and better vision of many serious and complex questions that are confronting the civilization of to-day, such as the growth of the family and its relations, divorce, and prostitution. Moreover, the sincerity of the author and the clarity of his thought will impress all readers, even though they may not accept his premises. The book is one, therefore, that earnest men and women who think for themselves and who are interested in social, economic and political questions will find helpful.

Mr. Rappaport, in a clearly connected chain of reasoning, discusses the evolution of the economic structure of society and the influence of the economic situation on political and social institutions; the influence of economic conditions on the family and the status of woman; the evolution of State, government, and the family, and the different forms of social and family life that have obtained under different stages of civilization; divorce and why it is increasing; and prostitution and its chief contributory causes.

In his chapter on "The Family" Mr. Rap-

paport sketches the evolutionary history of family life and the gradual changes, marked by a rise in moral ideals as civilization advances. He does not, however, believe that present conditions are such as best to favor the ideal family or the perfect home-life, and he takes issue with popular theories at almost every step in his argument. Here is an example which occurs in his discussion of the home and the State:

"I do not fear to say . . . that I am not inclined to believe that a form of the family alongside of which such a fearful institution as that of prostitution is possible, can be the highest form of the family which the human race is able to evolve.

"We hear it frequently said that the family is the basis of the State. The idea is brought forth, principally, in arguments for more stringent divorce laws. However, it is not true, neither in theory nor in fact. Both, family and State, rest upon entirely different principles; the organization of the State rests on territory, that of the family on personal relations. While really the relation of cause and effect does not exist at all between the two, yet if one wishes to establish some such sort of relation, then the State is rather the basis of the family. The State prescribes the forms under which families may be legally established, the State determines the legitimacy or illegitimacy of offspring, and the State establishes laws of inheritance. It has the power to change the laws and precepts upon these matters without affecting its own existence and general powers. Upon the other hand, the family has not the least power over the State. In a certain sense the family is the creature of the State, in so far as the latter gives legal force to the prevailing moral sentiment, but in no sense whatever is it the basis of the state. The theory is probably an inheritance from the times when the family was considered an institution necessary for the production of soldiers for the king, and the raising of many children, especially boys, an act of patriotism. It is not the habit of modern mothers to display that kind of patriotism."

Very suggestive and illuminating is his dis-

* Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, Editorial Department, THE ARENA, Boston, Mass.

cussion of why there is a lessening of the birth-rate under present economic conditions, and why so many people who should marry and who wish to marry cannot wed under the present régime. He also shows how deteriorating to the race and the individual is this prohibition induced by the stress of economic conditions. After giving some startling facts relative to insanity and suicide, he passes to another phase of the subject.

"The reader will have noticed," he observes, "that the forces of family deterioration, described so far, have not a directly destructive influence, but affect the family indirectly by preventing marriage. However, there are circumstances arising from our economic conditions which injuriously affect the family in the most direct way. Most potent is it done by the substitution of woman and child-labor for the labor of men. The astonishing proportion to which woman labor has grown is shown by the census of 1900. According to this, the number of persons in the United States employed in gainful occupations was 29,285,922, of which 23,956,115 were of the male and 5,329,807 of the female sex. I purposely avoid to say men and women because the numbers given include persons of ten years of age and over. It is a sad commentary on our economic institutions, that it was found necessary to include persons of so young an age. The ever-growing desire (call it economic necessity, if you choose, it will not alter its pernicious effect) for cheap labor tears not only boys and girls from the bosom of the family, but also married women and mothers. . . .

"I have no desire to become sentimental or pathetic, but I cannot suppress the thought that our economic institutions, in many instances, have the effect of wiping out all the moral effects of civilization, turn our hearts into stone and make us barbarians. Neither the savages of Africa nor those of Australia make their children work for the support of life. To find the institution of child labor one must go to Christian countries, where the people boast of their wealth, culture and refinement."

Our author, however, does not despair. Far from it. He is an evolutionist, and in closing his discussion of the family, he observes:

"Social institutions no sooner show signs

of a retrogression of their usefulness and of decay, than a revolution of the moral sentiment in reference to them begins to manifest itself, and their moral issue is questioned. The power of evolution is irresistible, and experience teaches us that its course in the production of forms has always been from the lower to the higher. Therefore, we may confidently expect that, whatever form the family will in some future time assume, it will stand on a higher plane than the present. It will be in perfect harmony with the future economic organization of society, as was the group family with the communism of poverty, or the patriarchal family with pastoral conditions, or as the monogamous family is with modern economic conditions, and it will be supported by moral views superior to ours."

In his discussion of divorce Mr. Rappaport is very sane and sensible. He does not believe that the morals of the individual or of civilization can be conserved by the State compelling two people to live together, as in effect it would do in many cases if no divorces were granted, after hate had taken the place of love or when one of the parties was a drunkard or a degenerate. He holds, and rightly holds, that children born into homes of hate, or of parents who are drunkards and degenerates, will most probably prove a curse to themselves and to the State. Space forbids our quoting as extensively as we could wish from this chapter. Here, however, are a few timely thoughts:

"When, many years ago, I entered into the practice of law, I made it, in a sort of moral enthusiasm, a rule, when a party wished to employ me for the purpose of getting a divorce, to try to effect a reconciliation. In several cases I succeeded, or thought, at least, that I had succeeded, when, to my utter dismay, I found afterwards that the parties had employed other lawyers and were divorced. It set me to thinking, and I came to the conclusion that there is far greater responsibility in playing providence than in acceding to the wishes of clients. And finally experience taught me that the resolution and the process of divorce, in ninety-nine out of a hundred cases, produce so much heart-rending agony that people would not resort to it, if in their misery they could find relief somewhere else.

"I am not in possession of any comparative statistics, but I am willing to admit that the number of divorces in America is considerably

larger than in Europe. To ascribe it to a lower state of morality, or a want of religious sentiment, or a lower degree of consciousness of duty, would be a great error. I believe that in intellectual and moral qualities, Americans compare favorably with any other nation. I would rather ascribe it to the superior democratical sentiment prevailing in the American people, so that the influence of caste-prejudice is smaller, that women are less willing to suffer brutalities from husbands, and have a higher regard for themselves; reasons which I consider anything but deplorable.

"Marriage is, by American law, considered a civil contract and up to the sixth century it was not in the Christian world held to be anything else. Prior to that time it was not considered that there was any religious element in it, church and clergy had nothing to do with it. . . . Beginning, however, in the sixth century, the church found it convenient, or necessary for its purposes, to force into marriage the element of religion, and in the seventh century it was by the council of Trent declared a sacrament. Prior to the sixth century the clergy had nothing whatever to do with tying the marriage knot. More than a thousand years afterward, government again commenced to consider marriage a civil contract only, and to disregard the religious element, artificially infused into it by the church. Many if not most of the European governments are in advance of us in this respect and recognize only solemnization of marriage before a civil officer, without taking any knowledge whatsoever of religious ceremonies or solemnization by a minister, leaving that altogether to the sentiment or conscience of the parties.

"Moral sentiment and law allow only monogamous marriages. So far, so good. As there can be no absolute freedom of contract, it is right and proper to guard the interests of society by proper legislation in not allowing persons not considered of discretion, such as minors, insane persons, and idiots and also persons within certain degrees of blood relationship to enter into the contract of marriage. But, provided persons are within the law, what possible interest can the State or society have in the conclusion or dissolution of the contract of marriage? Of what difference can it be to the State or society whether A is married to B, or to C, or to D, and of what benefit or injury can it be to the State or so-

ciety whether A and B remain in a state of marriage or not? Of course, it is of interest to the community that the divorced wife and her children be properly supported by the husband and father and do not become a burden on the community. But if the husband and father has property, the court can enforce such support; if he has no property, but has a conscience, he will support them of his own free will, as well as he can; and if he has neither property no conscience, the law is powerless with or without divorce. Any punishment meted out to a conscienceless husband and father will not buy a morsel of bread for the abandoned family. What rational ground then exists for the State to interfere, except so far as it is necessary for it to become the arbiter between the parties in reference to matters of property and the custody of their children, if they are unable to agree upon these points?

"Granted that the marriage bond is sacred, whether considered so in a religious, poetical or sentimental sense, it seems to me that with the loss of mutual love, affection and respect, all sanctity of the marriage-tie is gone. With love and esteem the marriage state is paradise and bliss, without them it is torture and barren of anything that is good. Love and esteem, however, cannot be made to appear and disappear at will. What is more humane, to compel husband and wife who have ceased to love and respect each other, to continue in a state of marriage, in which case the want of love must necessarily grow into hatred, or allow them to separate? What kind of morality must necessarily result from a union which is no longer based on those affections the existence of which alone justifies marriage and lifts the attraction between human beings of different sex so far above animal instinct?

"I confess I am unable to see what society profits or what public morals gain by not permitting parties who are unhappily married and who wish to dissolve their union, to do it quietly and decently by a method as simple as that of marriage instead of compelling them to ventilate their troubles before the eyes of the public and make their marital relations and domestic affairs a subject of common gossip to the disgust of every decent person and the pleasure only of the scandal-monger. If they were able to agree between themselves in all matters concerning them, where is the

advantage to society and morality of disregarding the delicacy of feeling of the parties, of outraging their sensibilities and of forcing them either to confess or be convicted of some act of brutality, meanness or impropriety before allowing them to do what they consider necessary for their happiness and from which nobody else suffers, or which is nobody's else concern? Whatever one may think of Hester Prynne, standing on the pillory with her babe in her arms, she certainly is an object of pity; but the sanctimonious officials who put her there, and the gossips staring at her and wagging their tongues, are absolutely repulsive."

The chapter dealing with prostitution and its causes is very thoughtful and worthy of serious consideration.

"There can be no question," says our author, "about the moral sentiment in reference to prostitution. Through all the centuries of its existence moral sentiment has become more and more inimical to it without being able to expurgate it. Consequently there must be a force in human society stronger than the moral force. Undoubtedly there are cases of perversity and uncontrollableness of natural impulses, but such cases are not numerous enough to account for the fearful extent of prostitution. Such cases excepted, I doubt whether a single prostitute can be found who would not a thousand times prefer a life of decency and respectability to a life of shame, if she were not prevented by the adversity of economic conditions.

"It is in the difference of the economic conditions where we have to search for the reason of the absence of prostitution among savages and barbarians and its presence in civilization. There was no place for it in a society which had no economic classes; it cannot exist where there are no rich and no poor. The tribal relations and the gentile organization with its communistic arrangements offered no soil for the growth of that detestable institution. Nor would the form of the family existing then permit of its appearance. The soil was prepared for it with the introduction of private-ownership in land with all its economic and social consequences.

"Mr. Alvin S. Johnson, assistant professor of economics at Columbia University, . . . says: 'In the first place there is a large class of women who may be said to have been trained for prostitution from earliest childhood. Foundlings and orphans and the off-

spring of the miserably poor, they grow up in wretched tenements, contaminated by constant familiarity with vice in its lowest forms. Without training, moral or mental, they remain ignorant and disagreeable, slovenly and uncouth, good for nothing in the social organism. When half matured, they fall the willing victims of their male associates, and inevitably drift into prostitution.'

"The prostitute is the helpless victim of modern economic conditions.

"The primary cause of prostitution is in the economic system. Newspapers may write against it, clergymen may preach against it, sociologists and physicians may point out its dangers to society and public health, lawmakers and police officials may unite their efforts in attempts to regulate or suppress it, it will all be in vain as long as our present economic system lasts. Because an economic system which results in a condition of wealth and extreme poverty side by side, in a condition of extreme precariousness of existence for millions of people, especially women, and in a condition which produces a steady decrease in the number of marriages by reason of positive or relative inability to support a family, is bound to produce prostitution. Even if the death penalty were meted out for it, that could no more prevent prostitution than in the time of Queen Elizabeth the hanging and branding of vagabonds could prevent vagabondage. And just as in the Middle Ages vagabondage, as produced by feudal institutions, was the prolific source of prostitution, so it is in our times the cheerless, uncertain and generally hopeless condition of the wage-workers, as produced by modern economic institutions."

The concluding chapters, dealing with the State, the modern economic system and the sweep of events, are highly suggestive, and, indeed, the whole volume is richly worth a careful perusal.

The Silent War. By John A. Mitchell. Illustrated by W. Balfour Ker. Cloth. Pp. 221. Price, \$1.50. New York: Life Publishing Company.

If *The Silent War* had been written by Emma Goldman or Eugene V. Debs, the author ere this would have been anathematized from coast to coast and even might have been

put behind the bars as an enemy of the republic. This would not have been because the book "advocates" anything of an incendiary nature, but because from the pen of an anarchist or socialist, it would have been construed as "advocating" incendiarism. But the book is written by Mr. John A. Mitchell, unassailable according to the most rigid standards of respectability, editor of *Life* and author of previous works possessing all the charm of the modern "best-seller."

The character of the source therefore, while adding special significance to the work has caused the reviewers to handle it somewhat gingerly. To repeat, the book does not advocate anything, but it takes cognizance, as its name indicates, of what many are interested in concealing, the irrepressible conflict between two classes of society, the capitalists and laborers. Neither is the book a treatise on the subject, but it emphasizes with rare skill many of the salient features of that conflict in a way which shows that the author has delved deeply into the underlying laws of our social and industrial organizations. With this as a basis, he projects his fancy into the future and pictures a possible melodramatic result. It is this fanciful picture which warrants the hypothesis at the beginning of this review.

In short, as the author suggests in his preface, the book is intended to attract the attention of the plutocrats and the financiers of our country to the vital questions of the day and warn them that unless they get off the backs of the poor, they will be thrown off and thrown off none too gently.

The Silent War is no more impressive as a warning than it is interesting as a romance. The interest of the reader is aroused at the very beginning and held in leash throughout until the final denouement.

No less notable than the text are four handsome illustrations by W. Balfour Ker. The illustrations are connected with the text only in that they treat of the same subject, the struggle between laborers and capitalists. They are examples of that rare art for which one feels safe in predicting a long life.

ELLIS O. JONES.

The Port of Missing Men. By Meredith Nicholson. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 400.

Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS story deals with a young Austrian nobleman, son of the Prime-Minister Von Stroebe, and his adventures in the Old World and the New. The boy when small had disappeared with Prince Karl, the heir-apparent to the Austrian throne, and the Prince's son Frederick Augustus. The Prince and his son had later died in Canada, confiding to the son of Von Stroebe, who had taken the name of John Armitage, a number of important papers, not the least of which was one divulging the fact that Francis, the supposed son of Karl, was not his son, and that the Prince had left Austria after finding out the unfaithfulness of his wife. This paper John Armitage turns over to his father, the Prime-Minister. As the son, however, refuses to enter the service of Austria and take again his real name, the father dismisses him in anger. The paper is subsequently stolen from the elder Von Stroebe. The son again meeting his father and learning of the theft, sets out to capture the thief, whom he believes to be one Chauvenet. Incidentally both Armitage and Chauvenet have fallen in love with a beautiful Virginian by the name of Shirley Claiborne, who at the time the story opens is traveling with her brother, a young army officer, throughout Europe. The father is an eminent American diplomat and lawyer. Suddenly the news comes that the great Prime-Minister has been assassinated, and Armitage sets to work, after the manner of D'Artagnan and other Middle-Age swashbucklers, to capture the villain, whom he shrewdly suspects to be the same person who stole the paper. After a spirited engagement in which he makes discoveries that confirm his suspicions and reveal the fact that Chauvenet and his confederates are the real assassins of Von Stroebe, he recovers the stolen paper and sails for America on the same vessel on which the Claibornes return. From this time on love and adventure of the Stanley Weyman variety fill the pages of the book.

This tale not only lacks the element of probability that gave strength and a certain charm to Mr. Nicholson's earlier books, *The Main Chance* and *Zelda Dameron*, but it is wanting in the cleverness of *The House of a Thousand Candles*.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE HISTORICAL ASPECT OF THE VIRGIN BIRTH: The great and growing interest of thoughtful people in all religious denominations concerning the newer and broader interpretation of the Bible has been much stimulated by the general discussions growing out of the recent trial in which Dr. CRAPSEY was tried for heresy. The trial brought out the fact that during his entire ministry of more than a quarter of a century Dr. CRAPSEY's life had been spent in doing good, in striving to follow as faithfully as possible in the footsteps of the Great Nazarene; and the widespread sympathy expressed by leading members of the Episcopalian denomination, from Bishop COX down, with the views held by Dr. CRAPSEY, gives added interest to his conception of the truth. Whatever views he may entertain in regard to the Virgin Birth, no one can read Dr. CRAPSEY's paper in this issue of THE ARENA without being impressed with the fact that the author is a profoundly religious man, an earnest seeker after the truth and a scholar who is thoroughly convinced of the truth of his contention.

Recent Humanistic Legislation in New Zealand: Mr. EDWARD TREGGAR, as most of the readers of THE ARENA know, was one of the strongest and most trusted of the constructive statesmen who enjoyed the confidence of the late Premier, RICHARD SEDDON. He has been a leading spirit in the successful campaign carried on for the past sixteen years by the Progressive Democratic or Liberal party of New Zealand, which brought the Commonwealth out of the depths into a state of unrivaled prosperity. This paper deals with recent progressive legislation, including the new State homes being erected for workmen of small means, by which they are enabled to enjoy light, airy, wholesome and commodious homes and to purchase the same on the installment plan. The interest in the paper is increased by the illustrations of architects' plans for the State homes which accompany the paper.

Henry Demarest Lloyd: Messenger: All friends of fundamental democracy and humanitarian progress will prize Mr. EGGLESTON's luminous and informing sketch of the life, labors and ideals of the great social reformer, HENRY DEMAREST LLOYD. It would be difficult to overestimate the value to the cause of progressive democracy of the life-work of this fine scholar, this man of wealth and culture, who consecrated his energies to the cause of human progress and the fundamental principles of democracy. He was a careful, conscientious thinker, a journalist of rare ability, and his first two notable works were clarion calls to the sleeping conscience of America, awakening it to the perils of advancing plutocracy in such a manner that the warning could not be ignored. After writing *A Strike of Millionaires Against Miners and Wealth vs. Commonwealth*, Mr. LLOYD devoted his life to studies of constructive victorious work along democratic lines. He visited New Zealand, Great Britain and Continental Europe and made studies of inestimable value. We understand that Mr. LLOYD's sister is preparing a life of her noble brother, a volume which will be eagerly awaited by thousands of Americans who have been helped into the light by Mr. LLOYD's life and writings.

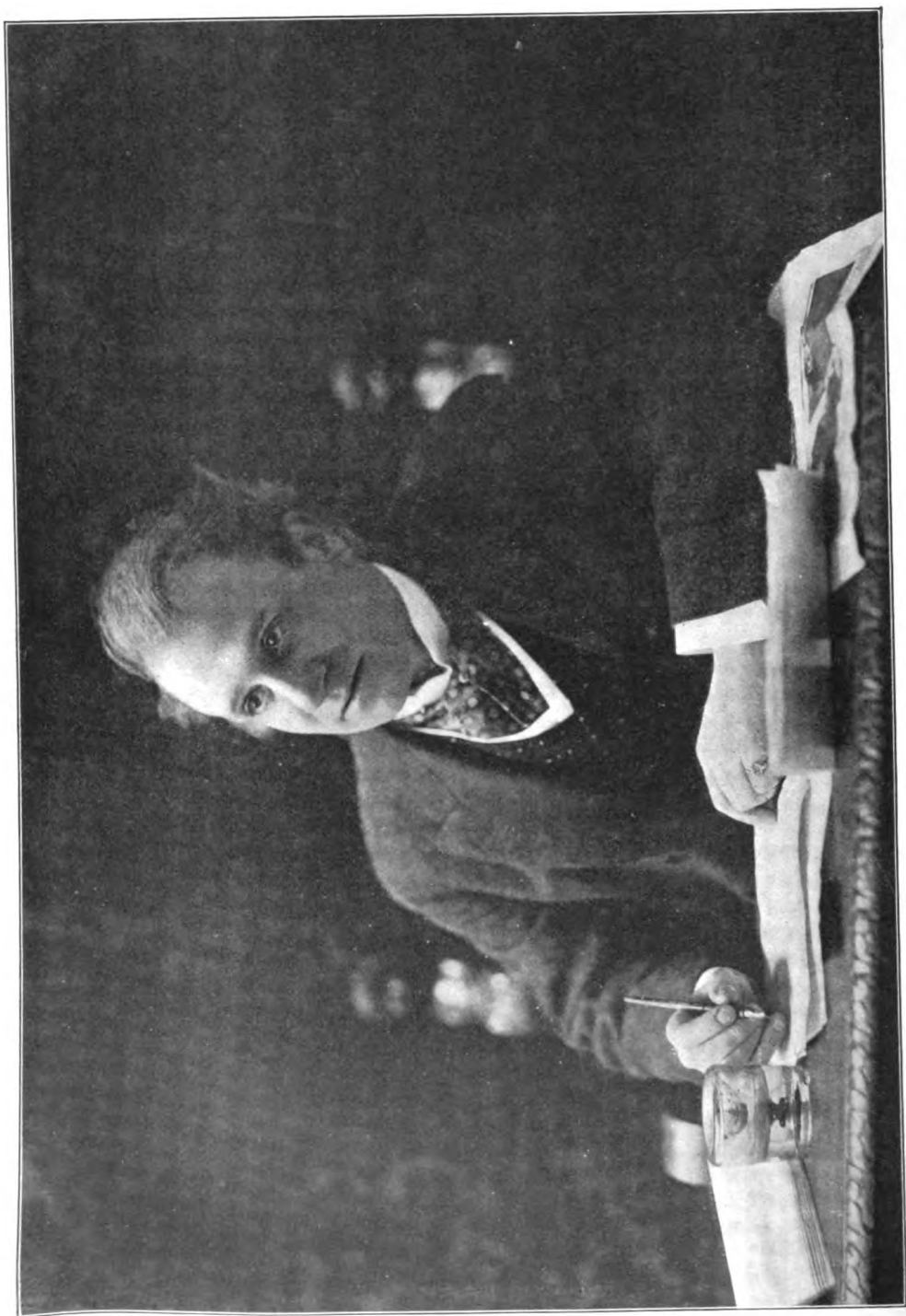
Two Important Papers on Municipal-Ownership in Great Britain: In his paper Mr. H. GARDNER MCKERROW has, we believe, made the strongest case against municipal-ownership in Great Britain that has appeared in any magazine contribution. He has marshaled such reports and facts as seemed favorable to his view of the question and such data as apparently reinforced his contentions, with consummate skill, summoning to his aid the testimony of such special-pleaders for private-ownership as the London *Times*, Professor ROBERTS and Professor HUGO MEYER. In presenting this paper THE ARENA gives, we believe, the ablest presentation of the views of those who oppose municipal-ownership that has yet been prepared in a similar compass.

Professor PARSONS' reply is only half as long as Mr. MCKERROW's paper, but it is a masterly refutation of the claims and contentions of the preceding paper. Professor PARSONS is a complete master of this subject, having made two visits to Great Britain, during which time he exhaustively studied public-ownership in all its phases, his last visit being recently made as a member of the Committee for the Civic Federation. The Committee was composed of both friends and enemies of public-ownership, and all views, unfavorable as well as favorable, that could be obtained were presented.

Emerson the Anarchist: A paper of genuine interest and value which will be a feature of THE ARENA for April is from the strong and always suggestive pen of BOLTON HALL, one of the strongest advocates of the Single-Tax and human liberty in America. Like all Mr. HALL's writings, this paper bristles with thought that will stimulate serious thinking, thoughts that are germinal and vital. It is a paper that will attract general attention.

Rev. Algernon S. Crapsey and the Recent Heresy Trial: This paper, by Mr. HARRIS ADDISON CORELL the talented State Editor of the Buffalo *Evening News*, gives a graphic pen-picture of the life and work of Dr. ALGERNON S. CRAPSEY, and a vivid picture of the recent heresy trial and its aftermath.

The Influence of Language Upon Socialistic Organization: We call the special attention of our readers to the extremely thoughtful and suggestive article on *The Influence of Language Upon Socialistic Organization*, by WARREN DUNHAM FOSTER. It is one of the most valuable discussions on the influence of language on national and international ideals that has appeared in years, and incidentally it reveals a fact that persons who carefully study the sweep of events are continually impressed by: it shows how outside influences contribute to the apparently irresistible impulsion of world ideas. Here we see that the Russian government, by forcing different peoples to give up their language for a common Russian tongue, is removing one of the chief difficulties in the way of union of separate and often warring factions among the Socialists; and this illustration is typical of events that are occurring in America as well as Europe and which are contributing to the sweep of cooperative currents, in spite of the desire of those who are thus unwittingly aiding the onward march of coöperation.



Photo, by Otto Sarony Co., N. Y.

CHARLES KLEIN

THE ARMY

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."—HEINE.*

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THE FALSE NOTE IN THE MODERNIZATION OF GERMANY.

BY MAYNARD BUTLER,

Special Correspondent of THE ARENA in Germany.

THE WINTER of 1906 and 1907 began, for all Europe, with an undercurrent of unrest and suspicion for which none but the lookers behind, above and beyond factitious signs of international blandishments were prepared.

In England, the Education Bill agitated every grade of society.

In Russia, quasi-revolution executed awful deeds, threatened the existence of the Second Duma, rendered all things, save one—the bitter suffering of the people—uncertain.

In Italy, the distrust engendered during the Morocco Conference and an increasing dislike to a renewal of the Triple Alliance, unsettled statesmen and affected industry.

In Serbia, rumors of a change of dynasty made that country reassume the sinister aspect which stamped it before its unspeakable tragedy.

In Turkey, the dangerous illness of the Sultan aroused preparations for possible complications amongst the Powers, which, by tacit consent, had been allowed to slumber for several years.

In Austria, the determination to force on the long-deferred alteration in the

franchise laws, coupled with fears for the health of her aged Emperor, Franz Josef, made factions on fire with haste.

In France, the political insubordination of the Roman Catholic Houses, and the genuine dislike to grieve a good man, in the person of the present Pope, were bringing to the surface some of the finest qualities of the French people, rarely exhibited in public life, the exercise of which inspired the admiration of other lands, though it caused disturbances in her own.

In Germany, people were beginning to feel the consequences of alternate intrigue against, flattery of, and insult to, other nations; dishonesty and bribery in one of her State Departments had been uncovered; the Poles of East and West Prussia had refused submission to the absurdly, pettily tyrannical measures taken to deprive them of their race traditions and religious habits; the Party of the Center, the largest in the Reichstag, had been outraged by the surreptitious retention on the part of the attorney for the Government, of papers belonging to one of its Representatives, containing evidence against the said Department, and the breaking open of his private desk,

within the Reichstag Building,—an act unparalleled in the history of Parliaments; the self-invited visits of the Sovereign to foreign courts, which excited the risibles of all Europe, had stung the Germans themselves and aroused a smarting sense of the humorous attitude into which Absolutism is thrusting their country.

England's difficulty was purely a home-question, not even British, but literally English. For although all Great Britain would indeed perceive the change, were Church and State to be separated—which in its pith is what the Government aims the Education Bill as it stands, to prepare the way for—the perception, for instance, as far as Australia, Canada, South Africa, India, and even Ireland and Scotland are concerned, would be without direct influence upon the life or the interests of the people. But English habits, English sentiments, English affections, would receive a blow; and English history would be wrenched from its line of continuity. For England is unique in that her ecclesiastical preceded her political system, and is the groundwork out of which her body politic and the laws of her counties and parishes have grown; not *vice versa*, as in almost every other civilized country.

This fact, so frequently ignored by Continental writers, and sometimes forgotten by Anglo-Saxon observers of English life, should never be lost sight of. It is the clue to many of the otherwise baffling phases of the strife over the Education Bill. Newspaper writers who infer that the amendments to the Bill, made in the House of Lords, and the refusal of the Commons to consider them, foretell the "abolition of the House of Lords," are amusingly remote from the point at issue. "The abolition of the House of Lords" is not really desired even by the veriest London Radical; and so far from the Liberal Party advocating such an overturning of institutions, many of its most famous representatives, from time immemorial, have been Members of the House of Lords, and its most influential

leaders of to-day would frown upon such drastic attempts as fiercely as would the most Conservative Peer.

Nor does the delay in dealing with the amendments indicate that the Prime Minister will dissolve Parliament and call a general election. To do that would be to imperil a return to power and endanger the passing of measures much dearer to the Liberal Party as a whole than the Education Bill.

In fact, nothing in particular will, for the present, happen.

The form in which the Bill left Mr. Birrell's incompetent hands will perhaps be slightly altered by Mr. McKenna, who succeeds to his place in the Ministry, and will be given another trial-trip late in the year, early next year, or at that happy, indefinite period known as "some other day." Mr. McKenna will then, perhaps, in his turn, give place to Dr. MacNamara, who would be a step forward, and who, being by nature a hard worker, by profession a schoolmaster, and by temperament a laudably ambitious man, would do much for the improvement of Secondary Schools. But the revolutionized, the complete educational measure which England needs, which England could adapt to every shade of religious opinion, and could apply to every class of society, will wait for the man of the future. That man must be more than a specialist in education; he must not be a specialist at all. He must be a man of affairs and so recognize the demands of the century; he must know university needs and desires, but he must appreciate, not only perceive, the inarticulate ideals, the till now hindered aims, of the laborer, the shop-keeper and the banker on a small scale; he must be acquainted with the best technical colleges, institutions and schools of every country, but he must not attempt to imitate any of them, only to incorporate their excellencies into his own new design. He must include the training of women, in engineering, journalism and all kinds of municipal business. He must incul-

cate technical skill, with the right of initiative; exactness, with fullest scope for originality; obedience to routine, with room for individual bent; concentration of the mental faculties, with cultivation of every physical excellence; pride in one's own empire, with sympathetic acknowledgment of the pride of other men in their country. And throughout his new system, from university hall to primary school bench, must be traceable a shining thread of unity, of mutual comprehension of Life as a Great Whole, and of every man and woman as necessary to the Whole; of belief in the best as within the reach of all, and of enthusiasm to attain that best.

In Holland, the failure, for the second time, of the birth of an heir to the House of Orange, aroused something like dismay. Her statesmen were thereby brought face to face with a problem the solution of which is vital to the maintenance of that Royal Line, and even to her very existence as an independent sovereignty. Whether to readjust the terms of the marriage contract made with the Prince Consort, and escort him back to his native Mecklenburg, or to alter the laws of succession, asking the support of the Powers in that decision, are indeed difficult alternatives.

But the Netherlanders are a self-contained people, good at holding their tongues; and they are not likely to take more than one of the Powers into their confidence beforehand, should the dread decision have to be made. That One would become their ally in protecting their independence from the avidity of their neighbor, who looks with gloating eyes upon Holland's splendidly-equipped little navy, her rich, well-governed East Indian and West Indian Colonies, with their population of more than thirty-four millions, her commercially-perfected trade with them, and her beautiful, protected and magnificently situated coast-line.

"Envy," said Bismarck in one of his speeches, "is our national failing" (*Neid ist unser Nationalfehler*), and he who saw

the ill-concealed glee with which Holland's second disappointment was greeted in Germany, and read the brutally indelicate articles in which the possibility of a German Prince becoming Queen Wilhelmina's successor was set forth, might well have believed Bismarck's words to have been spoken for that very occasion.

Austria's strifes, those polyglot dissensions amongst the Hungarian, Czech and Teutonic elements within the Empire, are not new, but they become keener, more bitter, as the Emperor Franz Josef, beloved by all of his differing, bickering subjects and revered by every nation, grows older, and the attempts of Germany to appropriate the last-named elements show forth more clearly. Europe is, of course, too well informed upon the latter point to allow its international attention to be fixed upon it permanently; but the Austrians themselves naturally resent the self-appointed visits of William the Second to their Court, an intrusion which, to the punctilious, polite and ceremonious Austrian, savors of barbarism; and the self-glorification of his visit during the past summer over, the contempt of the Hungarian and the hatred of the Czech for the Teutonic faction burst forth with truly vitriolic vigor. To foster such friction is the aim, indeed, it is gravely surmised it is the mission, of Germany's agents in Vienna, Buda Pesth and Prague, and the opportunity afforded by the excitement over the franchise was, this year, embraced.

But that which is sown has also to be reaped. And every such maneuver on the part of Germany but strengthens the hands of the Hungarian Parliament and hastens the day of the ascendancy of that talented, energetic and eminently well-informed half of the Austrian Empire which, having a long score to pay off, will not fail to begin the payment early in that day.

France's decisive action in closing the Religious Houses and Jesuit Schools is of universal importance; of such significance as to have stirred the depths in

every Roman Catholic country of the world. It means, in fact, the most telling blow at the very foundations of Papacy that has been dealt since the separation of Italy from the Vatican. How welcome is the blow at the beginning of this twentieth century, in lands less independent politically and financially than is France, is apparent in the refusal of Spain to permit her Embassy in Paris to harbor the subordinate ecclesiastic of the expelled Papal Legate, or to receive his papers; her Secretary of State declaring that Spain holds herself entirely aloof from cognizance of national questions in the countries to which she sends diplomatic representatives.

From Portugal to Brazil, from Canada to Mexico, the same negative signs of satisfaction at the step taken by France are to be detected. And naturally! When will the good, the truly religious in the Catholic church learn that until they cast off the pretentious incubus of Rome, the Faith which they love will be at the mercy of iniquitous men, and what such—not devout believers—have made it,—an excuse for political interferences from one end of the earth to the other. And amongst the saintly believers may well be counted the present Pope, who, left to his own impulses, would indeed be what his followers call him, their Father in God. As it is, he has, through his advisers, made a mistake in statesmanship which, as just said, may under Heaven be destined to overthrow those advisers and their entire system and lead to the regeneration of the Catholic church. The direct results of the mistake will be the curtailing of the Papal revenues to an alarming extent; for France was the chief contributor to the coffers of the Vatican. Without her enormous annual bestowals the state and ceremony which the said advisers love, but which the spiritually-minded Pius the Tenth would gladly see abolished to an infinitesimal degree, cannot be maintained. But the mistake in statesmanship has also exposed to view the amazing connection of

Germany with the Vatican. The chief friend of the Emperor, his Chancellor, Prince Bülow, is understood to be closely allied, through his Italian wife, with the Black or Jesuit Party in Rome, in consequence of which a German has recently been made the head of the Jesuit Order. In return for the connivance, the Jesuits, it would appear, were to see to it that the Polish Nationalists in East and West Prussia, led by their Archbishop, should be terrified into silence. And scarcely was the German Jesuit-General installed, hardly had the German Minister for Foreign Affairs returned from Rome, when the announcement of the *sudden death* of the ardent Pole, Florian Stablewski, Archbishop of Posen, adored of his race, sent a gruesome shudder throughout Europe. More gruesome still have been the rumors following that event.

"Does Protestant Germany make use of the methods of the Inquisition?" is a question that is naturally not nailed upon the castle walls, nor to the door of the Sycophant; but that, when Stablewski was hardly cold in his grave and a German supervision established over his see, the question should be asked in the very center of Luther's land, less than four hundred years after Luther's fight to free it and the whole Christian world, is an appalling token of the foothold which Absolutism has obtained in Germany.

And it is Absolutism that lies at the root of every one of modern Germany's problems. It was disapproval and dread of Absolutism that united the majority in the Reichstag when they refused to vote against their consciences and were punished by the dissolution of Parliament on the thirteenth of December, after a session of but one month and a few days, an angry Emperor forcing the country into the turmoil and expense of a general election. Not lack, but stress, of love of country bound the Center and the Socialists when they combined to overthrow a bill in which the country was asked to give that Department of

the Government the chief Minister of which had just been dismissed for countenancing corruption, participating in bribery and glossing over nameless cruelties and odious immoralities, an additional 29,500,000 marks for vaguely defined and apparently not clearly definable uses in Southwest Africa. Without doubt the same or another combination of parties will reassert its opposition in the next or a later session; for human freedom is difficult to kill, and Germany's manhood has at last torn off its muzzle. It will be half-muzzled, and three-quarters muzzled, and loosely muzzled, again and again, but the Crown Prince William will not have been long upon the throne before the strongest elements amongst his subjects will look back upon the days of muzzling as upon a tale that is told.

Was it a forecast of that day that impelled a crowd of students and other young men, on the night of the twenty-sixth of January, after the elections, to pass by the Schloss and make their way down the Linden to the Crown Prince's palace, where they halted, and where, undaunted by the brutalities of the police—who but obeyed orders—they remained, cheering him vociferously, until he and his intelligent, smiling wife appeared upon the balcony and greeted them. The incident, spontaneous, astonishing and significant, has made a deeper impression than any of the arranged events of the election weeks, and has set all Germany thinking.

"We hear," exclaimed the Chancellor in his speech at the opening of the Reichstag in November, "too much of Bismarck these days!"

There spoke the meagerly-endowed, the tool-man, with disastrous self-revelation! The gigantic figure of the Great Chancellor naturally looms up in annoying contrast, "these days." In "these days," when to be conspicuous in public position is to stamp oneself a mediocrity!

Alas for Germany if this dearth of strength continue much longer!

He who wishes well to the United

Teutonic Nation, in contradistinction to the German Empire, with its restless Cæsarism, can but hope that individual members, and groups, of the Liberal, the National Liberal, the Radical, and the Conservative Parties, all of whom in their hearts disapprove of that restlessness and deprecate that Cæsarism as strongly as any Centerist or Socialist can, will take their courage in their hands and stand forth for their Country's Good as above their Country's Figure-Head; their Country's steady, wholesome evolution into a truly great, not a flashily imitative power, balanced by the judgment of her wisest men, who shall legislate for her, in a really representative Parliament.

But that day of national independence can only be attained if the German people of every class establish for themselves a far higher standard of individual responsibility than now obtains from one end of their land to the other. The capacity to consider any question impersonally has well-nigh disappeared amongst the men, and in the women it never existed. Long generations of petty inspections, of dwelling upon details, of overtaxed nerves, of sleeping in close air, of lack of vigorous exercise, of inferior meat foods and abnormal drinking of beer, have made them a loose-muscled people physically, a churlish people temperamentally, and an amazingly childish people when face to face with large issues. "The Germans," said a recent writer, "are not politically educated in proportion to their intelligence; on the contrary, no one intimately acquainted with this country can have failed to notice that highly cultivated Germans frequently display an astonishing lack of judgment in regard to political affairs."

He might have said, with equal truth, that they are not in anything "educated in proportion to their intelligence." They who are "intimately acquainted with this country" can but agree with the author of a book which has gone into a thirty-sixth edition, in which he exclaims of his countrymen: "The German Peo-

ple in its present system of education may be said to be over-ripe, but, in reality, this over-ripeness is only un-ripeness; for compared with culture, the uncouth is always unripe; and in Germany, systematic, scientific, drilled-in barbarism has, from time immemorial, been at home. 'You know our Germany,' Reuchlin once wrote to Manutius, 'it has not yet ceased to be uncultivated'; and one honest German might still, to-day, write the same words to another."*

Reuchlin, the learned, the ambassador to Italy in the fifteenth century, professor at Tübingen, remarkable man in everything that he undertook, was perhaps the best judge of the characteristics of his country of that period; and his judgment is singularly ratified, five hundred years later, by Humboldt, who said: "I was eighteen years old and was as good as incapable of anything. If I had remained in our schools I should have been totally ruined."

What Reuchlin meant, what Humboldt meant, and what the writer just quoted means, is not that the German boy and young man has not "gone to school," has not "done his lessons" every week-day and Sunday morning—for in Germany there is no holiday on Saturday, as in America, and no half-holiday on Wednesday, as in England—and, bespectacled, stoop-shouldered, yellow-faced and weary-eyed, "passed" his various "*Staatsexamen*" (state-examinations); but that when all that is at an end, next to nothing has been done for the *manhood* of him; that he has not been developed from the center to the circumference of his being; has not been rounded out; that an untrained tempera-

ment, an unrefined spirit, nay, coarseness and a rude and discourteous bearing are his characteristics; that, even of his intellectual faculties, one entire set, namely, his reasoning powers, has been absolutely ignored. He emerges, therefore, a maimed, unfinished creature, *well-nigh impervious to a lofty view of anything*.

Let anyone who looks below the surface take the trouble to scrutinize the branches of instruction prescribed in the State-schools and he will find that logic, elementary and advanced, is absent from the curriculum; and that the absence in the normal or teachers' course is the more conspicuous by the comically cautious bits and thin layers incorporated therein.

The omission is, of course, intentional. To be taught to *reason* would develop individuality, and individuality, strong personality, is exactly what Germany does *not* desire to see developed. A reasoning boy would become an independent-thinking man, and from all such Germany, "in these days," prays the good Lord to deliver her.

When, therefore, the same author adds: "The Germans of to-day are not, indeed, slaves; but to say that they are really free human beings would be a too daring assumption. . . . They are only partially well-bred, still less are they refined. For their education is unguenuine, and the spurious is never refined"†—his meaning is patent to every foreigner and to the inhabitants of every country that Germans visit.

"*Because their education is unguenuine*"—exactly!

Ungenuineness is the false note in the modernization of Germany, from the highest to the lowest stratum of the social

* "Das deutsche Volk ist in seiner jetzigen Bildung überreif; aber im Grunde ist diese Überreife nur ein Ureife; denn der Bildung gegenüber ist die Barbarei stets unreif; und in Deutschland ist die systematische, die wissenschaftliche, die gebildete Barbarei von jeher zu Hause gewesen. 'Du kennst unser Deutschland; es hat noch nicht aufgehört ungebildet zu sein,' schrieb einst Reuchlin an Manutius, und könnte auch heute noch ein ehrlicher Deutscher dem andern schreiben." From *Rembrandt als Erzieher*,

von Einem Deutschen. Page 3. Verlag von C. L. Hirschfeld, Leipzig, 1891.

† "Sklafen sind die jetzigen Deutschen nun zwar nicht; aber dass sie wirklich freie Menschen sind, wäre eine zu gewagte Behauptung. . . . 'Wohlerzogen' nur theilweise, und 'feine' noch weniger. Denn ihre Bildung ist unecht, und das Unecht ist nie fein." From *Rembrandt als Exister*, von Einem Deutschen. Pages 290 and 293. Leipzig, 1891.

order. And ungentle at home, from its foundations upwards—for what lies closer to the structural fiber of a people than its system of education?—how can a country but be “spurious” in its relations with other countries?

Nor can anyone who lives close to the heart of the world’s events and who has seen himself, little by little, forced to give up his old respect, nay, in many instances his veneration, for the land of Luther and Goethe, Humboldt and Bismarck, Bach and Helmholtz, but perceive that Germany in international dealings is Germany at her worst.

Whether by connivance in holding back freedom and progress in Russia; whether when a guest, intruding upon State reserves, in the fortress of Gibraltar, and when discovered ramming a hole into a warship in the harbor; whether in behaving shiftily in keeping the terms of the treaty made with the Powers at Morocco; whether in selling guns to the insurgents in Cuba, last year, and this year in inciting the Japanese in Tokio and California *against* the United States, while pretending fulsome friendship *for* the United States,—in each and every case Germany leaves a trail of deceit and ungentlemanhood behind.

“For their education is ungentle”—the words surely represent a fact, else how could a people suffer itself to be so dishonored abroad?

Again, how veracious is the description, “ungentle,” the events which preceded and forced on the recent general election exemplify. Here is a country of something like sixty million inhabitants, of whom every man over twenty-five, who is not an idiot or a pauper, is entitled to a vote. These voters send 397 members to the Reichstag or Parliament, and 58 spokesmen to the Bundesrath or Federal Council. Every voter is in himself a living link in the defense of his country, since he himself has served, and his son will have to serve, in the ranks or on the officers’ staff of the army. He knows well what a United Germany cost

in sacrifice and bravery, in blood and mourning, and that the awful reckoning was paid but thirty-seven years ago. On the walls of many houses still hang swords which were carried in that agonizing winter of 1870. Yet, with few exceptions, throughout the entire citizens class, or *Bürgerthum*, neither young men nor old men take the faintest interest in the doings of the Parliament which grew out of the Union; they know nothing of the character or the capacity of the Members; to few of the nominally 100,000 inhabitants apportioned to each Voting Division, or *Wahlkreis*, is even the name of the man who represents them familiar; and this applies to the school-teachers of every grade, not excepting the headmasters and masters in the Gymnasiums and Real-Gymnasiums; it is, indeed, especially true of these, since they are forbidden by law to discuss public questions! As for the 58 Spokesmen in the Federal Council, I doubt whether ten out of every twenty thousand in the Voting Districts have ever given a thought to their actual, corporeal, influential, decision-making existence.

In the lower classes social democracy has found the means of arousing opposition and activity; but it is on the whole the energy of despair. While university professors, and now and then a painter among artists, occasionally exhibit intelligent interest in public questions, the clergy and literary men let them slip by with that negative, stereotyped woodenness only to be found in the German Philistine. Journalists, being bought and sold by the Government, count for nothing as human beings *per se*; they are merely necessary machines, worked by royal and bureaucratic wires. Single exceptions, as just said, occur in each of these classes, but they are rare, so rare as to accentuate the rule. Thus, when it comes to a question of such vital importance to an already over-taxed people as the bestowal of 29,500,000 marks, in addition to the millions already squandered upon a small Protectorate in South-

west Africa, dignified by the high-sounding title of *Colonies* (*Colonien*), the people themselves were as incapable of considering it upon its own merits as children-in-arms, and were entirely at the mercy of political factions, who told them that not to vote the millions would be to show themselves disloyal, and to vote for them was to cover themselves with glory as "faithful subjects of the Empire." The chief argument throughout the speeches, from the day of the dissolution to the day of the elections, from those of the Chancellor and of the Director of the Protectorate Department to those of the penny-a-liners of the paid press, was that if the millions were not forthcoming, Germany and the Emperor would be rendered ridiculous in the eyes of other nations! A lofty argument, truly, but wholly in accordance with the dictum: "For their education is ungenuine." How "spurious," they realize who have seen the chicaneries practiced in regard to the so-called "Colonies." A Berlin daily paper, one of the chief organs of the Protectorate Department, in its frantic endeavors to whip up voters gave out that "gold" had suddenly been found in them; then, as the *Bürger* did not even look up from their beer, it devised a "diamond-field"; but still the citizens were but languidly aroused, for there were no "diamonds" to show; then it arranged a full-page set of illustrations, in which "cotton," "ivory," "skins of animals," "bananas," "tea," "cocoa," "dates," "rubber," "hemp," "oil," "copper," "timber," "lemons," and "oranges" were piled up in stately heaps and emblazoned as "Important National Products Furnished by the Colonies"—but an evasively worded phrase below them, in small type, when extricated from the surrounding obscurity, showed that the imposing array of products was indeed "furnished by Colonies," but mainly by colonies belonging to Great Britain and the Congo Free State, Germany importing large quantities and sending them to Hamburg, Lübeck,

Bremen and Stettin, as "products furnished by the Colonies."

When taxed with the deception the reply of a German would be that "in time" (*mit der Zeit*) these large quantities *would* be "produced in our Colonies."

It is a deception so infantile that an American school-boy would laugh at it. But the American school-boy is taught the truth about his country. He knows its geographical and commercial worth, the value and character of its importations and possessions. He has good reason to know the facts and to know them accurately, for he may have a part, perhaps a large part, in the administration of all those national and international interests; whereas the German *Bürger* knows just so much, and in just such manner, as the authority (*Behörde*) above him desires him to know, his part in the body politic being to be conscripted at twenty-one and to pay enormous taxes ever after. He thinks out nothing for himself, not even the trivialities of daily life. From the hour at which he is to lock his door at night, to the year, month, day, hour, and portion of that hour when he is to present himself to the said *Behörde* and begin to trot around a drill-ground, everything is *vorgeschrieben*. How should, then, the sixty millions of people who send the 397 members to the Reichstag but be bewildered when suddenly called upon to have an opinion involving, as they are told, not only nineteen hundred and eighty-five million marks' worth of "products furnished by the Colonies," but "loyalty or disloyalty"?

Elections under circumstances such as these become merely farcical manipulations prescribed, under normal conditions, to take place every five years, and under abnormal conditions, whenever anger at being thwarted makes itself felt from above.

Nor has it, apparently, yet occurred to the electors or to the elected that if 397 members sufficed to represent forty millions, the population in 1871, at least one-half as many more should be added

to adequately represent sixty millions.

A foreigner might infer that the system of voting was too complicated for the comprehension of "the man in the street," but save for one or two Teutonic ramifications of detail it resembles that pursued in every constitutional country.

It might also be supposed that a Federal Union made up of 26 States, with 58 representatives in its Council, of which one of the States, Prussia, sends 17, or *seventeen times as many as any other single State*, save Bavaria, which sends six, Saxony and Württemberg which send four, Baden and Hessen, which send three, Mecklenburg-Schwerin and Braunschweig, which send two each,—it might be supposed that such an overwhelming preponderance would excite activity at least to the extent of curiosity, to ascertain what Prussia intended from year to year *to vote one's own State into!* For it is to that that the said preponderance amounts. In no other civilized country of the universe would so gigantic an advantage be permitted to one State over its sister States. That it is submitted to by Germans with lamb-like acquiescence, not to say atrophy, exemplifies the ignorant indifference to national dignity on the part of the mass of the people. Suppose Massachusetts should say to California, "I did more to free the slaves before the Civil war than you did, therefore I shall send seventeen Senators to Washington, but you may send only six." Or, "Virginia and I were the first settlements in the United States, we are the nucleus of America, we shall therefore send forty-eight Senators to Washington, but all of the other States may send but one each, save Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York and Pennsylvania, which may send three, and North and South Carolina, which may send two each."

What would be the reply of the sane Californian and the indignant citizens of all the other States? Surely: "We are united in quality, not by quantity of privilege, and upon that our Union is based."

And the day must certainly come when Bavaria, older, more thoroughly German than Prussia; when Württemberg, Braunschweig, Hessen, Anhalt, and all the other German States will open their political eyes to the childish servility of their present position; when Hanover will demand back her stolen birthright, and become in name as she has never ceased to be in reality, a sovereignty, more truly German in fiber and impulse than Prussia—a mushroom kingdom, dating only from the middle of the seventeenth century—with its Slavonic, Polish, Masuric, Kassubic, Lithuanian, Courlandish, Czech, Mährisch, Wendish and Walloon mixtures, could ever hope to be.

Who can doubt that if Hanover were to place her claim to recovery of her robbed throne before a tribunal of the European Powers and America, she would be upheld, and the King of Hanover, whose house antedates that of Hohenzollern by half a thousand years, would take his place, where he belongs, in the Federal Council, side by side with the King of Saxony, the King of Bavaria and the King of Württemberg? This would be the natural, the just, the only conclusive settlement of the *Brunswick Succession Question*, which again this year crops up to arouse bitter feeling.

"If I had to choose between a United Germany and the Hohenzollern Family," Prince Hohenlohe represents Bismarck to have said, "I should let the Hohenzollerns go whistle!" and every upright German heart must echo the deep significance underlying the jesting words. For it was for a union of racial qualities, racial ideals, heartily, worthily, vitally bound together in one *German*, not one *Prussian* Empire that men fought in 1870; not for the purpose of elevating a Hohenzollern King to an Imperial throne, though that King were the brave, kindly, modest, healthful-minded old soldier, William the First.

A comic incident of the recent elections was the declaring of 1,865 Conservative votes invalid, because the name of the

candidate, Herr *Reinhardt*, was incorrectly spelled. Either a *d* was left out, or a *t* did not appear, though each omission leaves the name intact; though there was no Herr *Reinhard*, with a *d*, and no Herr *Reinhart*, with a *t*, with whom Herr *Reinhardt*, of both *d* and *t*, could be confused; though it was not pretended that anyone but the candidate of the *d* and the *t* could be meant; yet correctly spelled on 1,365 voting slips he was not, and so to him those votes were lost. And yet Germans wonder why foreigners laugh!

Within the Reichstag, existence, until one obtains the clue, appears chaotic. Eleven different *Parteien*, or Parties, address the *President*, or Speaker. The innumerable divisions puzzle the Anglo-Saxon observer, who sees no reason for more than two strong parties in any parliamentary country. That business in the House should go forward at all, with Conservatives, Agrarians, National-Liberals, Anti-Semites, Radicals, Ultramontanes, Polish Nationalists, Social Democrats, Alsations, Danish Nationalists, and Guelphs, is matter for wonder. The wonder is increased by the fact that the Radicals consist of three, the Conservatives of two, the Agrarians of two, and the Anti-Semites of three groups. None of the "Parties" appear to realize that this detached condition of things is a deterrent factor in their country's progress and that a Parliament occupied with such small differences is likely to lose sight of the great reasons for its existence as a Parliament. The two largest parties, the Center, or Ultramontanes, and the Social Democrats, whose coalition outwitted the Chancellor, are a striking contrast to one another. The former is made up of Catholic land-owners, Catholic priests (for clerics sit in the Reichstag) and Catholic journalists. Their strength lies in the unanimity, and as they return after the recent elections with four new constituencies and no losses, their number—increased to 108, almost a third of the whole House—will remain

a formidable menace to the Chancellor's next plans. Should they unite with the Polish Nationalists, for instance, or again with the Social Democrats, the combination could easily outvote any other that the Chancellor is likely to invent; for the National-Liberals and the Radicals are an uncertain quantity in any measure which involves fraternity with the Conservatives. It remains to be seen whether occasion for a trial of strength will be given them; but that the outrage of last summer and the events in East and West Prussia will be forgotten, is not likely. Their most brilliant orator and, at the moment, most prominent member, is Herr Erzberger, to whose efforts the exposure of the dishonesty in the Department of the Protectorate and the dismissal of the Minister, Podbieski, are due.

The Social Democrats are equally unanimous and are composed of the poorest and the struggling well-to-do working-people in the manufacturing districts of North, and especially South, Germany; of the mechanics in the large towns and the small shop-keepers in the cities, who have forcibly emancipated themselves from as many forms of muzzling as are consistent with spending their days at home, instead of under restraint, for *Majestäts*—and other—*Beleidigungen*. Their opposition, though always vigorous, is not, as just said, always intelligent, for the sufferer from hunger, the protester against infinitesimal wages with long hours, and the embittered fanatic are often blinded by hate. But they do endless good in a country so dead in political energy as is Germany, and they constantly improve in quality and self-control. Their organization is wonderful. For nine years they have held all the six Voting Divisions of Berlin, save one, the First, in which the Castle and several Palaces are situated. That one, in the Berlin tongue, has been "saved" from them (*gerettet*), less by that august circumstance than by the manipulations of police authority; for it is plain to the least instructed observer that the streets

behind the "*Schloss*" and along the canal to the north form one of the supply grounds of the party. How greatly they are feared is constantly manifested in the daily press which, by command, loses no opportunity to speak slurringly of them. The dread on the part of the Government has increased during the past five years, because many university students and several professors are known to incline to Socialistic principles. When they lose a district, the loss is heralded from north to south, with prognostications of their decline and covert sneers at their leaders. But the Socialists smile, as they may well afford to do; for with all their blunders and exaggerations—and these are many—they are, as just said, the only forceful element in the public life of the country. They enter the new Reichstag with eight additional, and the loss of several former, seats; but the losses for the most part go to their political next of kin, the Radicals, and their position in the House, as numerically next to the Center, remains unchanged.

Their leader, Herr August Bebel, is a carpenter who at the age of twenty became the chairman of an association for the education of workmen, was elected to the North German Reichstag in 1867, and has sat in the reorganized All-German Reichstag continuously since 1883,—that is, for nearly a quarter of a century. He is, without exception, the ablest speaker in the House and by far the most influential party chief in the Empire; yet his speeches are never reported in full, and the portions given out are invariably preceded or followed by a line or a phrase of would-be contempt. Every effort is made to minimize the effect of his eloquence and telling common-sense, but he is personally too highly respected, and publicly too powerful, to be frowned down. His long fight of twenty-five years has developed in him a grim humor

which enables him to shake off stings with a good-natured gibe and pass on to the great object of his life, the moulding of the Reichstag into a Parliament really representative of the people.

Nevertheless certain insults defy oblivion; and they who were called by an enraged Royalty "fellows who have no country" (*Vaterlandslose Gesellen*), do not forget the phrase. That it should be dreamed that they would, or could, and that three years afterwards they would tamely submit to be browbeaten into voting for that Royalty's latest caprice, is but one more indication of the false strain in Germany's modern life, and verification of the words, "For their education is unguenuine, and the spurious is never refined."

"*Furcula Caudine*"—"the Caudine Pass," quoted a Member of the Reichstag, and not a Socialist, in the excited days before the dissolution; and "the Caudium Yoke dangling near" added another,—a strange quotation to occur to men as appropriate to themselves in the beginning of the twentieth century! But the events of the past ten months have, as the best friends of National Unity believe, prepared the way for preventing the fastening of the Yoke, which the country as a whole has at last begun to perceive as threatening its dignity,—the Yoke of Imperial Whim, Imperial Jealousy, Imperial Vanity, as contrasted with *National Welfare*, *National Healthful Progress*.

The Twelfth Reichstag of United Germany, then, opens with an entirely new impetus; emerging from the nursery to manhood's stage of Parliamentary and political independence. And every onlooker who believes well-balanced manhood to be the finest thing this earth affords will wish it and its future God-speed!

MAYNARD BUTLER.

Prussia.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

BY PROFESSOR EDWIN MAXEY, LL.D.

THE SPEECH from the Throne, February 13, 1907, has again brought into the foreground of English politics the question of readjusting the relation between the two Houses of the British Parliament. It is not surprising that the following sentences should have caused some consternation in the upper House: "Serious questions affecting the working of our parliamentary system have arisen from the unfortunate differences between the two Houses. My ministers have this important subject under consideration with a view to a solution of the difficulty."

That we may the better appreciate the force of this language, it is well that we examine with some care the legislation upon the subject which is responsible for the present strained relations between the Commons and Lords. For the question upon which they are divided is by no means a new one. The rock upon which they may split has not been raised above the surface by any sudden seismic movement. The question of the degree of control which the State should exercise over the public-schools, or, if you please, to what extent public education should be secularized, has for a long time been one of considerably more than purely academic interest. In other words, it has been a question of practical politics almost from time "whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." Yet a review of what has been done during the past century will give us a sufficiently clear idea of the genesis of the present trouble.

In 1807 the Whitbread Bill passed the House of Commons. This provided for a school in each parish supported and controlled by the taxpayers. It would have provided England with a national system of education similar to that pos-

sessed by other leading countries. But the clerical influence in the House of Lords was too strong to permit of any such dangerous and revolutionary innovations, hence the bill was defeated. The fate of this bill seems to have discouraged further action in the same direction for over half a century. But finally in 1870 the Liberal party under the leadership of Gladstone succeeded in getting through a bill which provided for a system of schools supported by taxes and controlled by school boards elected by the various school districts. While this was a compromise and would of course in the end prove unsatisfactory, it was a move in the right direction and was a decided advance over what had previously existed. Perhaps the strangest thing connected with this measure is that the House of Lords, in which the Conservative party is always in control, should have accepted it. Yet at that time they did not seem to have so exalted an idea of their prerogatives as at present, or it may be that Gladstone had a more convincing way of expounding their constitutional rights than has Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. At any rate the Lords yielded and for more than thirty years the system thus established worked fairly well.

But in 1902 the Conservatives felt themselves so strongly entrenched in power that it seemed to them safe to enact any legislation which pleased their fancy. Acting upon this conviction, they changed the school law so as to increase the control of the Established Church over the public-schools. This was effected by substituting for the school boards elected by the district, committees appointed by the county and municipal government. This made it easier for the Conservatives, in which the clerical

element is strong, to dominate the committees, determine the curriculum, and in short to manage the schools.

In districts where the Non-conformists were in the majority this domination by the Established Church was particularly distasteful. So much so that many of them refused to pay taxes for the support of the schools in which, now, instruction was given to which they were conscientiously and uncompromisingly opposed. Those who had property permitted it to be distrained rather than pay what they conceived to be an unjust tax, and those who had no property preferred imprisonment to submission. While it is impossible to gauge exactly the effect of different governmental acts in deciding elections, there can be no mistake in concluding that the unprecedented Liberal victory of last year was due in large part to the stand taken by the Balfour government with reference to the control of the public-schools.

As reform in the public-school system was one of the issues in the campaign, upon coming into power the Liberal party proceeded to redeem its pledge. For this purpose the Birrell Bill was introduced and passed by the Commons by a decided majority. The essential features of this bill are: abolition of religious tests for teachers, exclusion of all particular forms of catechism, and, what was of prime importance, it placed all schools supported by taxes under public control.

From this it will be seen that the bill does not exclude the teaching of the Bible from the public-schools, but simply all denominational interpretations of it. It is very doubtful if a majority of the English people would favor the exclusion of all teaching of the Bible from the public-schools, and it is certain that a majority disapproves of the present tests which have resulted in practically all teachers in the public-schools being members of the Church of England. That schools supported by the public should be controlled by the public, and not by the Church, seems so natural and self-evident to Americans as not to admit of argument.

When the Birrell Bill went to the House of Lords, that body immediately proceeded to impress upon it its personality. Before the bill was sent back to the Commons it had been changed to such an extent as to be even more reactionary than the Balfour Act of 1902, just as though the recent elections had resulted in a Conservative victory. It would seem that either the House of Lords had not heard of what happened at the recent elections, or that they applied to those results a rule of interpretation peculiar to themselves, or that they did not care what took place in the elections. The latter is by far the more reasonable conclusion to reach. In other words, the conclusion is almost irresistible that the will of the people is as regards this question a matter of indifference to the House of Lords.

There is therefore a great deal more involved in the present dispute than the expediency or in expediency of a change in the school law. The issue goes to the very foundation of the British government. In a very practical way it raises the question whether or not the House of Lords, as at present constituted, is not so far out of harmony with the democratic spirit of the majority of the English people as to be intolerable? Many of us on this side the Atlantic could answer this question with but ten minutes' reflection and be absolutely sure that we were correct.

But the question is not one to be answered in any such cavalier fashion. To the mind of the Englishman, unlike that of the Frenchman, government is not something to be considered in the abstract but is an organism whose roots reach deep into the past and can only be understood historically. The weight which the Englishman attaches to traditions is therefore a factor which must not be left out of account in considering a question of this sort. A scheme of government which leaves out of account the mental constitution of the people to whom it is applied is of use as furnishing an index to the type of mind which de-

vised it, but its usefulness ends at that point.

Given the perennial regard of the English nation for traditions and its instinctive respect for nobility, it is safe to conclude that the continued existence of the House of Lords even as at present constituted is in no immediate danger provided that body is content to share with the Crown the office of representing the dignity of the realm and leave the Commons to represent the power. But if not satisfied to play this harmless rôle, it insists upon asserting its prerogatives and exercising power, in short, if it insists upon challenging the House of Commons to a test of strength, we need not be surprised to find such pretensions followed by their logical consequences—important changes in the English Constitution.

The present challenge, for it clearly is a challenge, may not be accepted. The Commons may conclude that the present is not an opportune time to force the issue. The fact that the Irish Nationalists, a large contingent of the majority party which on most questions vote solidly with the Liberals are solidly opposed to them on this question may tend to dissuade the Premier from forcing the issue upon this question. The additional fact that the present Premier is not a preëminently great and aggressive leader and his advanced years increase the probability of a compromise rather than a decisive battle.

If, however, the Premier should decide that the present time and the education question are as good as any for the purpose of determining whether or not the growth of democratic ideas in England have in fact shorn the Lords of their ancient prerogatives, he will dissolve Parliament and appeal to the people for a mandate upon the question. Should a majority be returned to the House of Commons favoring his view, the House of Lords might then conclude that as it cannot be popular it should at least be politic and yield, otherwise a reorganization of that ancient institution of government would no doubt be begun at once.

How thoroughgoing the reorganization would be would of course depend upon the temper of the Commons and the character of its leaders. The mildest form which it could take would be the addition of a sufficient number of peers to change the present minority into a majority. This, however, would be but a temporary expedient. It would simply increase the unwieldiness of a body that is already too large to be a really deliberative assembly. What is needed, and what must eventually come, is a fundamental change in its constitution that will make it representative of the people and not of classes.

Whatever reason there may once have been for providing that the clergy as such should be entitled to a certain number of seats in a national legislative body, the evolution of ideas of government has caused that reason to disappear. We are no longer in the ecclesiastical stage of political development. Men no longer have confidence in one's ability as a legislator simply because his devoutness and learning in theology have entitled him to a sacerdotal robe. The political experience of mankind has made it clear that the qualifications for priesthood are not necessarily a guarantee of ability in statecraft. In fact it has proven that they do not generally go together, that the type of mind which qualifies for the one disqualifies for the other.

That the landed gentry as such should exercise so powerful an influence in the legislation of Great Britain is at present without any adequate justification. The justification it once had, if indeed it ever was justified, has been rapidly disappearing before the industrial development of the nation. While it is usual for changes in laws to lag behind the changes in social or industrial conditions upon which they rest, it is dangerous for an institution which is out of harmony with existing ideas and conditions to presume too much upon mere inertia.

EDWIN MAXEY.

*University of Nebraska,
Lincoln, Neb.*

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND STATE LIQUOR LAWS.

BY FINLEY C. HENDRICKSON.

WHEN Mr. Root, Secretary of State, speaking, as many believe, for the policy of the Administration, declared that the activity of the Federal Government to correct certain evils was because the States "no longer do adequately" what they formerly did, he failed to note, or admit, that the Federal Government which he lauded was itself constantly thwarting the will of people of the States and preventing the success, or even a fair trial, of State liquor laws.

The States have been active to rid themselves of the evils constantly flowing from the drink traffic. From the low license policy which generally prevailed in years past, a large per cent. of the States passed to the experiment of high license, and, despairing of success in dealing with the evils incident to the license system through direct State legislative action, generally left further changes in the policy to be pursued to the people themselves, with the result that, through the referendum the majority of the people of a number of States adopted prohibition and made it fundamental, some of which still retain the law, while through the extension of the referendum and local-option plan, the "dry" area in license States has been increased until more than 30,000,000 people are now living under prohibition and local-option laws. In addition to the "dry" area now existing, much area formerly placed in the "dry" column went back to some experiment under license, the people of such "dry" area finding themselves helpless against interstate shipments solely within the control of the Federal Government. A correct statistical table would likely show that nearly half the voters of the States have, at some time during the agitation of the temperance and prohibition ques-

tion declared for the abolition of the licensed liquor traffic.

That such an oft-expressed and persistent sentiment among the people of the States to rid themselves of the evils of the traffic should receive no recognition on the part of the Federal Government would be unbelievable except that the fact is before us mountain high. And worse still, that the powers of the Federal Government should be used, as they are, to strengthen lawlessness in the States and defeat the constitutionally expressed will of the people, presents an anomaly which, to do justice at home and preserve our honor abroad as representing a harmonious free government, cannot be corrected too soon. Despite all this, the Secretary of State felt it incumbent upon him to cast the first stone.

How has the Federal Government, since 1862, met the expression of the will of the people of the States in regard to the liquor question? By friendly coöperation? By making the taxing powers of the Federal Government comport with and support the police powers of the States? By frowning upon the enemies of State liquor laws? Unfortunately for all, just the opposite policy has been pursued. Under the Internal Revenue Acts of 1794 and 1813 respectively, the Federal Government was forbidden to recognize as legal under its taxing powers what the States prohibited under their reserved police powers. Under the War Revenue Measure of 1862 as interpreted by the Treasury Department, both these honorable precedents were spurned, and the Federal Government began a policy of obstruction to the success of State liquor laws which has continued to this day, a policy contrary to the spirit, if not the letter, of the constitution. The Treasury Department sells tax receipts

to applicants who conduct "joints," "blind tigers," and other illegal places for the sale of liquor in prohibition and local-option territory, as well as to "speakeasies" in license territory. No matter what policy the people of the States may choose the Federal Government, under the Act of 1862, acts in a manner to "disparage," contrary to the Ninth Amendment, the choice made. Not content with selling Tax Receipts to the lawless liquor element in the States, whereby the holders plead before juries they ought not to be convicted under State laws because they hold a "Government License" internal revenue collectors are prohibited by the Treasury Department from testifying in the State courts as to who are the holders of these Receipts, a rule the Department insists upon enforcing.

Not only that, but through the failure of Congress to pass the Littlefield-Dolliver measure, whereby the States would be permitted to exercise control of interstate shipments of prohibited liquors as soon as they reached the State border, the Federal Government has throughout the whole complex situation thrown its influence with the "outside nullifiers." Through the sale of Tax Receipts to the lawless *inside* prohibition and local-option territory, and permitting interstate

commerce to be used by the "nullifiers" of State liquor laws *outside* prohibition and local-option territory, the Federal Government has proven the bulwark and hope of those who sought and still seek to overthrow the will of the people of the States on this question. Despite all this obstruction and disparagement of their efforts, the people have gone steadily forward increasing the "dry" area of the States through the referendum, and their commendable activity in this respect should not be overlooked in any general criticism enumerating what the States have not done. It is only lately that the Federal Government awakened to the fact that burdensome evils grew and flourished at its own door, while the States have, through a period of agitation covering many years, gone steadily forward increasing the "dry" area, and did this often in the face of the argument that their sacrifice of revenue from license would be of little avail because they could not control interstate shipments. The hostile attitude of the Federal Government stands out more prominently when we reflect that, despite the lack of comity on its part, the States promptly support all rightful Federal authority.

FINLEY C. HENDRICKSON.

Cumberland, Md.

THE MEANING OF CHRISTIAN SCIENCE.

[BY WILLIAM D. MCCrackAN, A.M.,

First Reader of The First Church of Christ, Scientist, in Boston, Massachusetts.

Editorial Note: The following paper on "The Meaning of Christian Science," by William D. McCrackan, A.M., will be of special interest to our old readers, who will remember his contributions to *THE ARENA* which appeared soon after it was founded. Mr. McCrackan had then recently returned from a sojourn of some years in Switzerland, whither he had gone to consult original sources of information for his comprehensive history of Switzerland. The series of papers which he prepared and which appeared in the early nineties, attracted general attention among the more thoughtful and fundamental thinkers.

Besides his admirable history, *The Rise of the Swiss Republic*, Mr. McCrackan is the author of several scholarly and interesting works.

At a time when so much space is being accorded in the magazines as well as the daily press to sensational and irresponsible articles on Christian Science and its founder, written by people whose ignorance of the fundamental teachings of Christian Science is as evident as is their hostility to it, the clear and thoughtful presentation of its meaning to those who understand and accept its teachings, prepared by so well known a representative as Mr. McCrackan, now First Reader of The First Church of Christ, Scientist, in Boston, Massachusetts, will be welcomed by all thinkers whose sense of fairness and love of truth are greater than the thralldom of prejudice and preconceived opinions.—Editor of *THE ARENA*.



THE FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST, ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI.

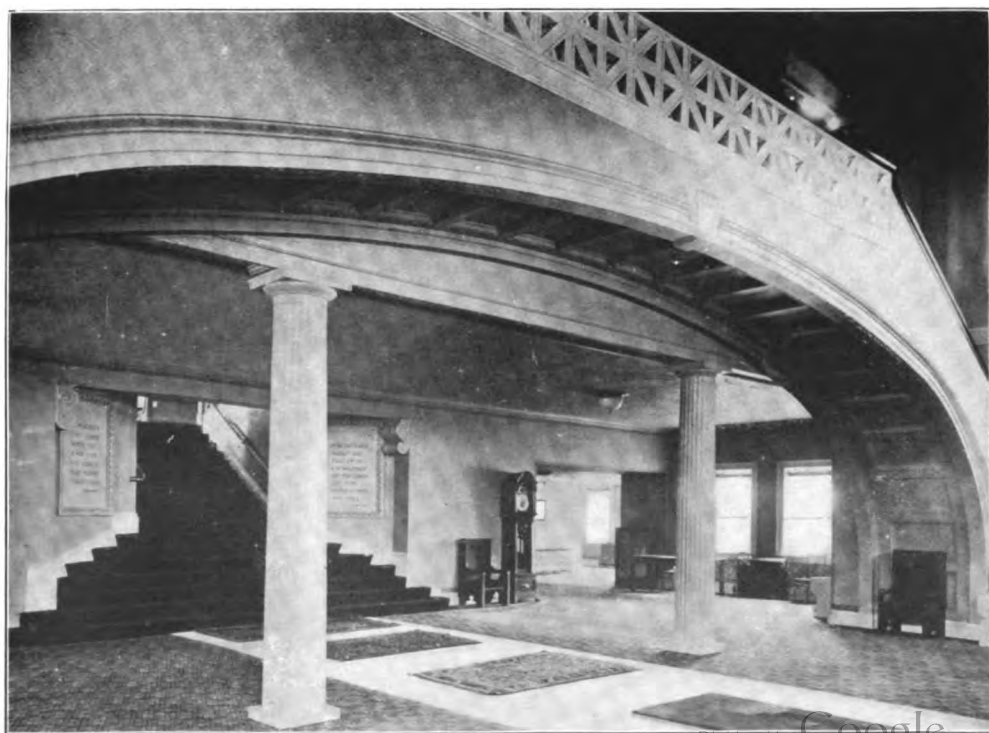
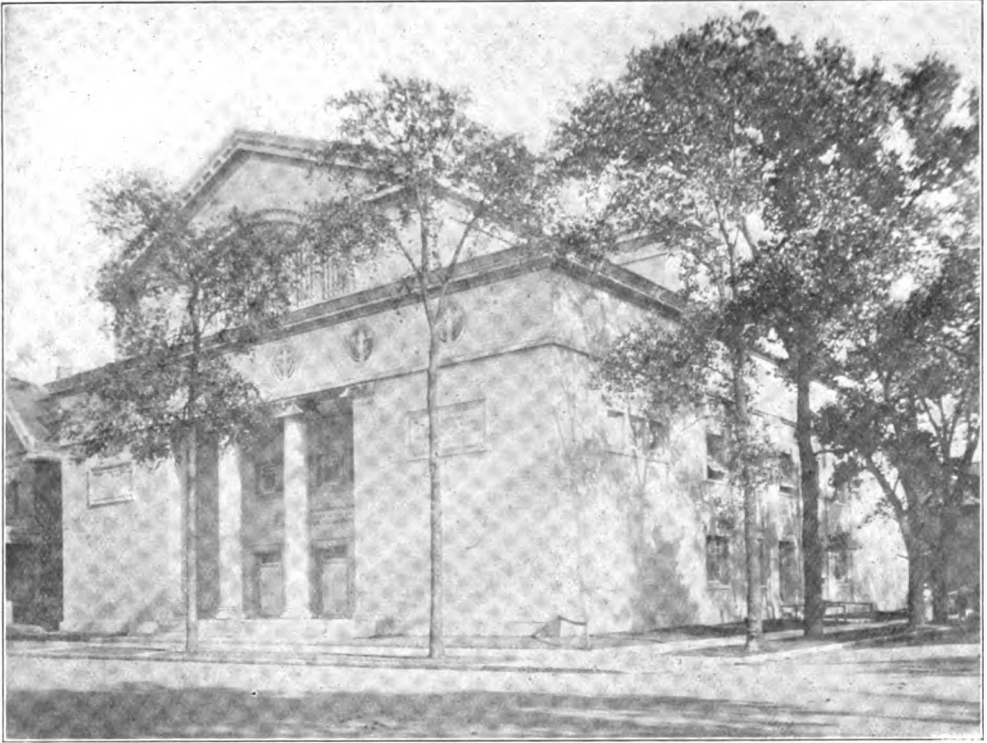




Photo. by J. W. Taylor.

THE FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS.





THE THIRD CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS.

MANKIND has the right to ask and to receive at the hands of a just God the understanding necessary for the cure of all its troubles. It is entitled to be shown the correct way by which it may work out its own salvation, complete health, holiness and happiness, and "on earth peace, good will toward men."

But the question arises, are the methods of cure and reform commonly used based upon a correct understanding of the problems involved or of the proper and permanent results to be obtained? It is generally conceded that at no time in the world's history have reformatory, humanitarian and progressive impulses been more potent than they are to-day. The altruistic sense is expressing itself in a multitude of ways. The desire to do for others, to help them to help themselves, to bring cheer to the forlorn and comfort to the distressed, to set on their feet the disabled and incapacitated, in

a word, to heal the sick, save the sinner and comfort the sorrowing and bereaved, this earnest desire is more and more forcing men to seek a scientific solution for human woes and problems. The prevailing conviction among thinkers is that there must be first some special, satisfying explanation of existing conditions, then some complete method, some definite and precise way of meeting and mastering evil and revealing the kingdom of heaven on earth, here and now,—and there is such a way. To the greater part of mankind, however, this way is still unknown. The regrettable fact that current theories do not explain sufficiently, and that prevalent methods and means merely alleviate the distressing conditions of which mankind complains, without destroying them, is proof that more fundamental and radical treatment is necessary.

The experiences of those who have



THE FOURTH CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS.

tried to institute reforms have commonly run in grooves of hardship and disillusion. They have suffered, each in his or her way. Some have placed their ambitions on false phantoms, and consequently their desires have not borne the fruit they expected. They have been greatly disappointed in friends, in theories, in certain arts and sciences, in conventional charities; in reforms, social, political and economic, from which they hoped too much. They have thought in the still hours, pondered and wondered; perhaps they have been called upon to fight for their convictions. The best men seemed to fall, or at least to fail; right did not seem to conquer. Then can we be satisfied that the methods heretofore tried and the results so far obtained were right and proper, or in accord with divine justice?

Christian Science enables one to think along new lines, correct lines. It teaches a change of thought, making thought scientific. Think right and you will do right and be right! Be a man; take possession of yourself and do not let circumstances take possession of you! After that, turn around and help others to do the same!

Christian Scientists believe in wholesome happiness, and in its realization here and now. They desire to share this happiness with all men. They once sought satisfaction in other fields of endeavor, and in other ideals; now they find that this new interpretation of life which has come to them through the teachings of *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures*, by Mary Baker G. Eddy makes them better men and women, more useful in their several occupations and stations in life. Can any-

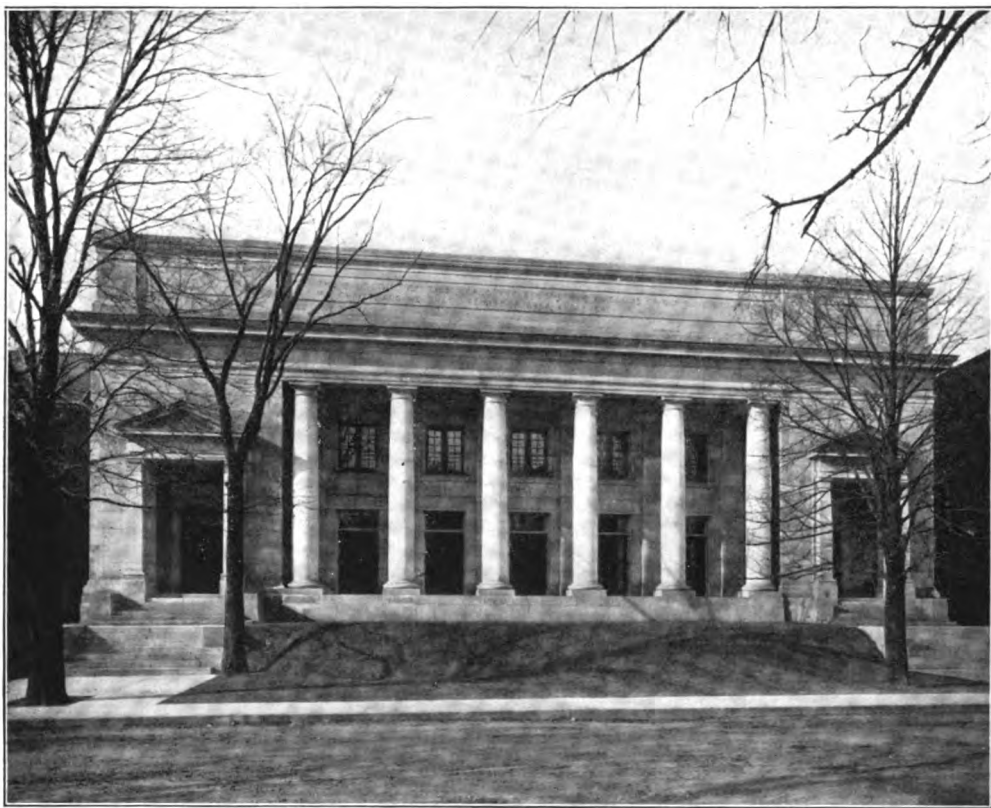


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THE FIFTH CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS.

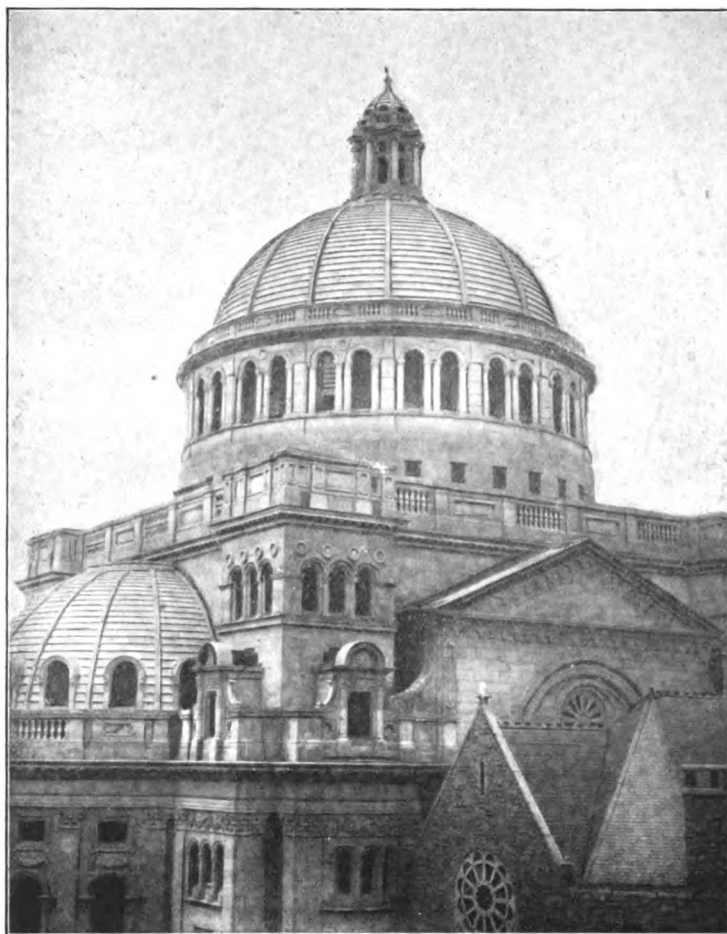
one hope for more than an understanding of peace and plenty, health and an abiding sense of safety? This is what Christian Science gives and it equips those who strive for the mastery over false thinking with the necessary power and wisdom to help others along the same road.

"How can I learn about Christian Science?" asks the average reader. He may listen to many advisers before some person of good sense will say to him, "Go and see for yourself." Where else can anyone expect to learn what Christian Science really is except among those who already understand and practise it. But there is one thing needful, namely, a sincere desire. The impressions of every honest inquirer have value. If he has entered upon his investigation of Christian Science with a sense of needing mental, moral or physical health, he will almost invariably find himself benefited, even before knowing how it is done; in



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ENTRANCE TO FIFTH CHURCH OF CHRIST,
SCIENTIST, CHICAGO.



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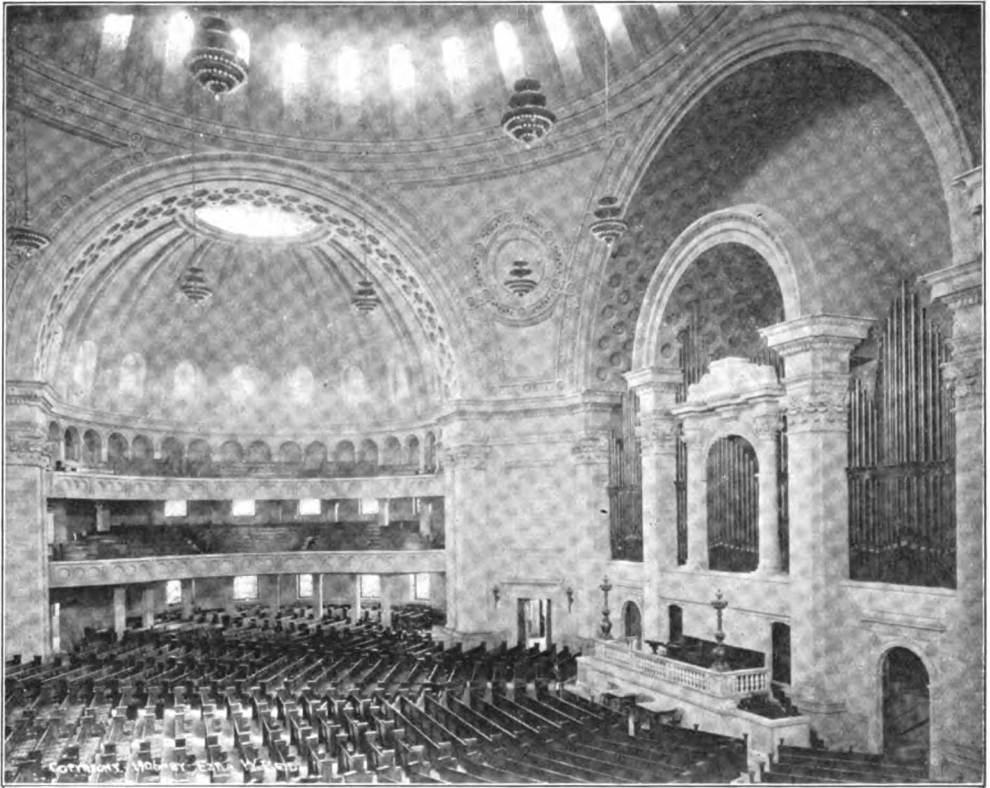
DOMES OF THE FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST, BOSTON,
MASSACHUSETTS.

any case he will be impressed with the general air of happiness, health and intelligence which pervades the ranks of Christian Scientists. They are not taught to believe that spirituality is long-faced. They have as keen a sense of humor as any other group of people. In fact, joyousness and good nature characterize their attitude towards all men. Moreover, they grant to every critic full right to his own opinions, provided he does not try to make erroneous opinions appear to be theirs. In common with all other people, they demand that opinions shall be based upon correct statements of fact, and shall be honestly presented.

and Founder and her faithful followers have always thought it to be. On the contrary it is described as something quite different, which those who do not heal the sick nor reform the sinner by its means claim to have found out for themselves. Hence the need, for the sake of the public, of correcting erroneous expression of opinion which may appear from time to time in public prints.

Indeed, before describing what Christian Science means and the way it takes, it is generally found advisable to rectify popular misconceptions. Thus, Christian Science does not teach the exercise of what is commonly known as human

Unfortunately a curious feature of the hour is the attempt on the part of some who do not practise Christian Science themselves to try to persuade the public that Christian Scientists do not know what they are doing. After more than forty years of the stately operations of Christian Science, after the healing of multitudes by this method from every sort of disease, after the blotting out of countless sins by its means and the comforting of hosts of the weary, forlorn and friendless by its ministrations; after it has reached the four quarters of the globe through its good deeds, comes a vain and futile assertion that Christian Science is not what its Discoverer



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INTERIOR OF THE FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

will power. It is not *willing* anybody to do anything whatsoever. Christian Scientists declare the divine will concerning the patient or the problem and leave the issue to that will and to no other. The divine will is ascertained by understanding God spiritually, by recognizing and realizing Him as wholly good, without a "shadow of turning," and drawing inevitable deductions logically from this superb premise.

This spiritual reasoning which Christian Science demands is neither mesmeric, magnetic nor hypnotic, but calm, exalted and assured. It literally signifies *pure reason* and is based on an absolute Principle, God, who is Spirit or Mind. It constructs its argument naturally, normally and scientifically to inevitable and beneficent conclusions bearing healing on its wings. The practice of Chris-

tian Science is prayer in the Scriptural sense of the word, *i. e.*, it is scientific realization of Truth rather than blind petition to an unknown god.

The teachings of Christian Science have been fully set forth in the writings of Mrs. Eddy. They have been further explained in accordance with these writings from the lecture platform, in the weekly and monthly periodicals of the Christian Science denomination, and, as occasion has demanded, also in the public press. This information is accessible to all who really desire it.

Christian Scientists hold that God is the only Creator, and that the universe which He created is eternal and real. Paul, the great Apostle, divided sharply between the eternal (real) and the temporal (unreal),—and so do they. The reader is referred specially to the last

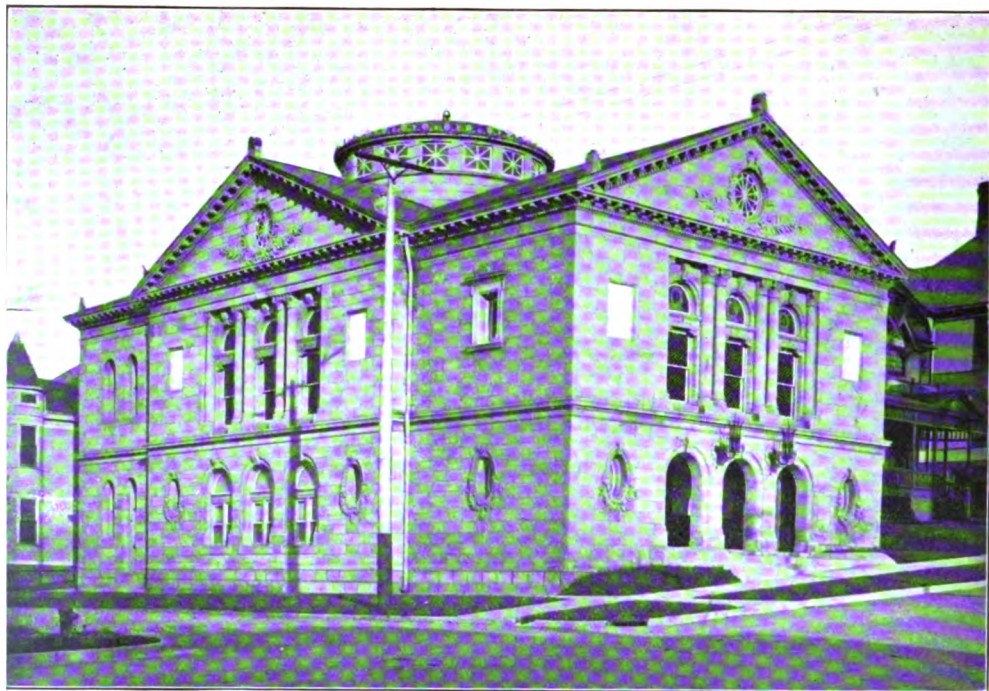
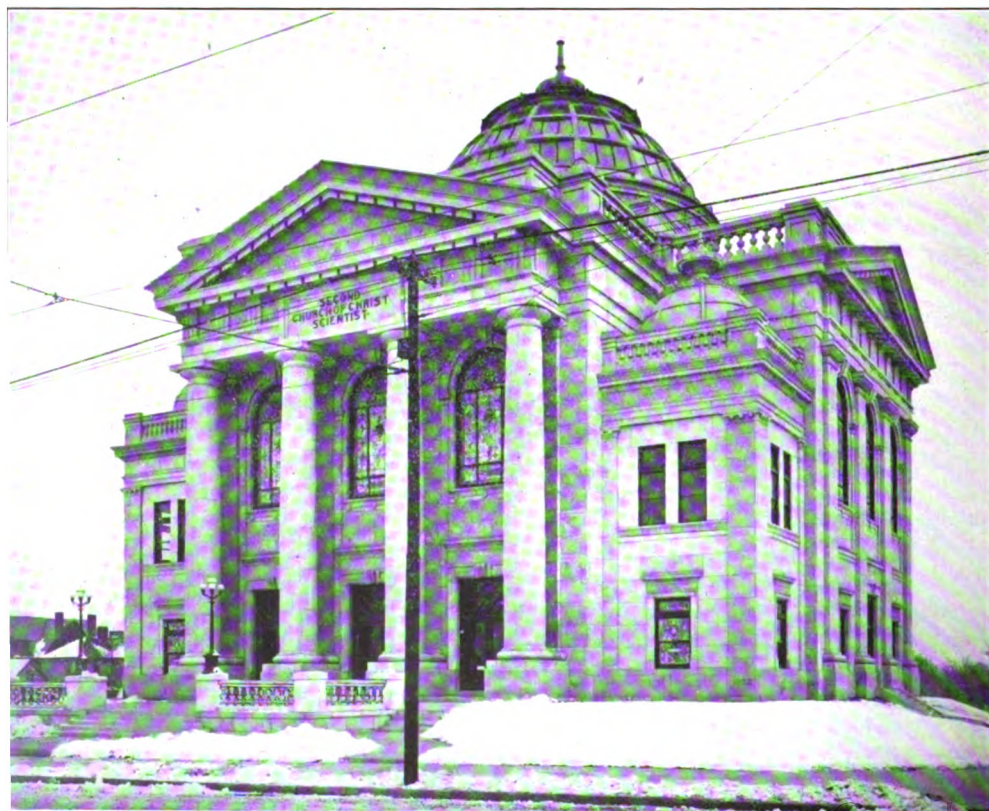


Photo. by Mills, Peoria, Ills.

THE FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST, PEORIA, ILLINOIS.



hoto. by Williams, Kansas City, Mo.



THE FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST, DETROIT, MICHIGAN.

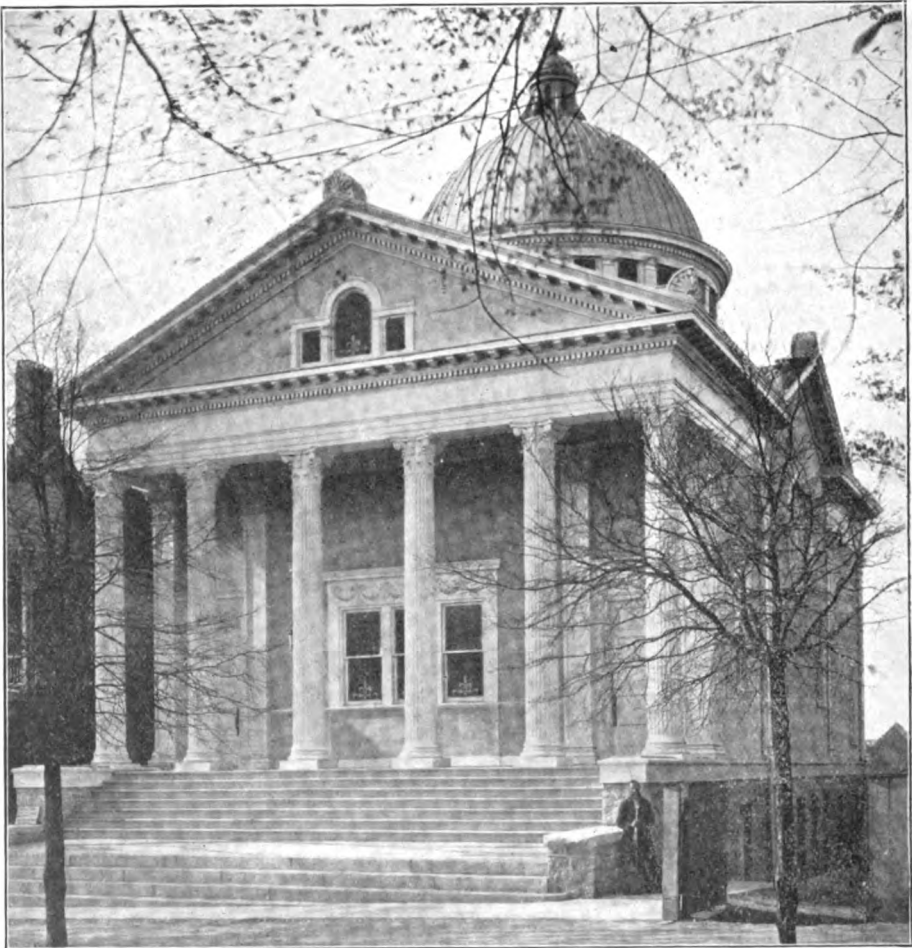


Photo by Davay. San José, Cal.

verse of Paul's Second Epistle to the Corinthians. Whatever phenomena, then, show the qualities of eternity and indestructibility they call real; but phenomena which reveal themselves as passing manifestations only, and exhibit signs of decay and death, they class among the unreal. Disease, fortunately, cannot be counted among the eternal and indestructible manifestations of the universe, or chaos would ensue. Disease is, therefore, unreal in this metaphysical sense, and only in this sense do Christian Scientists deny its existence.

The same reasoning applies to the concept called sin. If it is eternal and in-

destructible, then man is lost indeed. But Christian Science shows evil of every kind to be temporary, and thus unreal in the metaphysical sense, so that it may be overcome, (*i. e.*, reduced to nonentity in the human consciousness) by the power of God. Christian Scientists do not, then, deny the existence of disease, of the material body and of sin, as universal beliefs of the human race, but they affirm the unreality of these concepts; using the word "unreality" in its metaphysical sense. Christian Science explicitly teaches the doctrine of the crucifixion, the resurrection and the ascension, but it lays special stress upon the distinction be-



THE FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST, ATLANTA, GEORGIA.



Photo. by Snyder, Cleveland, O.

THE FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST, CLEVELAND, OHIO.

tween the man Jesus and his title of "The Christ." It does not teach the worship of the man Jesus, but of his Principle, God. Jesus did, indeed, suffer on the cross, but the Christ, the expression of his divinity, could not be made to suffer or die.

Those who hope for the cure of social and economic maladies through organized charities may be surprised to find that the Christian Science denomination, as such, rarely records the activities of its members in this particular field of endeavor. Individual Christian Scientists are doing much charity work of the usual sort in a quiet way, notably in some of the great prisons of this country where their services are welcomed. But their principal charity work is on lines which have never been fully carried out by any group of reformers since the days of primitive Christianity. The almsgiving

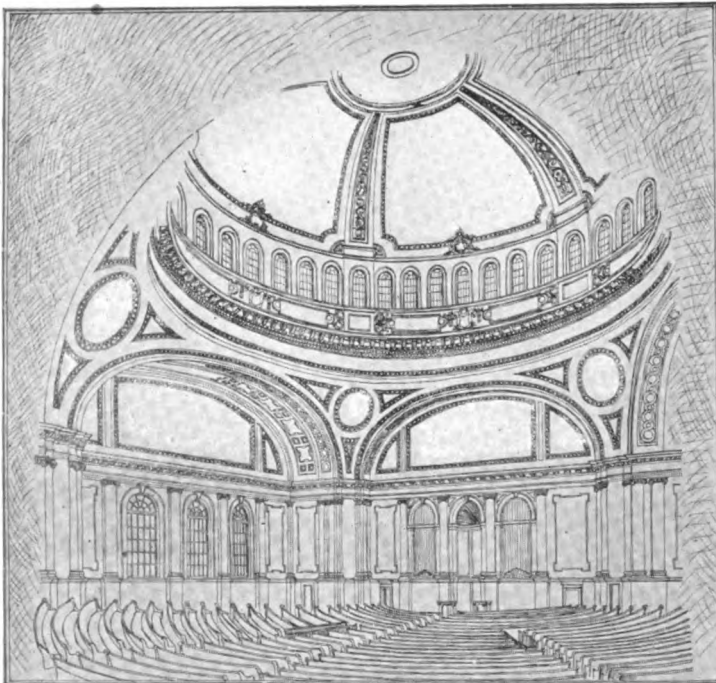
methods have been tried for centuries, have been organized with the utmost skill, have enlisted the efforts of many noble men and women,—and yet sickness, poverty and crime continue. Now Christian Science is showing a new way and one which has already proved itself successful in numberless cases. Christian Scientists are not only destroying the causes of poverty, but are also spending large sums in erecting what are virtually free dispensaries which are in keeping with their faith. They call them churches and reading-rooms, and the latter are open every day, and there those who are afflicted can find help in the most enduring way by learning to draw nearer to God, the source of all health, supply and holiness. There the Bible and Christian Science literature, which certain critics profess to find so expensive, can be read free of charge by all who choose



A. F. Rosenheim, Architect.

THE SECOND CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST, LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA.

(In course of construction.)

INTERIOR OF THE SECOND CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST,
LOS ANGELES.

(In course of construction.)

to come, year in and year out. Seats in the churches are free, and strangers are given the best attention, as a practical illustration of brotherly love. No Christian denomination can do more for visitors, display greater generosity, or extend a heartier welcome.

The stipulated fee for Christian Science treatment is very small. Practical experience shows that many patients feel that they can pay nothing, while others pay what they think they can afford. But the law of compensation holds good in healing as in all other



THE FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST, LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA.

work, and experience has proven, not only to Christian Scientists but also to all groups of reformers everywhere, that almsgiving brings no permanent cure of erroneous conditions. Moreover, anyone who should attempt to heal by Christian Science methods for mercenary motives would shortly lose the power to heal altogether.

Concerning the occasional failures of Christian Scientists, there is this to be said: A large percentage of the reports which are circulated through the newspapers have been found by actual investigation to repose upon errors of some kind. When the great number of cures which are effected by Christian Science are set over against the few cases of actual failures by Christian Scientists, the showing is in every way remarkable; especially since most of the cases which

come to them have previously experienced failure under material treatment. The failures of *materia medica* fill the obituary columns of the daily press without exciting comment, whereas at one time a single failure of a Christian Scientist used to be heralded far and wide as a sensational event.

In spite of every effort on the part of the critics of Christian Science to be fair, it is evident that a closer understanding of its aims and its practice is required than a hostile outsider can possibly possess. To this lack may be attributed some of the errors made by the writers of articles and items in the periodical press.

It is sometimes assumed that Christian Science calls for special intellectual proficiency and surprise is expressed that people who are unlearned, as the saying goes, can benefit thereby in body



Photo. by Young, Riverside, Cal.

THE FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST, RIVERSIDE, CALIFORNIA.

and mind. But there is no occasion for surprise. Christian Science bids us have "this mind . . . which was also in Christ Jesus," which surely means to have the apprehension and comprehension of God which Jesus had. No intellectual gymnastics, no psychological inventions, no complicated calculations are necessary to realize that "God is Spirit" (as Jesus said to the Samaritan woman), or that "God is love," as John assures us. A little child can grasp this fact and recognize its beneficent bearing on human affairs. Indeed Jesus not only commended the childlike quality of thought, but declared that this quality was absolutely necessary and indispensable, in order that men might enter the kingdom of heaven, that they might gain the sense of complete harmony.

Granting that some of the testimonies at the Wednesday evening meetings are given in a simple manner, often by persons unaccustomed to public speaking,

surely these supposed disadvantages only prove how deep must be the conviction, and how heartfelt the love and gratitude which force witnesses upon their feet to relate intimate personal experiences. To unprejudiced people these spontaneous testimonies are deeply impressive. "God is no respecter of persons." The demand of equal rights is to be strictly observed, for only in this manner can mankind advance.

When all is said and done, Christian Science can only live as it demonstrates its right to life by doing good. Christian Scientists are happy in the thought of what their faith has done for them, and they hope to advance thereby the coming of the era of the brotherhood of man under the fatherhood of God, but they do not impose their faith on others, and they scrupulously respect the religious and humanitarian convictions of their fellowmen.

W. D. McCRACKAN.

Boston, Mass.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE TRUST: ITS EVIL ELEMENT AND THE TRUE REMEDY.

By JOHN MOODY,

Author of "The Truth About the Trusts," etc., etc.

THE YEARS 1830 to 1835, when the famous Frenchman, Alexis DeTocqueville, visited America to gather material for his well-known book entitled *Democracy in America*, were years of great eventfulness for this country. These years marked a pronounced turning-point in the history of American institutions. It was at this period that the steam railroad began to take the place of the stage-coach; that the factory system began its fuller and broader development; that Andrew Jackson began his efforts for the overthrow of the United States Bank, and that the abolition movement, under the lead of William Lloyd Garrison, got under way.

Looking back now, over a space of more than seventy years the thoughtful man cannot but realize that the particular time referred to was a critical turning-point in American history, and that the three and one-half score years that have followed, have been productive of many astonishing changes in American customs, institutions, methods and standards of living, attitude towards government, as well as in opportunities for the advancement of freedom and equality.

DeTocqueville's great book, which made its appearance in 1835, opened with the following remarkable paragraph:

"Amongst the novel objects that attracted my attention during my stay in the United States, nothing struck me more forcibly than the *general equality of conditions*. I readily discovered the prodigious influence which this primary fact exercises on the whole course of society, by giving a certain direction to public opinion, and a certain tenor to the laws; by imparting new maxims to the

governing powers and peculiar habits to the governed.

"The more I advanced in the study of American society, the more I perceived that the *equality of conditions* is the fundamental fact from which all others seem to be derived, and the central point at which all my observations constantly terminated."

After reading the foregoing is it not an astonishing, or one might say, a *dramatic* fact, that only seventy years later a book should be published, attain wide circulation, and create great comment, which begins its introduction in this wise?

"What is the cause of the great changes that are coming over the American Republic—the *extraordinary inequality in the distribution of wealth* manifested on every hand; the rise of class feeling; the growth of the aristocratic idea; the lapse from morals in business and private relations among the very rich; the growth of elements of physical, mental and moral deterioration among the working masses; the appearance of militant trades-unionism; the perversion of the injunction principle and the use of soldiers in strikes; the corruption of federal, state and municipal politics; the deterring of press, university and pulpit from an open expression; the centralization of government; the advances in foreign aggression?"*

What an astounding contrast in these two descriptions! And yet a period of only seventy years has intervened between the time of writing the two paragraphs.

While to those who have lived through this period the change of conditions may have seemed to be brought about very

**The Menace of Privilege*, by Henry George, Jr., MacMillan Company, New York, 1906.

gradually and perhaps imperceptibly, yet, if we view the situation in the broad expanse of history, we will find that in the past ages such vastness of change has seldom occurred in such a brief period of time. In the case of the old Roman Republic we find that its complete change from a condition of equality of conditions to one such as is here described involved a period of several hundred years. This was also true of ancient Greece and has been true of other nations. While history teaches us that sudden revolutions have often occurred, taking men at a single leap, as it were, from conditions of serfdom and bondage to conditions of comparative freedom and equality, yet the changes in the *reverse* direction have nearly always been far less rapid and have spread over many pages of history.

Thus, our own short revolution from conditions of comparative *equality* to conditions of comparative *inequality* has been strikingly unique and dramatic, and has been the result, not of a long evolution, but apparently of a short, silent, non-belligerent, but still inexorable revolution.

In view of these remarkable changes let us examine briefly what has been going on in the American Republic during these seventy years.

In 1835 the population of the United States was about 14,000,000; the estimated wealth of the nation was \$4,470,000,000. The wealth per capita was \$319. By 1890 the national wealth had increased to \$65,000,000,000 and the population of the country to about 60,000,000 people; in 1900 the wealth had increased to \$94,000,000,000; and the population to about 80,000,000 people; and to-day it is conservatively estimated that the national wealth aggregates \$120,000,000,000, while the population has grown to more than 90,000,000 people, not including the population of the Philippine Islands. It is further estimated by experts that by 1910 the population will have increased to about 100,000,000 people and the national wealth to \$140,000,000,000; and that by 1920 the population will pos-

sibly reach 125,000,000 and the national wealth will exceed \$200,000,000,000.

Now on the figures already given the wealth per capita in 1835 was \$319; in 1890 it was about \$1,090. In 1900 it was \$1,175; and to-day it is \$1,333 per capita. On the estimates of the future already given it will be in 1910 about \$1,400 per capita, and in 1920 \$1,600 per capita. The actual increase, therefore, of the wealth per capita from 1835 to 1905 has grown from \$319 to \$1,333, a four-fold increase.

In this same period of seventy years the most astounding advances have been made in material civilization, in modes of traveling, of carrying on industry and commerce, and of living. Take the cost of transportation for example. To-day you can move a car-load of wheat from Dakota or Manitoba to Liverpool for one-tenth what it would cost in 1830 to move a wagon-load of wheat twenty-five miles. Steadily, as the production of the country has increased in magnitude, so has the cost of production fallen. And yet in spite of these remarkable facts, I have just pointed out in the two extracts quoted a description of conditions which does not seem to harmonize with these facts in any respect.

To merely realize that only seventy years ago the estimated wealth of the nation was but \$4,470,000,000, while to-day it is over \$120,000,000,000 should in itself indicate that if the American nation was in 1830 the wonderful civilization that DeTocqueville described, then how much more wonderful should it be to-day. If DeTocqueville noted a remarkable state of prosperity and equality and great absence of poverty in 1835 when the wealth per capita was only \$319, how much greater should be the prosperity and absence of poverty to-day with the wealth per capita at \$1,333. And yet in face of all this we find it admitted on practically all sides that "an extraordinary inequality in the distribution of wealth is manifest on every hand."

Does not all this seem astonishingly

paradoxical? But let us analyze the situation a little more closely.

I have stated that the estimated wealth of the nation is to-day about \$120,000,000,000. Of this about one-half or \$60,000,000,000, is what might be called created wealth, and the balance is spontaneous or unearned wealth—what is sometimes called the “unearned increment.” Now of the so-called total wealth about \$50,000,000,000 is to-day in corporate form, and of this \$35,000,000,000 is in the trust corporate form. Of the wealth in trust corporate form only about 40 per cent., I should say, is actual earned wealth and 60 per cent. is spontaneous value or unearned increment.

Let me try to show a little more clearly what I mean by these two different kinds of wealth. Take one of the large transportation trusts as an example, the Union Pacific Railroad system. Eight years ago its capital (market) value was approximately \$130,000,000 and this represented chiefly the real, tangible, created property at that time. Since then less than \$150,000,000 more has been invested in the Union Pacific Railroad and yet the market value of its securities to-day is not \$230,000,000, as you would naturally suppose, but is over \$600,000,000. The Pennsylvania Railroad system fifteen years ago was worth \$1,500,000,000; to-day it is worth over \$2,500,000,000; the Reading system in 1896 was worth only about \$120,000,000; to-day it is worth \$600,000,000. The Great Northern Railroad in 1890 was worth only about \$40,000,000; to-day it is worth over \$500,000,000. The public utility corporations of New York City cost to construct less than \$200,000,000, and yet to-day they are capitalized for over \$1,000,000,000. The Standard Oil Company represents an original investment of far less than \$50,000,000, and yet it is worth in the markets to-day nearly \$600,000,000. The great Steel trust has actually cost only \$400,000,000, and yet it is worth nearly \$1,500,000,000.

The difference between the cost of these things and the market value represents

the unearned increment or capitalized value of their monopoly or special privilege. This increment, created of course, by the community, the growth of population, and general increase of produced wealth, has, as the country has grown, increased with it and will necessarily continue to do so.

I have been describing the process which has brought what is known as the trust into existence. For with these gigantic strides in population, wealth production, and wealth inflation, the tendency has inevitably been to concentrate, reduce cost, eliminate competition and divert the product from the pockets of the producer to those of the privileged few. And it is because of this diversion of wealth that there is a trust problem. The next thing to do, therefore, is to trace how this diversion comes about.

“Self-preservation is the first law of nature,” and in his most primitive state man is bound to develop a capacity for preserving his physical life before he does anything else. He must first feed and clothe himself. Until he can get a living he can do little else, and the history of the vast majority of mankind from the most primitive times to this hour is really little else than a history of the struggle for material existence.

But under unobstructed natural law, men *can* and *do* always get a living; and they can and do develop from a lower to a higher state. They do this first through primitive labor. They apply themselves to the work of producing consumable things from the soil. These things they either consume themselves or exchange for other consumable things, thus bringing trade into existence. Some things they store up for future use and these they call wealth; others they store up to use in creating more wealth, and these they call capital. Capital is purely and simply stored-up labor. It is something which has been produced or brought into being and made of value by the combined forces of land and labor—the sentient labor of the hands or brain. The three factors of

wealth production are land, labor and capital; land being the primary passive factor, labor applied to land directly or indirectly being the active factor; and capital being simply stored-up labor.

Land, labor and capital being the three producers of wealth (capital being stored-up labor), is it not logical enough, that while men can get a living of some sort without access to capital, they cannot get it without access, directly or indirectly, to land? Give me all the land in the world and you can have all the capital and all the created wealth, and with all your possessions I will be in a position to force you to either to pay me tribute or make you starve to death, assuming, of course, that I have the *physical* power to carry out my legal privilege which is embraced in the ownership of the land. In other words, I will have the right to charge you in rent all the wealth you possess in exchange for giving you the privilege to live upon and use the surface of the earth. But give *me* all the wealth and capital in the world and you retain the soil, and if you see fit you can order me off the earth or else make me pay in rent all of my possessions and perhaps all of my labor for the privilege of existing upon the soil. But if, on the other hand, you take away all my capital, all my wealth, but leave me free to use my body and mind and give me equal access with others to the use of the earth, then I can snap my fingers at you, and the primary problem of the struggle for existence becomes for me no more the heartrending and pressing question which it is to-day for all peoples and in all civilized countries.

It is not because of the "iron heel of capital" that there is a trust question. Capital is a good thing and a harmless thing. It is like labor; it is a producer of wealth and in itself is harmless. Were there no other factor to be reckoned with in the trust than capital there would be no so-called trust question and people would not fear these great aggregations nor feel injurious influences from them any more than they now feel injurious effects from

the growth of a church or library or other institution of the kind. Capital and labor are fundamentally one; there is no conflict between them and essentially never can be—but "capital and labor clash because they are both robbed alike by their common enemy, *monopoly*." Monopoly is the overpowering factor in the trust question and it is by searching for and finding out this element that our problem can best be solved.

Just as soon as you mention the word "monopoly," a great many good and well-meaning people will say you must be a demagogue and that there is no such thing as monopoly in America. The trouble with such people is that they do not get down to fundamentals; they take the say-so of other people and of newspapers; they listen a little to the superficial sophistry and often inspired statements of political platforms and of interested politicians; or they get their opinions from certain religious teachers and other educators, many of whom are unfortunately prone to ally themselves on the side of the strongest battalions. It is easy to explain why people do this. When the monopoly element has so thoroughly permeated our civilization; when it controls and dominates the press and a large portion of the pulpit; when it makes its influence felt in the home, in society and in our legislative halls; and in many ways, most important of all, when it is a factor of such moment in business and industrial life that the average man is scarcely able to distinguish it from the legitimate elements of capitalistic production and distribution, we cannot blame men very much for being echoes of those who guide and dictate their destinies so largely in modern industrial life. It is quite to be expected as long as people persist in being so short-sighted and stupid as to let others think for them. Most men are guilty of this very thing all the time; they let others think for them. They appeal to the editorial column of the newspaper; they appeal to those in authority, or to others who are "eminent," and of course,

they think such authorities as these are "infallible."

And so it is with this question of trusts and its element of monopoly. Let us look at it as though it were not a *political* question, but simply a *human* question. Let us eliminate bias and see what it is that makes the trust question a burning issue. I say it is monopoly-power, or privilege. Now what is monopoly-power? It consists in the possession of the right to extort in one form or another. And it is this power or right that makes the average trust obnoxious; be it a steam or electric railroad, a gas or electric-light company, a manufacturing company or any other money-making aggregation. If a trust does not possess this special privilege in some form, then it will be found in every case that there is nothing obnoxious or injurious about it. It is not mere size, as some think, for many of the smaller trusts are, in their special spheres, obviously more unpopular than some of the larger ones. It is not the mere method of management, nor the personnel, nor the particular line of business. But it is this factor of privilege which enters in and interferes with the harmonious operations of natural law in the production and distribution of wealth, which is at the bottom of the irritating trust question.

As I have pointed out, land, labor and capital produce and distribute wealth. Now what does monopoly do? It diverts wealth, and here is the crux of the whole trust problem. Let me illustrate:

Way back in the '60s a man named Andrew Carnegie came to this country and after a while got into the iron business. In the course of time he became very successful and by means of railway rebates and discriminations and tariff restrictions he was enabled to amass a great fortune, running up into the millions. He did not amass this fortune by the combined efforts of labor and capital, but was greatly assisted by the power to extort. He extorted big profits by reason of tariff benefits; he extorted special rates from the railroads, the latter in turn extorting

in other ways to make up what they suffered at Carnegie's hands. In the course of time Carnegie and his associates reached a point where they thought it wise to retire with their booty, and they did it in true Jack Sheppard fashion. They had various rivals who were engaged in the same lines of business, most of these being dominated by Mr. J. P. Morgan. Morgan's companies were not so strong as Carnegie's; their point of vantage was not so good, but the Morgan interests had great financial resources and Carnegie decided to force them into buying him out. He thereupon began the tactics so familiar in corporate contests nowadays, and threatened to construct new railroads, tube mills, and so forth, which would seriously jeopardize the condition of Morgan's properties, the latter being already rather "toppy" and fearfully inflated in capitalization. Morgan was clearly caught in a corner and simply had to buy Carnegie out at the latter's own price. Carnegie made him pay in securities, an equivalent in market value of \$494,000,000, for a group of plants which had earned in *normal times*, only three years before, a yearly profit of less than \$10,000,000. Carnegie got in all for the share of himself and family, more than one-quarter of a billion dollars in good securities. In brief, Carnegie and his associates extorted from Morgan and his, about \$300,000,000 more than the plants were worth, the value of these plants themselves being largely represented by their owners' powers of extorting artificial prices through monopoly privileges. Morgan then found it necessary to organize his great Steel trust with its gigantic capitalization, and ever since, the latter has been trying to live up to the standard of its over-capitalization by taking the greatest possible advantage of its tariff and other monopoly benefits. It could doubtless be replaced to-day, aside from its monopoly rights, for less than \$300,000,000, and yet it is capitalized for five times that amount. The entire difference between the \$300,000,000 and the

\$1,500,000,000 is not real capital but merely the capitalization of monopoly-power or privilege—the legal privilege to extort. And in order to satisfy its owners and stock-holders it must earn sufficient income to pay a return on this capitalization.

Herein lies the key to the trust problem, and you will find that this same characteristic of special privilege or monopoly-power runs through the entire group of enterprises, industrial, public-service and transportation, which are generally classed as trusts. In some form or other nearly all possess the legal privilege to extort and they all capitalize this privilege to the fullest extent possible.

And so you will find it all through the fields of industry. Wherever there is a monopoly element the power of privilege makes its influence felt in the prices of the things we consume, the clothes we wear, the ornaments in our houses, our comforts and our luxuries. There are a thousand ways in which this power operates as a wealth diverter in the common walks of life, as well as in the franchise, the tariff and patent monopolies and special privileges of other kinds. But the chief monopoly of all, and the one that bolsters up the others and makes their existence possible, is the fundamental land monopoly. In this connection it is worth while again to repeat that without free use of capital man can preserve himself, but without free access to land he at once becomes more or less dependent. Whatever way you look at it, the trust question leads directly to the land question.

Let me give a concrete illustration of this:

We will go to the manufacturing state of New Jersey, and suppose a factory is built half way between Elizabeth and Rahway, which is to employ 5,000 people. It is far from the railway and difficult of access. Let us assume that labor of the same kind is paid in Elizabeth and Rahway at the rate of \$15.00 per week, and is in normal demand. In order to get operatives the factory out there in the fields will have to offer some inducement,

so that they must pay enough in addition to the regular rate of wages to cover the railway fare, which we will say is 20 cents per day or \$1.20 per week. The operatives thus get \$16.20 per week, of which \$1.20 goes for carfare, leaving them the net wage of \$15.00 per week for their own use. Now let us assume that a trolley line is put through, reducing the cost of travel to 10 cents per day or 60 cents per week. The labor market remaining the same, the factory will now be able to employ hands at 60 cents per week less, and the wage-rate will drop to \$15.60. The employé will be just where he was before. Suppose fares are reduced to 3 cents—6 cents per day or 36 cents per week. The wage-rate will fall again, still netting the operative his \$15.00. Now suppose travel is done away with, a village springs up about the factory, cottages are built and rented to the operatives. He no longer has his fare to pay, but he is subject to competition with other laborers—perhaps the rents in the new village are lower than in Elizabeth—the operative can perhaps live for \$1.00 per week less, therefore, men are willing to work in this new village for \$14.00 per week, as it costs \$1.00 less than in Elizabeth. The wage-rate goes to \$14.00. In time, the cost of living increases in the village, improvements are introduced, taxes are increased on property, and a man cannot live any cheaper than in Elizabeth. In obedience to supply and demand his wages go to \$15.60 again, but as it now costs him \$1.00 more for increased rent and so forth, he is really in the same condition as he was in before. And so it goes—twist conditions as you will, the rise in real wages is offset by the rise in rents and other increased cost of living. If there has been no loss, neither has there been any gain—and the average rate of wages will be governed by the bare cost of subsistence, and to an extent by the supply of and demand for labor in given industries.

But the situation is different with the comparatively small class who possess

the title to land, or have the advantages of other privileges. The owner of the factory, for instance, will not merely make his legitimate profit, but will benefit enormously by the unearned increment daily being created by population in the village which he has started. Buying the land for a song, he will perhaps rent a part of it at increasing rates as population grows, hold a large portion of it out of use awaiting future appreciation, etc. Other land speculators may come along and do the same. And they can afford to do it, because the taxation is not concentrated upon their unused ground, but is spread over improvements and everything else; they may manufacture goods which are protected by a tariff and which may enable them to sell at prices 50 per cent. higher here than they are glad to take abroad, the consumer, of course, paying in this way a tribute, *not* to the government, but *to them*.

Now it may be argued that this so-called monopoly does not work this way. It is not true that men are so completely at the mercy of those they work for nowadays; and this is partly true, but it is because of the fact that labor now operates coöperatively and in large aggregations, just as capital does; and thus we have the trades-unions and the problem of organized labor as an added factor in modern industrial problems. The labor-union is a defensive movement, contrived by workmen themselves as an effective weapon for fighting the injurious effects of monopoly. Labor does not fight capital, as is erroneously thought; it endeavors to fight monopoly. And of course it makes mistakes; its measures are often unjust and bring injuries in their train which are serious. The trades-union is a somewhat clumsy device to protect the laborer from being entirely exploited.

The inequitable conditions of society which we see all about us are due, not to natural or unavoidable causes, but to a denial of justice between man and man. We have been trying through legislation, for more than a decade, to solve the trust

problem and yet it will not down. Beginning with the movement inspired nearly twenty-five years ago by the disclosures of secret relations between the Standard Oil trust and the railroads, the movement for trust regulation has continued interruptedly down to the present day. And still, in the face of all this legislation, the issue is the most vital one before the people to-day, and no immediate settlement of it seems to be in sight.

In the philosophy of Henry George I believe is found the solution to this trust problem. He has shown us that this great economic question is at bottom a moral question, and he has studied and analyzed the question in such a way that his solution is in harmony with natural law and human justice. If you once understand the economic philosophy of Henry George you will see that the economic inequality of modern times is fundamentally due to the fact that in the effort to progress and accumulate wealth men make use of another factor besides the legitimate ones of land, labor and capital. They make use, consciously or unconsciously, of monopoly, which gives them the power to extort. The result is that general progress and the development of civilization, instead of being a harmonious growth, is largely a grand inequitable scramble; the doctrine of "every man for himself and the devil take us all" largely becomes the standard for action, and practical men laugh at the idea of abstract justice and say that this is a purely selfish world, governed by unjust natural law.

I, for one, cannot take this view of life. I do not for a moment believe that it is the niggardliness of nature or the crudity of natural law that brings inequality and poverty and suffering and low ideals into the world. But I do thoroughly believe that the fault lies in men themselves, and that in the practical teaching of Henry George they can find the key to this great problem.

There can be nothing so vicious in their effects on society, as well as on posterity, as false ethical standards, and it is in the

propagation of these false ideas and standards that the bad effects of monopoly and special privilege are most potent. Young men are in many ways taught nowadays, either directly or through a little surface experience, or by implication, that the highest ideals of life are to be reached through money getting; that is, through amassing great fortunes and becoming powerful factors in commercial or industrial life. A great captain of industry, with his fifty millions, is pointed out as the model for our youth to follow, and every effort is made by his elders and advisers to start him along this road. In extenuation for this devotion to mere wealth, it is said that it gives power for good, for the guidance of the ship of state, and for the promotion of material well-being. But when we read or study the life of this or that great general of finance and see how his work is often lauded by press and pulpit, it indeed seems a hollow mockery that we should call such careers ideal. To my mind, there is nothing so pathetic in modern life as to see some of these captains of industry passing middle life and entering the period of old age. With every material want, with wealth and comfort of every kind, they have usually lost their brightest jewel—*character*. Their ideals are gone, their spirituality stunted, and in many ways they have become the master materialists. And this is but natural, for how can even thoughtful and discerning men, who see life with all its injustice, who are taught that their own ideals of success are right, and yet that to achieve them largely involves cruelty and injustice to their fellow-men—how can even thoughtful men, under such guidance, have any true ideals or develop any real religious side? And it seems to me that here is one of the great

reasons why our churches are so empty; why public, business and social morality is so low, and why in this strenuous twentieth century we seem to be growing more and more away from the ideals of justice and of true Christianity. If the daily experience of practical men, both as employers and employes, goes to confirm the theory that the establishment of natural justice will always be an unattainable dream, then the hope for the triumph of Christianity is poor indeed, for surely, if there is no such thing as justice there can of course be no God. In this the materialistic socialist is logical. To make his premises fit the theory he must of necessity deny the existence of abstract justice and in doing that he must deny his God.

But the truths brought to light by Henry George, showing conclusively that the great ills of society are the direct result, not of unjust natural law, but of man's own inhumanity to man, do not kill but do awaken the old ideals; they revive the dying faith in justice and by their teaching we get the inspiration of a true religion.

In understanding and living in the spirit of George's philosophy, which is entirely based on the simple doctrines of equal freedom and natural justice, we are enabled to harmonize and explain many apparently conflicting tendencies and theories of life; we can see the wisdom of Tolstoy's teaching of non-resistance and the possibility of its practical application in the years to come; we can look with hope and confidence into future generations and confidently believe that a better, happier and more ideal, not a poorer civilization, is in store for mankind.

JOHN MOODY.

New York City.

THE SPIRIT *VERSUS* THE LETTER OF THE CREEDS.

By REV. A. R. KIEFFER, D.D.

CONTROVERSY over the relative importance of the spirit and of the letter of the creeds is probably as old as religion itself. The Jewish prophets were men of the spirit, ever contending with the priests who were men of the letter, and usually failing to impress the public of their time, because the materialistic masses naturally sided with the opponents of spiritual truth.

Jesus Christ came in the line of the prophets, the great champion of the spirit as against the letter. He said of His own words, "They are Spirit and they are Life." And His quotations from Sacred Books He surcharged with a fullness of meaning never thought of before.

When He said "God" He meant not a national God, but the universal Father.

By "worship" He meant not the elaborate forms of the Temple service, but "worship in Spirit and in truth."

By "resurrection" He meant not as others did, the rising of dead bodies from graves, but of men's souls from the "death of sin unto the life of righteousness" here; and, as the result of the eternal life in them, its continuance in the world to come.

So He put into their familiar words His own spiritual meanings. The priests as the official expounders of the old religion, opposed Him and His method of interpretation, as they had done with the prophets before Him. He endangered their office-holding, turned their vast accumulations of manuscripts and ecclesiastical traditions into rubbish, and their boasted religion into folly.

The masses followed the priests, because they did not understand Him. They did not like to think, as it is so much easier to accept thoughts on authority.

He was tried for heresy, convicted by a packed court on the evidence of paid spies, delivered to the Romans, and, on another trumped-up charge, put to death by them.

It is noticeable in both ecclesiastical and political trials how rarely there is a fair one. As a rule they are organized to convict. When there is not a converted church or nation, there is a persecuted and killed reformer.

St. Paul was the next great representative of the Spirit as against the Letter. His Epistles strongly emphasize the value of the spiritual in contrast with the literal and in disparagement of the latter. For this he was persecuted by his Jewish brethren, Christian and non-Christian, was put out of the Jewish church for heresy, had his life embittered and his missionary work hindered by the literalists in the Christian church.

He has been followed by a long line of spiritual men down to the present. They met the same fate; were vilified, tried for heresy, put out of the church, and some put out of life.

But their cause lived, and one often sees the so-called heresy of one generation become the orthodoxy of the next. Some such men are with us now; men in whom the spiritual takes precedence over the literal and material; who care not so much for *forms* of truth as for truth itself; who believe that truth is a living well and not a cistern; who proclaim that religious truth has not yet been received in all its fullness, and that the Holy Spirit is now, as always, helping men toward truth; and who, when they discover it, boldly declare it, whether the church or the world will listen or not. They are trying to free the church from its errors in dogma, from narrowness

and bigotry, from slavish adherence to the letter, and to gain for it "the liberty of the spirit."

The treatment they receive is just what they expected. History is repeating itself. These prophets are misunderstood, their motives impugned, their characters aspersed, their right to remain in the church denied.

In the November number of *THE ARENA* the Rev. Dr. Bushby has an article entitled "The Zeit-Geist and the Miraculous Conception." It is freer from personal abuse than most of the articles written by literalists, and we gladly adopt as our own column after column of it; yet even this more gentle-spirited man evidently thinks that the cause of truth demands such expressions as the following concerning good men who differ from him: "novelty seekers," "robbers of all that Christians hold dear," "traitors in the household," "dishonest men," "violators of their ordination vows," "feeding their people husks instead of the truths of the old Gospel which the Apostles preached." These are the epithets hurled at saintly men who are gladly spending their lives, with but small outward reward, in the service of Christ, which is the service of humanity; whose neighbors count them honest and pure in all the relations of life; who are known to be lovers of truth above all things and diligent seekers for it; who love the Lord Jesus Christ and find in Him their ideal of man and of God.

When we notice how "abuse" is the popular argument of our orthodox divines, we wonder whether it would be an equal lack of charity on our part to say *anger* animates them rather than love of truth. Certainly the ungodly would say they are "mad," for that is the way the ungodly express themselves when angry.

However, our friends the enemy insist they are not "mad," they are only "grieved." "Grieved" is a favourite word of some bishops who roast "heretics" in convention addresses. I suppose John Calvin was not angry at Servetus when

he burned him at the stake; he was only "grieved." That word has won a place in the ecclesiastical dictionary as a symbol of "all hatred, malice and uncharitableness."

Surely justice demands for us at least such an acknowledgment as was lately accorded a good bishop when he was introduced at a mass-meeting as "an Episcopalian with leanings towards Christianity." If our claim to be loyal churchmen and Christians is denied, we beg to be credited with at least "leanings" in that direction.

Conservatism blinds the eyes of many to the "needs of the times" and to the evolutionary character of all truth.

Radicalism is indeed dangerous, but conservatism is much more so.

A conservative mill-pond kills more by the typhus it breeds than the swift-flowing river ever kills by overflowing its banks.

Extreme church conservatism denies the possibility of progress in Christian doctrine; tenaciously holds to old forms whose life has departed; proclaims, through the House of Bishops, that "fixity of interpretation is of the essence of the Creed," meaning that we must interpret its words as our fathers did and because they did; and, in the language of a bishop, calls the Creed a "chrysalis," that is, a dead stone, and sets it up as an idol for our worship.

Truth is indeed unchangeable, but the forms it takes change as needs demand. Men's knowledge of God and His Christ grows as mental capacity increases.

Every article of the Apostles' Creed, while its letter remains, has taken on larger meanings. Our conservatives themselves interpret *ten* of its articles in ways that show great advance over the interpretations of the "fathers." But they insist that the other two, namely, "born of the Virgin Mary" and "the Resurrection," must still be taken in their strict literalness.

But if *ten* have grown in spiritual meaning, why not the other two, without injury to the faith?

"I believe in God—maker of Heaven and earth" once meant that God was so wise as to make all things in six days of twenty-four hours each; but even many conservatives now take it to mean, as do the radicals, that God is so wise as to make all things make themselves,—the law of evolution.

This new faith does not *destroy* the old, but *enlarges* it.

Again, "Conceived by the Holy Ghost" was once applied to Jesus alone, but when some churchmen now say that *all* men are so conceived, since the Holy Ghost is "the giver of life"—all life—and there is no life except that of God the life-giver, they take away nothing of the truth in the old belief; they but enlarge its meaning.

"He ascended into Heaven" once meant that He made a bodily ascent through the air to some place beyond the stars. But the newer and grander conception of "His Ascension" is that He arose above all earthly limitations of locality and of flesh and became universally present by His spirit.

"Sitteth at the right hand of God" originally meant just that; the Father sits on a throne, His Son on another throne at His right hand; while the Holy Spirit, as a dove, hovers over both. This is still the meaning for most of our heresy hunters, who, while calling themselves Trinitarians, are really Tritheists, saying *one* God while believing in three. But to-day Christ's session at the right hand of God suggests a grander thought than the literalists cherish; that the Eternal Spirit filling all things has *no* "right hand"; that the right hand of God is *nowhere* because it is *everywhere*. So the article has come to mean, not less, but vastly *more* than before, namely, the spiritual Lordship of Jesus Christ.

Again, "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church" once meant the Roman Catholic Church. If old interpretations are forever "fixed" honesty would take those who repeat that clause back into the church where their ancestors belonged. But

believers in freedom of interpretation mean by it the Church Universal, all-inclusive, broad, coëxtensive with the good of all ages, nations and religions.

So we might show how ten articles of the Creed have been given much higher meanings. Is it then impossible for more light to shine forth from the Bible and Science on the other two, namely, the "Virgin birth" and the Resurrection? Has there been development in all other Christian doctrines, but can be none in these? When we say "resurrection" must we mean "of the flesh," that the buried body will come to life again? St. Paul says to the man who believes that, "Thou fool!" And because the church has so long ignored his teaching of a "spiritual body" rising at death out of the grave of the physical, must we now accept the judgment of a Diocesan Court and the Review Court following it, that St. Paul and his present-day followers are heretics? There is a singular silence on this resurrection question and few if any will argue for the old materialistic notion. Perhaps it is because they themselves have given it up, while unwilling for various reasons to publicly say so. At any rate, the discussion to-day is directed chiefly to the interpretation of the clause, "born of the Virgin Mary."

Dr. Bushby insists that "the incarnation of God in Jesus Christ depends on the physical fact." The same position is taken by a Western bishop: "God could not have come into the world except by being physically born of a virgin." In this they differ from St. Paul who says that "God is in all" and who applies to Christ's followers the same expressions he applies to the Master Himself: "Partakers of the Divine nature," "sons of God," "filled with all the fulness of God," as Jesus was, the difference being in degree and not in kind. He wrote from the Monistic standpoint—God *in* the world; not God *and* the world; he was the first Christian Pantheist. He taught God dwelling in and not manifesting Himself through Jesus of Nazareth, al-

though he knew nothing of the Virgin Birth; or, if he did know of it, he never mentioned it, not considering it an essential of the faith nor of necessity to the doctrine or fact of the Incarnation. With him God is in all men and things; but in such fulness in His Chosen Son that looking at Him, men can see what God is like, and what true man is like; the Ideal which every man should try to reach and become such a son of God as Jesus was.

Belief in the Divinity, or even the Deity of Jesus Christ does not depend upon the mode in which He came into the world, but upon His character—upon what He was and is. So when we read, "This virgin life was the result of His Virgin birth—meaning by Virgin a pure unmarried maiden," we answer, "That is a *non-sequitur*."

The same faultily logic is seen in the argument based upon St. Matthew's quotation from Isaiah: "A virgin shall conceive and bring forth a son." He grants that this "virgin" was Isaiah's own young wife, by whom the prophecy was fulfilled *partially*. But he argues that its *complete* fulfillment could only be "through a maid who was *no* wife—namely, the Blessed Virgin Mary giving birth to the Eternal Son of God." But surely the legitimate conclusion is that the young married woman who partially fulfilled the prophecy typifies another virgin of the same kind—that is, a young married woman, to completely fulfill it.

But aside from the dispute over words, it is well known that the writer of St. Matthew's Gospel used old prophecies in a way that carries no weight to-day. Thus, he says that the return of the Child and His parents from Egypt was a fulfillment of the prophecy of Hosea, "Out of Egypt have I called my Son"; while the truth is that Hosea referred to Israel's deliverance from its ancient bondage.

New Testament writers may be counted infallible witnesses to facts before their eyes, but as *interpreters* of facts they are not infallible. Whether the stories of

the Nativity in St. Matthew and St. Luke are literal facts cannot now be proved or disproved; therefore freedom of opinion should be allowed. Certainly their two genealogical tables are mutually contradictory, except in making Him the son of Joseph. The Nativity stories seem to have been unknown to the compilers of His genealogy and do not fit in with their purpose to make Joseph His father. Nor do they fit in with Mary's saying to Jesus: "Lo, Thy father and I have sought Thee sorrowing"; nor with the declaration of His first disciples: "We have found Him of whom Moses in the Law and the Prophets did write, Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of Joseph."

The story of His miraculous birth was not then known to these men, His neighbors; nor was it *that* which converted them into faithful followers. The alleged fact does not seem to be of any importance in the estimation of the Apostles. The Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke mention it, but, possibly, as the addition of later hands. St. John in his Gospel of the Incarnation of the Word of God seems ignorant of it. St. Mark, author of the original Gospel, knows nothing of it—or else considers it not worth mentioning; nor do any of the writers of the Epistles—the men who went into all the world to preach the Gospel to every creature—use it as a part of their Gospel or make it an essential of the Christian faith.

Dr. Bushby says: "This silence does not prove ignorance on their part; but they felt that since two Evangelists had told the story, that was enough." A good answer, *if* the printed New Testament had then existed with its present wide circulation! But since each of the four Evangelists wrote for a certain people among whom his manuscript, with its few copies, was necessarily localized, then two of them, St. Mark and St. John, deliberately withheld from their readers this now-considered fundamental fact of the Christian faith.

Further, the chief missionaries, Peter,

Paul and John, writing letters to the churches they established, deliberately withheld from them this all-important knowledge, which they never could get from any other source, since none of the other Gospels were written until after those churches were founded and these Epistles written.

Dr. Bushby, writing of "the real personality of Jesus," well says: "He was no Hebrew legend or Gentile myth." Nevertheless myths did gather around Him, and especially around His birth. Witness the "Gospel of the Infancy" and other Apocryphal books.

Myths are characteristic of *all* religions, and Christianity could not escape them in that superstitious age. Judaism was full of them, many being adopted from Persia, whence the Jews got their devil, the Spirit of Darkness. The writings of Isaiah show the influence upon him of the religion of Persia, the system of Light-worship, Zoroastrianism, Mithraism. Through it the idea of Divine Incarnation was popularized.

Pythagoras was said to be an incarnation of Apollo by the virgin Parthenis. Even Plato calls him an incarnation of Apollo.

There was a colony of Buddhists in Syria, and one legend is that Maya, the mother of Buddha, conceived him through Divine agency.

There are many examples that the natural feeling of mankind that their heroes and benefactors were of divine origin; and so they were, through a spiritual conception if not a physical one. It was a crude way of expressing the truth that there must be some point of union for the Infinite and the finite, the Divine and the human, and that a pure man or woman is the closest approximation to God that humanity can conceive. It led up to the full truth of the Christian doctrine of the Manhood of God and the Goodness of man. Myths are not falsehoods; they are profound truths put forth in such forms as would alone enable them to be received by the ignorant. The

early church did not need to create any myths; it found them ready made and did not hesitate to adopt and use them as prophecies that had found their fulfillment in Jesus of Nazareth.

The Sun myth was especially fitted to win men to the Christian faith. Mithras was the incarnation of the Sun, born at the winter solstice and of a virgin, the constellation Virgo being then in the horizon. He had a retinue of twelve persons corresponding to the Sun's twelve months. He vanquished the Prince of Darkness, but lost his life in the contest; descended into Hades, as the Sun to the under side of the earth; rose again at Easter as the Sun out of the equinoctial storms; ascended in the heavens and opened the gates of Life to man and redeemed him from the oppression of the Dark, evil One, just as the sun rises higher and higher and gives the world the blessing of summer, thus redeeming it from the darkness and death of winter. This was the religion of the wise men who followed the Star to the cradle of the infant Jesus.

Mithraism was the great rival of the church for nearly three hundred years. That the church adopted those myths as prophecies whose fulfillment was found in Jesus Christ, even as they used the Jewish prophecies for the same purpose, is clear as we consider those ancient Mithraic customs that continue in use with us. Church buildings are still erected with the altar in the east. Church festivals are usually those ancient astronomical ones that mark the sun's entrance into a new sign; witness Christmas, the Epiphany, and Easter. On December twenty-first the sun-worshippers were in doubt whether their Lord would ever rise again; therefore the church chose that day as the festival of St. Thomas. On June twenty-fourth the light began to decrease; therefore the church set it apart as John the Baptist's day. The church even gave astronomical names to the Virgin Mary's parents. Her father they called Heli—short for

Helios, the Sun; and her mother, Anna, feminine for Annos, the year. The church celebrates Anna's birth on July twenty-fifth, the new year's day of ancient Egypt. Because the celestial Virgin of the Zodiac disappears from sight on August fifteenth, the church observes that day in honor of the Virgin Mary's assumption into heaven. As Virgo's head comes into sight on September ninth, the church chose that day to celebrate "the Nativity of Blessed Virgin Mary." So the church freely used the myths of those she sought to win, and showed her wisdom in so doing.

That the virgin birth of Jesus was one of them is possible, although the historic evidence of His personality and work is, I believe, irrefutable. I only insist that the possibility of the popular myth concerning the miraculous birth of the various Sun gods having been transferred to our account of His birth is not an unreasonable supposition, and those who hold it should be allowed to do so in peace.

On the other hand, those who hold to the literal interpretation should not be denounced as believers of a thing contrary to reason and science. For all we know, "partheno-genesis" may be a law of God through which new species have been brought into the world. That it is a law of nature in some departments is undeniable. Huxley says it is common among silk-worms. Maeterlinck finds it among queen bees. In the process of evolution, when a species had developed to its fullest capacity on its plane, it may be that some virgin of that species was chosen by the brooding Spirit of God as the matrix for the conception and birth of the next higher species; that thus was the evolution of all creatures, culminating in humanity; and that then a choice virgin of that order was divinely chosen to start a new creation as far above the ordinary man as the latter is above his animal ancestry.

But what does it matter whether Christians adopt a literal or the non-literal in-

terpretation of the Virgin Birth? The church should be as broad and catholic now as she was in apostolic days and later on, including all who held such essentials of the faith as the Incarnation, whether agreeing or not as to mode; just as all hold the truth of Christ's presence in the Sacrament while differing widely as to the mode of that presence.

Dr. Bushby well says: "What Jesus was as a Person and a Teacher must ever be considered a standing proof that He was indeed the Son of God and the manifestation of Divine Love." But we fail to see any connection between that and His birth. Shakespeare was Shakespeare in virtue of his genius, no matter who his father was.

When Dr. Bushby deplores "the destruction of the old Faith," he fails to distinguish between "the Faith" and its changing forms.

It was needful at first for the truths of Christianity to be clothed in *materialistic forms*, so as to meet with acceptance. To-day there are those who do not need such clothing. It is enough for them to hold the *Spirit* within the letter. Once the doctrine of immortality could be received only in connection with a material body; and so the Creed meant *that*, and does still, for the majority. But to those who are "not carnal" the belief in a "spiritual body" is the form which the doctrine takes. "First that which is natural, afterward that which is spiritual." The same development is seen in the doctrine of the Incarnation. A material form was *once* essential to it, and is yet to most Christians. The only Incarnation of God in Jesus Christ that they can think of is one by physical birth; although "that which is born of the flesh is flesh" and flesh only, and "that which is born of the spirit is spirit" and can be nothing else.

Better that the people accept truth in its crudest form than not at all. The power that was in the old faith still exists in the higher form.

We remember when the world depend-

ed upon horses for most of its land transportation. Then human needs demanded a better method, and steam took the place of horses. Yet, how are steam-engines rated? By their "*horse-power*," the same old power in a more efficient shape. Once we depended upon candles for lighting our homes; but when the need came for more brilliant light, electricity supplanted candles. The former need of candles is not despised nor their usefulness denied. All that they were once a symbol of exists still; for, is not our electricity rated and measured by its "candle-power"? Those with a large stock of horses or candle-moulds on hand when the change came, naturally opposed the innovation.

There is an unconscious conservatism which "biases" men in favor of the old and against the new. Dr. Bushby charges that the "bias" is on the part of the original investigators "who are prejudiced against what is old; influenced by love of novelty and desire for notoriety and the ambition to be counted independent thinkers." Most men are "biased" by the old, by their early education, by their desires to let well enough alone, and by many another *old* thing; but a "bias for the new" is a rare thing. The parson who has spent years in making sermons out of an old theology and in building up an ecclesiastical machine is not *likely* to be "biased in favor of the new." Most ministerial training is a "bias" against new ideas. Theological schools, as I remember them—possibly they have changed—were not intended to broaden but to narrow men's minds; not to train them to think, but to accept thoughts whose value was estimated by their age rather than by their livingness. "New thoughts are dangerous," so we were told.

Professors seemed chosen for their expertness in dissecting dead things. They made themselves solid with the trustees and taught their students to become solid with the elders, vestry and church-people generally, by "renouncing Darwin and all his works."

Evolution accepted necessitates a re-statement of the old theology. But it does not take Jesus Christ from us. The higher our development and soul culture, the farther will He, the Divine Man, be beyond us and worshiped as "God out of God, Light out of Light," to use the language of the Nicene Creed. We believe that this ideal was historically realized, and that, in the main, we have a faithful record of it in the four Gospels.

But even if the almost impossible supposition should ever be proved, that not only His birth but also His entire story is only another Sun myth; that the ideal never was materialized, I would still hold it as a spiritual conception worthy of all our faith, and as the most elevating ideal possible to the human mind and most worthy of men's striving after; and that the most important work in the world is to induce others to reach toward it.

Ideals, not things or persons—except as they are embodiments of ideals—are the all-important, for they make and move the world. High thoughts make high men, as low thoughts make low men. The wise care more for the truth of things than for things. Ideals constitute the essence of religion. The essence alone is the essential part, and the changing forms it assumes are of value only as they bring into view and into use the essence. "The Spirit quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing."

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RELIGION, PHILOSOPHY AND THE DRAMA.

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IN THESE matter-of-fact days it is a far cry from religion to drama; it is a still farther cry from philosophy to art; yet religion and philosophy have an overwhelming influence on the artist in general and the dramatist in particular, and while these elements are superficially ignored, they are fundamentally the most vital influences to be reckoned with in considering dramatic inception, conception and fruition. As a matter-of-fact, the drama is the concrete reflection of the mental attitude of a race toward the religion and philosophy of its period. This link is felt rather than seen, for it is reflected in whatever is psychological or metaphysical in drama.

The most striking example of this perhaps obvious truism to-day is exemplified in the influence of the philosopher Nietzsche on the (to my mind) greatest dramatists of their day, Henrik Ibsen and George Bernard Shaw. The plays of these men are typical examples of the pessimism that is breathed through every page, almost through every line, of the works of the great German philosopher, and as a consequence we are threatened with an almost complete annihilation of the ideals embodied in the conventional hero and heroine of romance.

Now this result may be regarded by many, especially the over-sophisticated as a not-too-thinly disguised blessing, for the destruction of the conventional generally means something new; but does it mean progress—progress in its real sense—progress to higher and better rather than mere change in aspect? Is the romantic to be labelled false because it is life idealized, or because the restless mind wants something new rather than something true?

The conventional in the drama is what the platitude is in ethics. If you take all the platitudes or obvious truths out of the Bible, you have no Bible; if you take all the convention out of the drama, you have no drama; and this is perhaps why the verdict of the man who reads as he runs is that Ibsen and Shaw are not dramatists but propagandists,—an opinion I most heartily disagree with. But whatever the verdict of the general public, the point is that the cause of this lack of appeal to a general audience is the wholesale destruction of its popular ideals. Now I have no objection to the wholesale or retail sacrifice of every ideal now existing in the human mind, providing—and here is my objection to the Nietzschean influence—providing they furnish ideals or standards of good in the place of those they have destroyed.

I quite agree with Messrs. Nietzsche, Ibsen and Shaw, that the world ideals are untrue; that the world, generally speaking, is a hypocrite: that "all things are impure to the pure." But is idealism a vague abstraction? Are we hopelessly self-deluded? Is death the only fact of creation? Is morality a question of geographical location, an adjustable quantity? Is a good man necessarily a failure? Is the process of natural selection (Darwinianism) the order of being? And finally, is death complete and absolute extinction?

The destruction of our hopes, imperfect as they are, leaves the above questions unanswered in ethics, as the destruction of our romantic ideals leaves us with the drama of evil triumphant. The overman of Nietzsche is the triumph of instinct over reason, as the superman of Shaw is the triumph of self-sufficiency

and the repudiation of the doctrine of self-sacrifice. Considered as a fundamental, the doctrine of natural selection and the theory of the evolution of the human race from atom and protoplasm to mushroom, monkey and man, has influenced our greatest dramatists to grossly undervalue, if not completely to ignore, the greatest ethical command ever given to the human race,—namely, Love one another. The vitality, life and dynamic energy of this idea are completely hidden by the self-completeness of individualism; and the destruction of faith in the good is increased by an over-emphasis on the constant presence of the power of evil. Does virtue triumph in a single instance in any of the plays of any disciple of Nietzsche, and when it does is it not a half-hearted, lukewarm victory? It certainly is not a triumph. Is it not a concession grudgingly made to convention? I am not holding a brief for happy endings, or for the conventional. I am heartily sick of both. But what I contend is, that the pessimistic philosophy of the triumph of the beast and the ultimate extinction of mind—soul—destroys not only the ideals and the happiness of the race, but undermines its very existence. Without faith in the existence and infinity of its own good, we have no hope. If virtue is not its own reward, what's the use of being virtuous? (And the good people in these plays are mostly weak when they are not downright fools.) Can we love our neighbor as ourselves if the virtue of loving does not contain within itself the kernel of reward? Cynicism (the offspring of intellectualism) tells us that loving our neighbor is a wasted effort unless our neighbor is honest enough to return it, and then goes on to tell us that the chances are he is not. The effect of the destruction of faith and hope is pretty well exemplified in the "make hay while the sun shines" and "put money in thy purse" policy of our commercial world. Is not dishonesty a direct result of the belief that honesty has *no* reward, but that dishonesty *has*? Is it not a popular theory that nothing

succeeds like success? Whoever heard of a good man being successful because he is a good man rather than a good business man? What I ask is not merely that we shall be shown that evil punishes, but that it shall be insisted on as equally axiomatic that *good rewards*. And this is why the healthy, normal mind asks for the happy ending, not essentially because it is the world's experience (for it is n't), but because it is a fundamental human desire, a normal, sound and sane desire to see virtue rewarded with happiness, or, as the children say, "all end happily." It is a very great question in my mind as to whether the lesson taught by the punishment of evil is as beneficial or as necessary to the human race as the lesson taught by the reward of good. Certain it is that in the Ibsen-Shaw plays very few if any of their characters deserve reward; and if they do, there seems to be no happiness in the peculiar philosophy of these gentlemen to bestow on them. Is it an healthy or an unhealthy sign that the world desires good to conquer evil in the drama as well as in life? But while intellectual men make our plays we must expect the intellectual morbid point-of-view, and intellectually considered in this life, evil is triumphant—for does not death (to all appearances) conquer life, and is not death the greatest of all evils? Now one of the effects of destroying faith in ideals and religion, and the most distinct influence of the philosopher Nietzsche is his complete abrogation of the Christian idea of the hereafter. Like the Hellenic philosophers, our moderns cannot reason it out, and so will "none of it."

Religion is the only conceivable weapon with which the race can attack death; and faith (plus understanding) is the only conceivable element with which we can ever hope to abolish that at present firmly established and apparently unavoidable condition; so that in taking religion, faith and hope out of the world-mind as factors in the development of the race, we are robbing men of the only weapons with which they can hope to

destroy their greatest of all enemies,—or if not destroy, at least modify its terrors. Please understand, this paper is not a plea for scholastic or any other theology; it is an effort to show the effect on the drama of the absence of the religious sense and the wholesale destruction of ideals without putting in the place of these ideals something equally as satisfying.

Ancient philosophy was constructive criticism, optimistic, helpful and uplifting; but modern philosophy is destructive, iconoclastic, pessimistic, intellectual and depressing. For instance:

Christianity, say Nietzsche, Haeckel and a few others (in effect), in its inception was the effort of a weak race to bring a strong race down to its own level through the doctrine of non-resistance; it is an ethico-political movement.

Christianity, says intellectualism, is an effort to ignore the Tree of Knowledge, an effort of the ignorant majority to bring the intellectual minority down to its own level by establishing a universal brotherhood of man based on the emotional "unscientific" sentiment, "Love thy neighbor as thyself."

Christianity, says the materialistic scientist, is an attempt of the weak to survive, when it has been decided by empiricism that the strong only can live.

The religious sense, says the metaphysician and psychologist, is emotion, a feminine instinct (because utterly opposed to logic); moral activity is emotion, it is based on sensation; you must conquer with the will this tendency to venerate the unseen, or it will conquer you (auto-hypnotism). Be your own God; don't allow emotion to control you. Faith is intellectual weakness; spirit is psychic phenomena,—hypnotism, esoteric magic, etc. The only strength is to will and to do. This is life, this is emotion, and (says the intellectual press) this is success. After all, echoes the materialistic world, what are we here for?

So in effect modern philosophy, science and intellectualism teach that love is self-indulgence, patriotism a false

sense of duty, friendship self-interest, virtue an ignorance of consequences, purity disguised impotence, and so on; that nothing is or can be done but from motives of self-interest; that where there is any other motive it is either hypocrisy or self-deception,—it is folly, the folly of believing, the folly of hoping, the folly of emotionalism (religion), the folly of self-delusion—all is folly, all is vanity, all is nothing—what's the use!

Now what is the consequence of this wholesale destruction, this downfall of our ideals, this downfall of faith, of confidence in principle, God, man, love, honor, friendship, mercy, truth, justice, etc.? The answer is very simple: down topple the ideal stage-characters, down topples the good man of the play, down topple the hero and heroine. Without the above-named attributes can we have a hero or heroine? And if we have no hero and heroine, can we have a drama? (We can, but what kind of drama?) And right here is the bed-rock basis of my argument: How can we persuade our audiences to believe in the integrity of our heroes and heroines if we endow them with attributes that they are taught by intellectualism do not exist except in sporadic cases, and then perhaps as exceptions proving the rule of the absence of good from the universe and man? I am not contending that the hero or heroine should be stage puppets, that they should be completely perfect, that they should be all hero and heroine. But should they be all weakness? Should evil predominate in stage characters to such an extent that the human race seems incapable of any good whatsoever? Why should we hold up the weak, the vicious, the ugly, the horrible, as a warning, as something to be avoided, and not hold up the good, the perfect, the beautiful and the pure as examples to follow? Personally, I am for a combination—a skilful blending that gives the preponderating power to good and that robs evil of its charm and vice of its alluring qualities. I do not believe that the American dramatist should sneer at faith and hold virtue

up to ridicule, but this is the tendency of the times. The French husband whose wife deceives him is the national joke of France,—I do not know that this moral obliquity has either strengthened its position as a nation or added to the happiness of its people.

Whether the theater can survive the absence of romance, I know not—to a great or very great extent it has in Europe—but we have not yet reached that period in our development so aptly described in the *History of Greece* as “the apex dividing generation from degeneration.”

The difficulty of writing plays that are not based on the elemental passions, wherein the characters are complex and self-contradictory, as human beings in real life, is evidenced by the fact that not only are Ibsen and Shaw the only ones who *can* write the Ibsen and Shaw type of plays, but that they are the only ones who *do* write them. The play-market would be overflowed with them if our dramatists did not follow the line of easiest mental resistance, and these plays are not imitated because they are not easily imitated. Still, in spite of these obstacles, I believe that the effort would be made if their existence were justified commercially; but the truth is these plays are not nor ever can be popular, not because they are not true to human experience—for they are, if anything, too true—but because they rob the race of its highest ideals,—its hope and its faith in the efficacy of the good.

The character of Anton Von Barwig in the play “The Music Master” is an example of the power of optimism and the sublimity of self-sacrifice.

In “The Lion and the Mouse” the character of Shirley Rossmore shows the power of a weak girl to overcome a strong man by telling him the truth about himself. It is the survival of good and its power over evil.

In “The Daughters of Men” is typified the influence of woman over man in the struggle between capital and labor. The play is far more complex than the other two. It is more human; it is less

romantic, and consequently far less successful. As I have observed on a previous occasion, man has enthroned himself lord of creation, but the power behind this throne is woman. Since the beginning man has dealt with natural or material forces. To a certain extent he has overcome the laws of gravitation, annihilated time and space, overcome tide, wind, wave, etc., but whilst fighting physical forces he has reckoned little with and realized almost nothing of metaphysical forces. Woman is much more endowed with the inherent though unconscious power of the psychic self than man; hence her power of suggestion is greater than his, and it is through this power of suggestion that woman dominates, man, plays on his weaknesses, vanity and self-love, and sets in motion the ever-changing mental aspect he calls point-of-view, on which he bases his opinions, beliefs and ideas. He does not realize that gentle, loving woman is the motivating power, whilst he is the executive.

The sons of men rule the world, but the daughters of men govern it through the men. It is woman who founds society in its artificial aspects. It is woman who creates class distinctions and insists on maintaining them. It is woman who imbues man with desire to emulate, who instills into him social ambition, that inevitably brings in its train the restless fever of acquisition, the madness of gold, the ambition for power through financial success. It is the woman who is at once the social bulwark, the aristocrat and the snob. It is woman who cares for the petty observances and formalities of social life, and men, whose vanity and weaknesses become women's strength, pose as lords of creation, while they follow her in blind obedience to instinct and vanity, mutely acknowledging her power to lead and their own inability to refuse to follow. Men fight each other in the struggle for wealth, but they fight for woman's admiration. They fight that their women may maintain their position in the front ranks of the social world and so the battle goes on in each lower

strata of society, individual man fighting first for what is necessary for his existence, and then for the social supremacy he may give his female. He fights that his wife or his sister, or his daughter, or his mistress may be as good or better than the next man's. He does the fighting but it is the woman who suggests, inspires, encourages. It was the market-women of Paris, who, maddened with envy at the more fortunate courtesans' class, started the French Revolution. It was the extravagance, the immorality, the appeal to the selfish and animal instincts of men by the women of Versailles that primarily created the conditions that led to the Revolution. It is woman who creates the unrest in man—it is woman who must quell it.

In the play "The Daughters of Men" are a triangle of women—sharply contrasted types. I know of no better description than the French give us—*Le Grande Monde*, *Le Petit Monde* and *Le Demi Monde*—the upper world, or the aristocracy; the lower world, or the submerged tenth; and the courtesan world, or fast set. These three women are cause and effect. The upper world by its apathy and ostentation of wealth, the courtesan world by its extravagance and licentiousness, have produced a female third estate—the girl who hates; the girl who has been taught to hate; the girl who has been educated that she may hate scientifically. She is a by-product of false socialism and poverty and is easily the most interesting of the three groups, for she has beauty, genius and high spirits. She has been brought up on the doctrine of "do or you will be done," not "do unto others as you would they should do unto you." So when she is brought face to face with the daughter of aristocracy, the consequence is drama. She wounds the sensibilities of the patrician, but she makes her think and finally move—stirs her to action.

When the daughter of socialism comes in contact with the daughter of vice, she shocks her false sense of decorum, for the daughter of vice demands the perfection of good breeding in others, that

is so conspicuously absent in herself. It is a triangular duel between these three women—a curious exhibition of feminine psychology.

The daughter of the plutocracy and the daughter of the people love the same man. He is an idealist, and it is the difference in their method of showing this love that furnishes psychological values. The daughter of the people, as do certain materialistic skeptics, believes idealism to be weakness and thinks it her duty to strengthen the man she loves, to imbue him with the spirit of force of class-hatred. The French Revolution is always before her and she sees nothing but animal existence on earth. Force must be met with force, she reasons. This is false socialism.

On the other hand the daughter of aristocracy believes herself to be socially above but mentally inferior to the man, and is afraid she will interfere with his career of loving his neighbor as himself. She approves of the idea of good overcoming evil, but cannot rise to the point of self-sacrifice involved in carrying out the idea. Both women are willing to sacrifice themselves for him, but not for each other.

The courtesan looks on—laughs—wonders. She does n't care one way or the other; she does n't understand idealism and hates aristocracy because she can only play at it. She knows nothing beyond the fact that idealism threatens to interfere with the *tempo* of her existence, and that aristocracy despises her, because she has robbed it of one of its noble scions. She thinks both the upper and the lower world are peopled with fools who do n't know how to live, because they do n't know how to love—at least they do n't understand love as she understands it, and so she leaves the upper and lower-world women to fight it out alone, as the selfish "old families" of America to-day have left the unsophisticated reformer and the over-sophisticated politician to fight their battle in the political world.

This duel is the mental fight to a finish

between the two worlds as represented by the daughter of the classes against the daughter of the masses. The girl of the people and the lady of the highest social position meet and oppose each other primarily on the question of class differences, but really on the subject of their love for the man, and the girl of the people finally succumbs to the gentleness, honor, high feeling and fine breeding of the lady. But the lady has learned her lesson. The woman of the under world has taught her that the discontent of the people is not a mere ruffle on the surface of the times, brought about by Red Flag or green jealousy or Yellow Journal agitation, but is a deep-rooted resentment of the inhumanity of man to man as exemplified by the cold indifference, selfishness and brutal apathy of womankind to womankind. The girl of the people on her part finds out that self-repression and gentle manner mean more than mere class, more than mere good breeding—it means a something that she has not, and the absence of that something has lost for her the man she loves. That something she finds out is not social position plus finery, feathers and beauty; not temperament, headstrong will, a determination to be, to do, or to have, but a deep-rooted faith in the principle of good—a gentle, loving, kindly disposition with

a tendency to self-effacement—and this she discovers is the real copyright to the title of *lady*—the real cornerstone of aristocracy, and not as she imagined, mere plutocracy pluming itself in its newly-acquired finery, while its second generation is running through its ill-gotten inheritance in extravagant, riotous life. She realizes that society has to deal with its own carrion much the same as the people, and that the good and bad in all classes are always opposed. They both learn that the fight between the classes and the masses is envy, hatred and greed on one side, with avarice, apathy and self-indulgence on the other; that the hope of the future lies in the women of the world setting the men of the world an example, involving, if not self-denial, at least a repression of the passions of greed, avarice and brutal self-indulgence, which are at the base of all selfishness. This in turn will enable men to think more of their fellow-beings, to feel more for them, perhaps in time to love them; and the relation of capital and labor will resolve itself into a question of morals and not of economics. Woman has great responsibility: she brings children into the world—she must train them in the way they should go.

CHARLES KLEIN,

New York City.

THE THEATER AS A POTENTIAL FACTOR FOR HIGHER CIVILIZATION, AND A TYPICAL PLAY ILLUSTRATING ITS POWER.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

"The theater is a crucible of civilization. It is a place of human communion. All its phases need to be studied. It is in the theater that the public soul is formed."—*Victor Hugo.*

I. THE THEATER A CRUCIBLE OF CIVILIZATION.

SINCE the main purpose of the theater has been confessedly to entertain and amuse, most people have under-

valued the subtle but powerful influence for good or evil that it necessarily exerts over the popular imagination. The mind of man in many respects resembles the sensitive plate of the camera. It is ever receiving mental pictures—ideas which consciously or unconsciously influence in a positive way the thoughts and acts of after life. It is not necessary

for a man to be conscious of the fact that he is imbibing truth or error, exalted ideals or debasing concepts, for the effect to be made on the mental sensitive plate. Indeed, it is frequently the case that the most powerful and lasting impressions are made when the mind is unconscious of the fact that it is being influenced. This fact has so escaped the thought-moulders among our moral leaders that one of the greatest potential educators and engines for moral upliftment has been largely abandoned to men wanting in noble idealism, and too frequently to persons who are so dominated by money madness that they have not hesitated to pander to the vilest passions, stimulating the sensual side of life for the purpose of enriching their coffers, though in so doing they have necessarily made the stage, at times at least, a breeding place for moral miasma alike for actors and audiences.

The Greeks more than any other people known to civilization appreciated the tremendous educational power of the drama over the popular imagination. They made the theater one of the most effective bonds that bound the distant colonies to Attica. In speaking of this fact, Victor Hugo points out that "in the interest of civilization Greece" invariably in her small colonies, even in the remotest outposts, far from the throbbing heart of Attica, "by the side of the citidel had a theater." The Greeks understood the potential influence which it exerted when the great plays of Æschylus and other masters were produced. They knew it would serve to keep "alive the flame of love for the fatherland." Moreover, "this civilization by Poetry and Art had such a mighty force that it sometimes subdued even war. The Sicilians, as Plutarch relates in speaking of Nicias, gave liberty to the Greek prisoners who sang the verses of Erupides."

That the theater must exert a positive influence on the human mind for good or ill is apparent to any thoughtful person who considers that it speaks to the reason when it is off guard, as it were, and

ready to receive the message. It appeals to the emotions—the most powerful element in the nature of man, and it addresses the auditor in the most effective possible manner, by eye as well as ear. Even those who cannot follow arguments, readily understand the facts involved if presented in a vivid picture, as an act on the stage. And when the eye helps the understanding at every step, and at the same time the imagination is reinforced by a powerful appeal to the emotional nature, it is evident the auditor cannot escape the subtle and compelling influence of the theater, especially if the play is well presented, so as to not offend the esthetic or artistic instincts of the beholder.

II. HOW THE THEATER CAN MAKE FOR PROGRESS.

There are many ways in which the stage can be made the handmaid of progress. One class of plays foster a broader culture, stimulating interest in history and the master creations of literature, acquainting the reader with important events and with customs, dress and habits of thought of former ages, while awakening trains of thought that not unfrequently lead to noble intellectual productions. Shakespeare's historical masterpieces are admirable examples of the value of the drama as a popular intellectual educator and stimulator. This is especially the case where the plays are produced with due regard to historical verity, as were the productions of Henry Irving and Richard Mansfield, and where the chief actors are men of rich imagination and deep insight, so that they can sound the depths of the master dramatist's great creations, bringing out and emphasizing the thought and truths that are most important and illuminating in them, as was done by such actors as Edwin Booth, Edwin Forrest and John McCullough.

Again, the stage becomes a popular educator when it adequately presents masterpieces of literature, as was done by Mrs. Fiske in her dramatization of *Vanity Fair* and as is done when any



Photo. by White, New York.

SCENE FROM "THE LION AND THE MOUSE."

(Shirley Rossmore and John Ryder)

of the great problem plays of the master thinkers are presented in such a manner as to lay bare the evils of present conditions while luminously indicating a way out of the labyrinth of human misery and degradation due to evil acts and unjust conditions.

To-day social and economic problems are looming so large on the horizon of civilization and are so appealing to the consideration of all thoughtful and conscientious persons, that plays which appeal to the imagination of the people in a helpfully suggestive manner are efficient allies of peaceful progress.

No one who saw E. S. Willard's production of "The Middleman" could fail to see and feel the force of the essentially unjust social conditions that prevail and which the apostles of the dollar-worshipping feudalism of wealth seek in every possible manner to obscure.

Many of these problem plays which deal with social and economic conditions fail, however, of their purpose because they merely present an evil condition without showing the way out or emphasizing any fundamental spiritual truth essential to a real solution of unhappy conditions. We have witnessed many powerful dramas which have uncovered social injustice in a striking and almost startling manner, but which because of the cynicism or sense of hopelessness that pervaded them failed of effective good because they left the mind of the theater-going public in the dark and with a sense of depression or hopelessness pervading it. True, the student who had the time and disposition might see a way out, might understand that the employment of certain great spiritual and economic laws based on justice would reverse conditions and bring light, order, peace and progress where there is now inharmony and chaos. But the majority of theater-goers have neither the time nor the disposition to reason deeply on things that they imagine do not touch their daily lives in a vital way. Now if the playwright had flooded the production with the light of moral

idealism, if he had shown with a few luminous happenings or precepts, introduced as part of the web and woof of the play and not as a sermon lugged in, how the entrance of justice and love would foster the reign of brotherhood, in which no man would be wronged and each would reap what he had sown, the play, so negative and depressing in its effect, would have become morally invigorating, a positive educational factor indirectly elevating all who came under its influence.

It is, therefore, a subject of profound satisfaction to those who realize that moral idealism or "the vision" is the hope of a nation, to find a dawning recognition of this high demand on the twentieth century drama by certain playwrights. In "A Message from Mars" we had a fine illustration of a play that revealed present conditions in a compelling manner while impressing redemptive ideas.

But it is in the recent dramas of Charles Klein that we see the most effective work in this direction. Here are plays of present-day life so true to prevailing conditions, so intensely human, so strong in dramatic power, and yet so free from cheap melodramatic tricks and subterfuges, that they at once arouse and compel attention. They carry the audience with them in a manner possible only when the playwright is a master of his craft. And yet they are instinct with moral virility. They uncover evil conditions convincingly while being luminous with moral idealism, so interwoven as to reveal the way out of the tangled maze in which men and women are fighting at cross purposes in the realm of modern materialistic commercialism. No one can see such plays as "The Lion and the Mouse" and "The Daughters of Men" without being forced to take cognizance of sinister present-day social and economic conditions, without being forced to think seriously, and also without seeing and feeling that the salvation of civilization, the hope, happiness and elevation of man and nation, are dependent on the exercise of

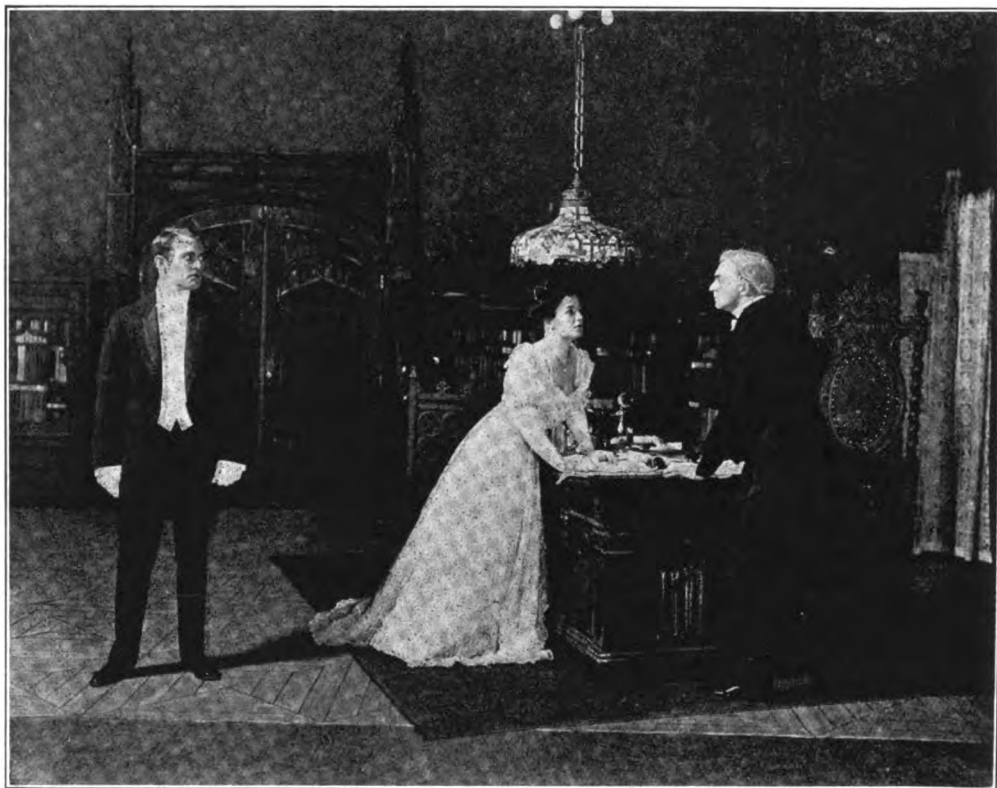


Photo. by White, New York.

SCENE FROM THE "LION AND THE MOUSE."

(Young Ryder, Shirley Rossmore, and John Ryder).

that spirit of love which includes justice and which is great enough to rise above selfish desire.

One illuminating illustration of the power of Mr. Klein's plays over men in different stations of life is found in the following news item published in the *Enquirer*, of Buffalo, New York:

"The value of the drama as a teacher is gaining recognition. 'The Daughters of Men' is furnishing a case in point that is worth noting. Upon the occasion of its presentation at Wilkesbarre, Pa., the play was witnessed by an employer of labor who was so impressed with the intimate and comprehensive knowledge of the labor *versus* capital problem manifested by its author, Charles Klein, that he sent the foreman of his extensive plant,

which had just passed through an irritating strike, to Scranton, where the play was to be given on the following evening. The foreman, accompanied by several of the men in his charge, were likewise delighted with the play and on their return next day said to their employer that they had learned through the lucid stage presentation that what really seemed insurmountable differences between employer and wage-workers were often really trivial affairs easy of adjustment were the professional agitator eliminated. The employer confessed also that he had in mind duplicates of the capitalists of the play—who thought like them, acted like them and maintained the same attitude toward their employés. 'The Daughters of Men' held the mirror up to both this employer and his workmen. The Wilkes-

barre *Times*, in commenting on this fact, said: 'Mr. Klein has written a play that must eventuate in much benefit to both capital and labor by pointing the way to amicable adjustment of differences.'"

Here we have a typical illustration of the power inherent in a noble play to

private life and covering with ignominy the incorruptible popular servants, that has been presented in dramatic literature.

John Ryder, the master character in this play, is a colossal composite creation that is thoroughly typical. "It is John D. Rockefeller and H. H. Rogers rolled into one", said a discerning critic who had

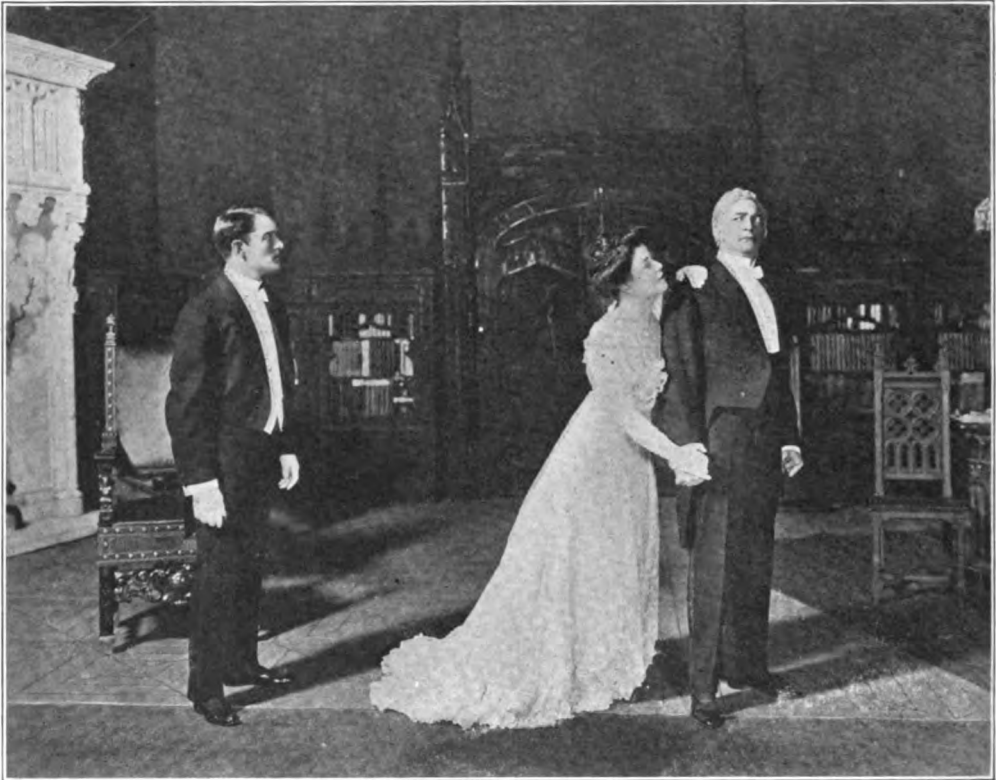


Photo. by White, New York.

SCENE FROM "THE LION AND THE MOUSE."

(Young Ryder, Shirley Rossmore and John Ryder).

make for peace, brotherhood and social righteousness.

III. "THE LION AND THE MOUSE" AND ITS MASTER TYPICAL FIGURE.

Mr. Klein's "The Lion and the Mouse" gave America the most powerful drama uncovering the modern feudalism of privilege at work in acquiring immense wealth, in corrupting and thus destroying free government, and in driving into

a somewhat wide experience in Wall street. Certain it is that the character reflects in an almost startling manner the dominant spirit of the masters in the modern feudalism of privileged wealth. As a study of the present-day Cæsar, the masterful mind, keen, penetrating, brilliant and resourceful on the intellectual plane, but morally blind, the character of John Ryder has no equal in American literature. Here is a supremely tragic phenomenon appearing as a product of

civilization after two thousand years of Christianity—a man splendidly endowed with a masterful intellect, but morally insane. He sees no moral criminality in secretly ruining a man who through long years of patient and honorable labor has built up a good business; he sees no criminality in corrupting the people's servants and in elevating to places of power venal tools who will render safe his evasions of law, or who will prevent the people from redressing the wrongs for which he and his corporations are responsible; he sees no criminality in deliberately compassing the removal of and disgracing a judge whose only offense is that he has refused to be false to his oath of office, refused to perjure his soul and betray the people when the head of the master trust demanded that he should do so. John Ryder is indeed a typical modern high financier, a Warwick in the domain of the commercial feudalism, a man keenly awake on the intellectual plane but crazed by greed for gold—morally insane. He is as one on a vessel, who has gone into the hold and closed and fastened the hatches, and who is wandering in the dark vainly imagining he is basking in the sunshine. The ruthless spirit of the gold-crazed masters of Wall street, the power they are exerting over the people's servants, their insatiable appetite for gold, their ruthless spoliation of the people, their defiance of law, their contempt for justice—all these things are brought out vividly in the representation of the life and spirit of John Ryder and in the incidents that illuminate his life.

In this play we have another master character, Shirley Rossmore, the brilliant young woman who under the *nom de plume* of Miss Green enters the home of John Ryder. She represents the divine feminine, the spirit that is instinct with the moral fervor that redeems. True, to save her father, the judge whom Ryder is ruthlessly seeking to destroy, she commits deception and does things that bring their own punishment, as do, sooner or later, all infractions of the moral law;

but in Shirley Rossmore the preponderating influence is moral idealism. She uncovers the essential criminality of the daily practices of John Ryder and compels the magnate to see himself stripped of the raiment of respectability which he employs in an effort to deceive himself and others. She removes the bandage from his moral vision, much against his will; but in the end, after a long battle with his lower self, signs of moral sanity are seen and a growing disposition to yield to the compulsion of moral idealism.

In "The Lion and the Mouse" the mental master and moral maniac we call the high financier or trust magnate is exposed to view in his true character. Here the inordinate avarice that clouds all spiritual perception is laid bare by a master hand, while the spiritual truth that must be evoked—nay, that must be made the dominant note in national life if the Republic is to be restored to its early position as a moral world-power and a leader of civilization, is suggested.

It is, however, in Mr. Klein's later play, "The Daughters of Men," that this great truth is most luminously brought out.

IV. "THE DAUGHTERS OF MEN" AS A SOCIAL STUDY.

As in all Mr. Klein's plays, the dialogue in this drama is bright, natural and convincing. There is nothing stilted, artificial or foreign to the story. The characters are real flesh and blood human personalities. The drama pulsates with the play of intense human emotions and it is strong in dramatic situations, which, however, unlike the climaxes in melodramas, develop so naturally that the auditor's credulity is not taxed. What happens, though often surprising, is precisely what might naturally be expected to take place under the existing circumstances. Hence the play is nobly realistic while being instinct with lofty spiritual idealism. It is a miniature representation of the nation-wide struggle now going on between the feudalism of priv-

ileged wealth and organized labor in which idealism and the materialism of the market, duty and human love, jostle one another at every turn; while in both the opposing camps is revealed that extreme egoism that breeds moral insanity aggressively fighting the broad spiritual principles that are the vital breath of true civilization and which alone furnish the key to the peaceful and permanent solution of the age-long struggle.

In his deeply thoughtful paper contributed to this issue, Mr. Klein has given us a splendid analysis of the three typical characters that suggest the title of this drama; and since he has dwelt so luminously on what they represent as typical figures in the struggle between darkness and light at the present time, we shall consider the play chiefly as a

social study, noting its special bearing on the great conflict now on in the industrial world.

The leading characters of the play are strictly typical. Their words and actions are so characteristic as instantly to carry conviction to the mind. One feels instinctively that they are not actors but master-spirits among the men and women actually engaged in the momentous struggle now being waged between light and darkness, between that fundamental democracy that is based on freedom, justice and fraternity, and the materialistic ideal of class government represented in the Republic to-day by the arrogant feudalism of privileged wealth.

Side by side with the spirit of modern commercialism, so graphically represented by Matthew Crosby, whose swollen

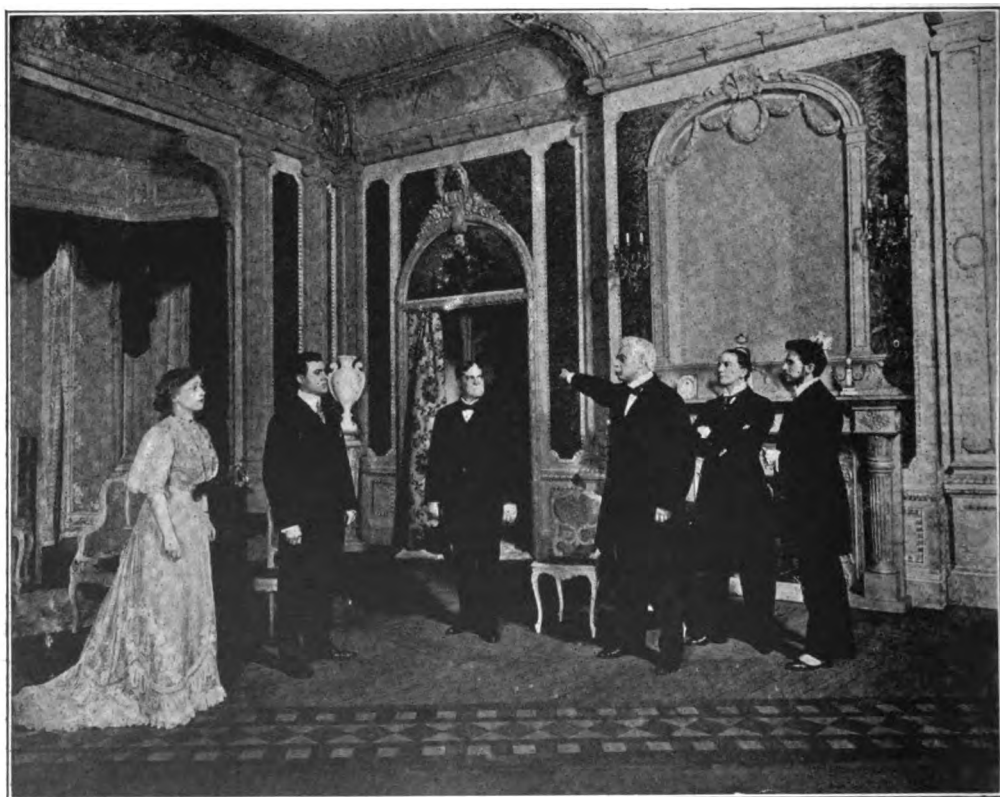


Photo. by White, New York.

SCENE FROM "THE DAUGHTERS OF MEN."

(Grace Crosby, John Stedman, James Burrell, Richard Millbank, Matthew Crosby and James Thedford).

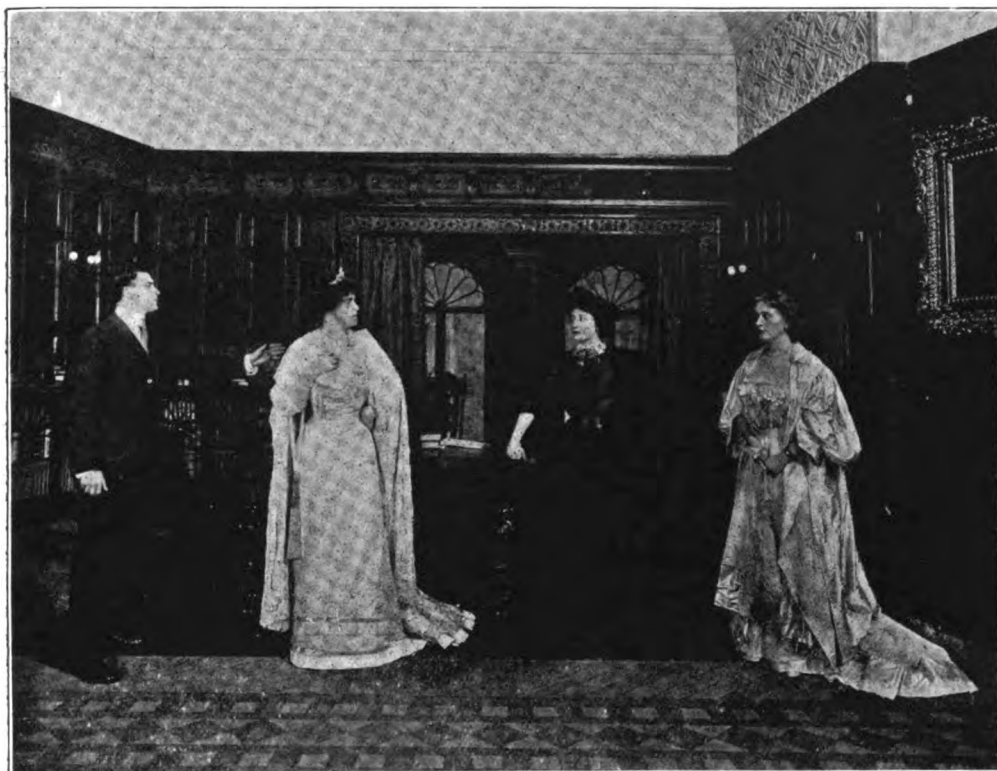


Photo. by White, New York.

SCENE FROM "THE DAUGHTERS OF MEN."

(John Stedman and the three typical women of the play, Mrs. Reginald Crosby, Louise Stolbeck and Grace Crosby).

fortune is so largely due to indirection and who indignantly resents his uncle's suggestion of arbitration, virtually insisting that the relation of capital and labor must be that of master and slave, and furthermore that the relation of the capitalistic producer to the consumers be that of the privileged monopolist who levies usurious extortion, we have in Richard Milbank the type of the older order of capitalists—the man of commanding intellect but who is also influenced by moral idealism. The difference between these typical men is strongly brought out when the uncle reasons with his nephews on the strike situation and strives to show them the more excellent way than the one they are pursuing and which is jeopardizing their fortunes on the one hand and creating untold misery among the poor on the other; and the

earnest pleadings of the elder man give us a glimpse of the great secret of life and death in the social organism in nation and civilization. We see on the one hand a masterful, determined, ruthless egoism battling for physical and mental supremacy, regardless of the law of solidarity or the ethical issues involved; while on the other hand we have the same masterful intellectual power that is presented in the gold-crazed egoist, but here the moral vision has not been blinded or the conscience silenced. Here the intellect is the servant of the ideal of right. Its supreme allegiance is yielded to the divine demand of the spiritual nature. When the aged capitalist tells his nephews that when he was a master-spirit in the great works and the workmen had a grievance, he called the leaders together, had them state fully and freely their views of the

situation, after which he presented his side of the case, and then in the spirit of friendship and brotherhood they strove to reach an amicable settlement, in which usually both sides made concessions, we are made to see the play of those principles that ever enthrone right above cunning or might and that differentiate the spiritually illuminated soul or the altruist from the egoist:

And is not here the crux of the whole age-long struggle between might and right? Is not here the real difference between the prophet and liberator and the master or tyrant? Call the roll of the distinguished ones who have won an immortality of infamy or of glory throughout the ages, and see how naturally they fall into two classes. In the case of the great fatal figures of history we shall find that though the immediate motive impulse has been sometimes one thing and sometimes another, it has always been marked by the subordination of the higher nature to selfish desires; always it has been accompanied by partial or total spiritual blindness. Thus with Alexander the Great, lust for power and conquest blinded his moral perceptions. With Caligula moral insanity expressed itself in lust for blood. Nero's sensual gratifications companioned the fierce delight which the savage feels as he witnesses the sufferings of his victims; while with the gold-crazed moral maniacs of our present-day plutocracy it is an insatiable hunger for wealth, an inordinate desire to heap up dollars, regardless of how they may be acquired.

In the early scenes of "The Daughters of Men" we see in the lives of the two women of the Crosby household the same line of cleavage between life and death, altruism and egoism. Mrs. Reginald Crosby has been an actress. Reveling in the mimic world, she has lived for self and has nourished her vanity. She has mistaken the artificial, superficial, and ephemeral for the genuine, fundamental and enduring. She has succeeded in ensnaring Reginald Crosby, who is another

type of the egoist—the man who has abandoned himself to the gratification of his fleshly desires; and now, unsatisfied amid her great wealth, which she once imagined would give her enduring happiness, she is seeking relief from *ennui* by indulging in those insane exhibitions of the new rich that have so scandalized American society life in recent years, such as monkey banquets and suppers to pet dogs. Her contempt for the wealth-creators who toil with their hands is but one of many signs of the startling and tragic spectacle of spiritual blindness among those who through accident of birth or association have reached a point where they do not find it necessary to toil for a livelihood.

This profound anesthesia of the spiritual life seems more terrible and repellant in a woman than in a man, and here it is brought into bold contrast by being placed by the side of Grace Crosby's partially awakened moral nature. Grace has been born and reared in a home of luxury and has been held in thrall by the soul-deadening influences of her environment. She has from babyhood breathed the atmosphere of moral death that permeates so many homes of the new-rich of the present time. But in her the divine spirit is only lightly slumbering, and when the ideals of justice and right are presented by John Stedman, the brilliant young lawyer who is the labor leader in the great strike, she feels instinctively the majesty of moral idealism. Still for a time her environment holds her in bondage and confuses her vision; so she reminds us of the blind man during the first moments after the Great Galilean had drawn away the veil and he "saw trees as men walking."

Passing from the camp of capital we enter the army of labor as presented in this remarkable play, and here again we see the same struggle with a different background. Here indeed the revealing truth showing the fundamental or secret moving principles that make for life or death, for happiness or unsatisfied yearn-

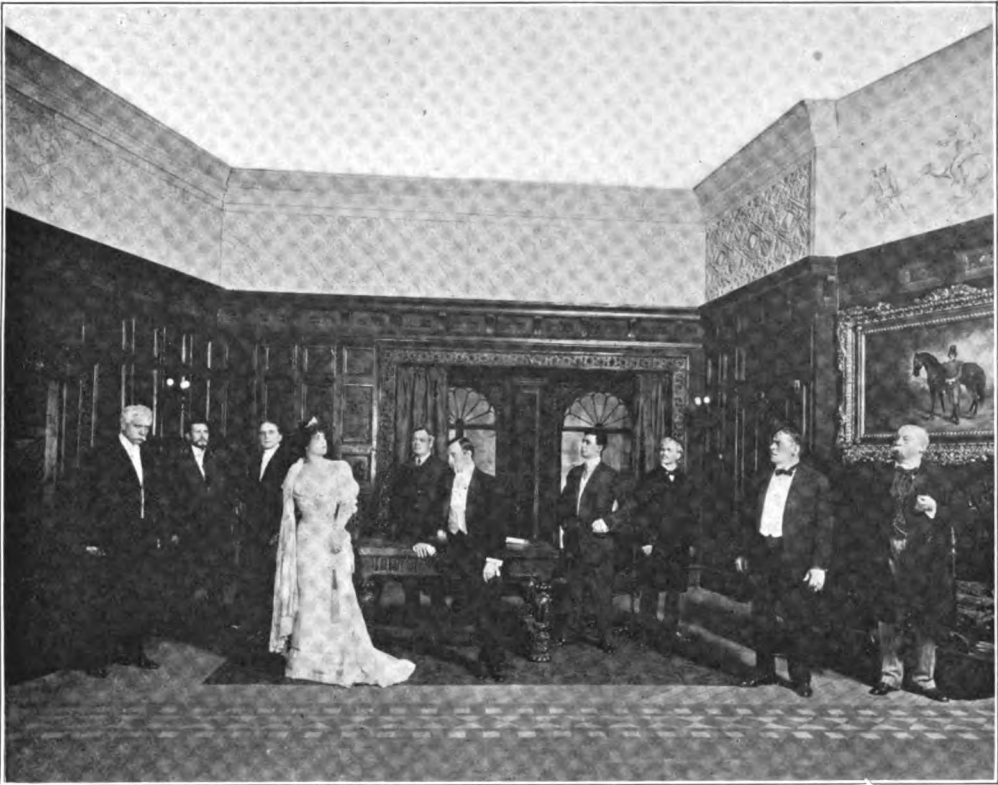


Photo by White, New York.

SCENE FROM "THE DAUGHTERS OF MEN."

(Richard Millbank, James Thedford, Mathew Crosby, Mrs. Reginald Crosby, Patrick McCarthy, Reginald Crosby, John Stedman, Oscar Lockett, James Burruss, Louis Stolbeck.

ings, for growth or disintegration, is brought out, if possible, even more clearly in the second division of the play, in which the curtain is lifted and we are introduced to the master-spirit among the forces of labor. John Stedman is the type of the morally-awakened reformer, the leader who is safe because he is not only mentally acute and well-poised, but is under the compulsion of moral idealism. He is a lawyer who has come East from the West. He had graduated from one of those magnificent institutions of learning like the University of Wisconsin, where the spiritual verities are not ignored or subordinated to reactionary ideals. The young labor leader's grandfather had been the governor of his native State; his father was a clergyman; and he had early learned to place right above

all selfish considerations, to love justice and to follow the ideal of the Golden Rule. Hence when, after coming East, he found that the men in the employ of the Milbank & Crosby Federated Companies were not receiving sufficient return for their long hours of labor to enable them to support their families in comfort, to properly educate their children or to lay up money for the days of illness and the winter of age, while at the same time the masters of the bread-winners were watering their stock so that the actual earnings on the money invested were almost incredibly fabulous, he at once championed the cause of the strikers, bringing into the movement the moral enthusiasm that always makes a cause formidable.

His mastery over the men has been

such as to prevent any violence or lawlessness on the part of the toilers that would have ensued from the irresponsible and revolutionary spirits ever present among the forces of toil and who are either the victims of blind emotionalism or the slaves of an egoism less intelligent but none the less pronounced than that which governs our Rockefellers, Rogerses, Morgans, Ryans, Belmonts, Harrimans and other master-spirits in the plutocracy, who to-day are exerting such a baleful and morally-disintegrating influence on society. More than this, by a clear statement of the facts involved, by showing that the men were not receiving the fruit of their industry, as the financial returns of the factory revealed, and that all the workers demanded was justice, John Stedman had turned the tide of public opinion in favor of the workers, and among the thousands who came under the spell of his exalted purpose and compelling oratory was Grace Crosby.

Love springs up between these two young people and is the cause of the first great testing temptation that confronts the young man—a temptation such as comes to every moral leader who is worthy to guide the people out of the darkness into the light. When in the Crosby mansion the representatives of the plutocracy, realizing the intellectual brilliancy and power of Stedman and appreciating the immense importance of detaching such a man from the people's cause, offer to withdraw all objections to his marriage with their sister and at the same time offer to make him one of their well-paid legal counsel, thus opening up to him an easy path to the acquisition of great wealth and popular distinction, we see the young man face to face with one of the most powerful and seductive temptations. Union with the one woman in the world who commands his love, wealth, worldly success and eminence, all are offered as the price of duty, of fealty to the proverbially ungrateful multitude. And then, to make the temptation still stronger, the young woman,

only partially awakened to the greater things of life, cannot understand why her lover should refuse her for the rabble, thus missing the crucial point at issue and throwing her influence on the side of moral death. Here is one of the supreme temptations that come sooner or later, in one form or another, to each soul who resolutely rises above sense perceptions that he may be true to the vision. The refusal of John Stedman to be false to right, even for the love of an idolized woman, because he knows that such yielding will forfeit his right to the only kind of love that can ennoble, sustain and nourish the soul, marks the true leader, the modern savior, the idealist who will not be false to the divine promptings that guide ever onward and upward.

In James Burrese, the visionless revolutionary who longs to resort to force and mob violence, and perhaps in a somewhat less degree in Louis Stolbeck and in the revolutionary editor, Oscar Lackett, we have the other typical representatives of extreme egoism that move in the cellar of being, with the windows opening to the spiritual heights closely shut and the blinds drawn. With them hate rather than love is the dominant note. They are awakened only on the plane of sense perception. They thirst for precisely the things that are the master-desires of the great egoists of our plutocracy. To abandon a cause to this element would be merely to exchange masters—to invite, indeed, a riot of license and passion in which reason no less than right would be engulfed by selfish impulses and desires. The real reformer, the man who strives for true progress, knows that only as we are true to the eternal moral verities, only as we are loyal to the ideal of love, which includes justice and is splendidly epitomized in the Golden Rule, can man, nations or civilizations advance. Hate, which begets war, violence and resort to force, is inimical to progress or the happiness of man. It turns the dial-hand backward, not forward. The true

leader knows that only as man comes under the compulsion of love can real progress or the victory that means human advancement and upliftment be achieved. And this is the supreme lesson that John Stedman has learned; this it is that makes him a type of the world-conquerer of the ages, in contradistinction to the world-spoilers who imagine themselves leaders and masters.

Louise Stolbeck is another typical figure. Hers is a human soul groping for the light. Her early environment had been the opposite of Grace Crosby's in most respects. In one way, however, both were alike. Each life had advanced to womanhood in a home dominated by egoism. But neither wealth with its soul-withering influence, nor poverty with its bitterness, had silenced the divine promptings in the souls of these two children, one of the froth and the other of the dregs of modern commercialism. Hence when the true leader's voice was raised they heard the appeal to the divine in their own hearts; they saw the beauty never known on the purely sensual plane. What though at first each imagined it was the messenger instead of the message of moral majesty that had moved the profoundest depths of their being? Their after acts attested to the fact that it was the greater glory that had touched the holiest well-springs of their being.

It is in the closing part of this great play that the luminous truth which is the master-lesson of the hour is most beautifully impressed. Here we find the extremes meeting—the egoists of the surface and the egoists of the depths, mutually distrustful, arrogant, defiant and filled with self-desire and hate. Between the two groups is the embodiment of love,

the way-shower who stands as Jesus stood for the fundamental principles of justice and brotherhood—stands for love-illuminated right. But here as in all other ages, his voice is an unknown tongue to the egoists at the zenith and the nadir. Both feel that he menaces their selfish desires, and the two incarnations of darkness—the money-mad magnate who is drunk with plunder but whose thirst seems to be beyond quenching, and the hate-crazed denizen of the underworld who is thirsting for the same vintage—combine to destroy the messenger of peace and civilization. But here, as has often been the case in the past, in the cloud-canopied midnight hour shines forth the light that ever illuminates the spiritual heights—the light that feeds the soul and makes one man greater than an army with banners. At the moment when, thoughtless of self and crushed only because he feels that all his struggle and sacrifice have been in vain, we see the imperial power of moral idealism manifested in the self-renunciation of Louise Stolbeck and in the spiritual exaltation that floods the soul of Grace Crosby, enabling her to see the true victor in her hero when even he imagines he has failed.

This play shows that the redemption of man, nations and civilizations lies only in spiritual idealism, only in love—that broad, justice-encircling and all-comprehending love that subordinates every thought of self in the presence of others' needs and rights, and which neither the lure of gold, power or fame nor yet the ingratitude of those it seeks to aid can swerve from the path of duty.

B. O. FLOWER.

Boston, Mass.

STATESMANSHIP AND NATIONAL PROSPERITY: A SYLLOGISM IN BARBARA.

BY ST. CLAIR CREIGHTON.

IT WOULD not be fanciful, perhaps, to draw a distinction between statesmanship and statecraft. Statecraft—is not that the diplomatic finesse of the councilors of kings, “who sit plotting and playing their high chess games whereof the pawns are men” and whose efforts are directed primarily to the aggrandizement of the throne and the extension of the empire, rather than the commonweal? Is there not a legitimate distinction to be made between the statesman’s wise sincerity, which takes into its confidence the people, and that statecraftiness which Louis XI. inculcated in the education of his son, Charles VIII., of whom is it written that the only Latin he ever learned was the Jesuitical maxim, “*Qui necit dissimulare, necit regnare*”—who knows not to dissemble, knows not how to rule? Statecraft finds its true home in despotisms; whereas, statesmanship has no fair field for its exercise outside of a free country.

The supreme business of the statesman is the prosperity of the state. But the vocation of the statesman is the avocation of us all—save the anarchist, who has no use for the State.

Anarchism is Individualism gone mad and running amuck.

Communism, on the other hand, is Socialism demented, but only feeble-minded and harmless.

The sane Individualist and the rational Socialist, however, both propose the prosperity of the state, though differing widely as to the ways and means for the attainment of the desired end, because deeply differing touching what should be held to constitute and realize national prosperity.

A clear definition of national prosperity from the standpoints of the individualist and the socialist, respectively, would seem imperative to clarify the issue between these contending forces which comprise, in the last analysis, the entire peoples of the world.

It may be remarked, without a digression impertinent to the purpose of this paper, that there would seem to be a psychological difference between individualists and mergers (socialists). This difference may be suggested by the superficial characteristics of mercury and oil. Pour mercury upon a table and it runs into a million distinct globules; pour out oil and, so close is the cohesion of the drops, it runs in a coagulated stream. The first may be taken as a type of virility, entity, independence; the second, as the type of femininity, weakness, dependence. The merger will readily fall into the lock-step of organization and be dominated by it in politics, in religion, in business, in social regulations and in “half-baked isms.” It is so easy to shout and so troublesome to think. “Make it an edict,” is his watchword. Men should be made to think alike and drink alike by act of the legislature. He will look to the government as the highest expression of power and the source of wealth, and will instinctively expect that it must do a great deal for him. The individualist, on the contrary, holds touching government, that “like the atmosphere we breathe, we are the best off with respect to it when we have least reason to be conscious of its existence.” As a Home Ruler, the individualist begins with his township, or municipality, and ends with the national government; whereas, the

merger begins with his Nation with a "big N," and the individual is the vanishing point. The autonomy of the sovereign citizen must be duly subordinated to the requirements of a paternal government.

The foregoing attempt at a differentiation of the two houses that have been perpetually contending for the throne of supremacy in the dominion of Mind, is offered as accounting for some of the inherent difficulties to be encountered in bringing forward a mutually acceptable definition of national prosperity.

It is not within the province of a proponent of individualism, if, indeed, the writer felt himself competent, to define national prosperity as conceived by the socialist; but he would much appreciate a comprehensive definition from a representative socialist that was comprehended in something less than the lids of a fat book.

Thus much, however, may confidently be asserted: The gravamen of the Socialistic indictment against existing conditions in the body politic, lies to the obvious fact of the unemployed and the necessary concomitant, labor cheated of its full reward. Make invalid this indictment and Socialism has nothing, in all its opulent programme, to invoke as a marching word.

But it is quite possible for the individualist to be compact in definition. He assumes to state it thus:

There can be no prosperity deserving the name National save the common weal; a prosperity that permeates the entire body of the people, elevating the masses as yeast leavens the loaf; *a prosperity which has for sign and manifest multiplied opportunity for the remunerative employment of the nation's involuntarily idle men and women.*

The preceding definition, it will be noted, ignores, as inconclusive indicia of national prosperity, a plethoric treasury, a large per capita of circulating media of exchange, and the exercise of dominion over dependencies or a wide domain of

country. The one sufficient requirement is that there shall be palpably in evidence multiplied opportunity for the remunerative employment of the nation's involuntarily idle.

Without entering upon a defensive elaboration of the above definition at this time, the writer challenges a refutation of the adequacy of the theoretical proposition. Assuming it to be irrefutable, the conclusion follows, of course, that the supreme business of the statesman is to discover and then endeavor to inaugurate such economic measures in his country as will afford the necessary conditions stated. The statesman's problem may appear to him difficult, if not impossible, the more so, perhaps, because he will look over the world in vain, to-day, for the country which approximately fulfils such requirement. But the problem is not insolvable. The student who is schooled in the economic philosophy of Henry George does not hesitate to point the way, confidently tendering a key which he would apply in release of what he deems a mewed-up and land-locked prosperity.

The exhaustless treasure house of the physical earth is the source of all natural opportunities. Should the visible wealth of the world be destroyed to-morrow, there yet abides in the breast of the fecund mother of us all a potential supply to be extracted very far in excess of that she has already yielded to her importunate children. And yet, it is a little world, and incapable of expansion. Indeed, by virtue of the rapidly multiplying millions of creatures upon its surface, but far more by reason of certain man-made regulations touching control of it, it is practically contracting. When we take into account that a large portion of the globe is uninhabitable or unavailable for man's occupancy (as, for instance, the "multitudinous seas," the regions of the poles, and under the equator) and the realization further comes to us that the long march of the race, beginning in Asia, across the realms and across the

ages, has at last reached the Pacific, "the great world" seems a misnomer. "The trail ends here," writes the California poet.

Recurring to the most important factor in the apparent diminution of the available earth, *i. e.*, the man-made institutional regulations touching the tenure of the source of all wealth, it is easily demonstrable that governments have in effect ordained special privileges inuring to land-holders. They may be said to have letters-patent as toll-takers at the gates of natural opportunities. In view of what has been said regarding the limited area of the available surface of the earth and its inexpansibility, coupled with consideration of the rapid increase of animated creation, which must draw all of its sustenance from the soil, it must be conceded that "to have and to hold" any portion of such limited supply is to be seized of a special privilege. By no Procrustean process can the pie be cut so that it will "go round." If one owns and holds out of use considerable land areas, by that much the utilizable earth is diminished. But, the exercise or enjoyment of special privilege, under any democratic theory of government, should entail upon the beneficiary thereof an equitable burden in compensation to the unprivileged, reaching such persons in their communal capacity, by relieving them of tax burdens necessary to the support of government. The equities that obtain in favor of the landless (by reason of his deprivation of direct access to the common earth, which constitutes a constructive special privilege running with the landlord) are made more apparent in a consideration of what is called the dynamics of the Single-Tax.

Expositors of the George doctrine, in discussing its fiscal features, point out that to gather governmental revenues through the agency of a tax upon land values solely, is not to exact from individuals their legitimate earnings, but is only the appropriation, for governmental uses, of values created by the people in

their communal capacity. In other words, that land values are site values, which rise or depreciate in proportion as population presses for accommodation. It is obvious that all municipal improvements find immediate reflection in enhancement of the values of city lots.

Now the claim is made by the single-taxer (who is fundamentally an individualist) that he is prepared to maintain by an irrefragible chain of argument: (1) that the application of his system of gathering all governmental taxes from land values—taking the communal product, or unearned increment, incident to landlordism for communal purposes—will *ipso facto* work the dispossession of all purely speculative land holdings, and (2) that such holdings will thereupon become directly accessible for the occupancy and beneficial use of millions of the world's disinherited, and (3) that, as a concomitant, the *sine qua non* to holding realty will involve its beneficial use and improvement by owners, and, finally, that thereby an incomputable activity will be set in motion in every field of human endeavor, all sufficient to afford multiplied opportunity for the remunerative employment of the involuntarily idle.

In conclusion, while it may be urged that morality is a factor to be included in an acceptable definition of national prosperity, it should be remembered that all students of the science of government concur in the belief that to improve the material well-being of a people is to ameliorate their moral and physical condition. In any case, the statesman's business is with the material prosperity of the State. Reforms in the morals and habits of a people must be left to the preacher, the teacher, the lecturer, to society in its social regulations and to domestic influence in the formation of character.

That the statesman is a single-taxer may be formulated, then, in the following syllogism:

1. A statesman's supreme business is the prosperity of the state.

2. (a) A prosperous state is one where-in multiplied opportunity is constantly afforded for the remunerative employment of the nation's involuntarily idle. (b) A single tax on land values in operation will insure such multiplied opportunity, etc.

Ergo, 3. A statesman is chiefly concerned about the inauguration by the nation of a single tax on land values.

W. ST. CLAIR CREIGHTON.

Los Angeles, California.

HAVE WE PASSED THE ZENITH OF OUR INDUSTRIAL EFFICIENCY?

By J. W. BENNETT.

CAREFUL analysis of Bulletin No. 57, Department of Commerce and Labor, seems to give an affirmative answer. This bulletin summarizes a census of manufactures for 1905. It indicates unmistakably impaired efficiency on the part of our manufacturing population. Impairment appears as to the rank and file of the workers and as to the managing or superintending forces.

More capital is being used per wage-earner; a larger superintending force is required for the same number of workers, and still the net value produced per wage-earner or salaried employé, shows a decided decrease. In other words, each worker is producing less than he was five years ago, although he is using more expensive machinery in the process. To present the matter in a more specific form:

1. The average annual net value produced per wage-earner in manufacturing industries has fallen in five years from \$872 to \$815. In factories proper the fall in five years has been from \$834 to \$780, the latter figure but a slight increase over 1890. These figures are corrected to uniform price. Net annual value produced per wage-earner has fallen in the hand trades from \$1107 to \$1050.

2. Average real wages have fallen slightly in the same period from \$438 a year to \$430 in all manufacturing enterprises. In the neighborhood and hand

trades, the fall has been from \$529 to \$519. While the hand trades show a falling off, it will be noticed that their product per wage-earner is about 40 per cent. in excess of the factory product and the scale of wages is about 25 per cent. in excess.

3. Salaries of managers, clerks, etc., measured in purchasing power, have decreased within the five years preceding 1905. This decrease shows in both factories and hand industries.

4. It would seem as though wage-earners, as a whole, received in 1905 a slightly greater share of the net values produced than they did in 1900 or in 1890, but decreased efficiency as compared with 1900 leaves them absolutely less.

5. Salaried men got a greater share of net values produced in 1905 than in 1900, but it was because they were more numerous, relatively and absolutely. It took a greater number of them to look after the business at greater expense, but their work showed poorer results. The management was decidedly less efficient.

6. A greater share of the fund paid for service was given salaried men in 1905 than in 1900, although the real salary of each individual was less. There is no basis of comparison between 1905 and 1890 on that point, for the salaries reported in 1890 included the salaries of owners and officers, actual or estimated, while for 1900 and 1905, owners and offi-

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cers were listed by number by the census takers, but their salaries were excluded from the aggregate of salaries paid. In 1905 this class numbered 225,704 and it is obvious that their salaries made up a very important item, greatly increasing the expenses of management and making the showing for efficient superintendence much worse even than I have here indicated. On the other hand, some highly-paid foremen who appeared as wage-earners in 1890, appeared as salaried men in 1900 and 1905. This change, however, was insignificant as compared with excluding the salaries of officers and owners.

7. Capital employed per salaried man shows a steady increase, amounting to fifty per cent., from 1890 to 1900. Much more capital is required per worker in the factories than in the neighborhood or hand industries. Either the machinery is more expensive or there is more water in the capitalization.

8. Gross capital returns, outside of salaries of owners and officers, show a slight comparative falling off from 1900 to 1905, but a slight increase in 1905 over 1890.

9. Miscellaneous expenses show a very heavy increase as compared with net values produced. This probably helps to explain decreasing returns.

10. The average establishment has increased in size. It is the age of consolidation—and inefficiency. Capital employed is greater per establishment, greater per wage-earner, greater per \$1,000 net value produced.

11. Annual remuneration of the manufacturing wage-earner (\$430, real wages) is scarcely enough for bare necessities of life for a family of three in any American manufacturing city. Yet these men are much better paid than agricultural laborers.

12. Average salaries of clerks, superintendents, etc., (about \$1,000 a year) is but a most modest support for an urban family. When we consider how many great salaries are included in this average, it is certain that the mere clerk is little better off than the wage-earner.

13. The entire net value produced by the average wage-earner in the manufacturing field is but a beggarly \$929 at the inflated prices of 1904 and but \$815 at the prices of 1899. Take out of that wages of superintendence, rent, interest, profits, depreciation, reserve and all the other charges, and see how much is really left for the wage-earner. But the manufacturing wage-earner produces two or three times as much in a year as the average farm laborer. Verily, where is our boasted great wealth? How ill can we afford the profits of our millionaires? Twenty-five thousand men cannot produce a million a year above their own bare necessities.

To summarize still more concisely:

All manufacturing industries show decreased efficiency.

(a) Less value produced per worker.

(b) The use of greater capital per worker.

(c) More expensive superintendence; less efficient superintendence.

(d) Less net value produced per \$1,000 capital employed.

(e) Higher miscellaneous expenses.

There is an unmistakable retrograde movement. It is accompanied by the greatest consolidation era in our history. The most vital argument for consolidation is increased economy and increased efficiency. Is consolidation along the lines it is now being conducted rather the cause of increased extravagance and inefficiency? Is our theorizing about greater economies in large establishments to be all upset by the cold logic of facts? This brings us to the important question: Why the deterioration?

That is a most important but a most difficult question to answer with confidence. Let us consider and try to find an explanation.

In this day of machinery we overlook the indirectness of our processes. Food and shelter (including clothing and habitations) are still the chief material wants

of mankind. In more primitive industry, food was consumed upon the farms where it was raised or in the neighboring villages. Clothing was manufactured where the fiber was produced. Dwellings were built from materials at hand. Labor was applied directly to the object in view. Every stroke counted, for it was aimed directly at the ultimate end. Tools and machinery used were simple and inexpensive, as well as lasting. Little was paid for superintendence. Transportation charges were not important. Nearly everybody labored productively. There were no middlemen, few profits. Rent and interest charges were small.

Our modern methods of production are absurdly indirect. Much food goes from the farm to the manufacturer before it comes back for consumption on the farm. In its progress it pays several profits besides rent, interest and transportation charges. Besides there is much waste and deterioration.

In the matter of clothing and dwellings, the processes are still more indirect. We talk glibly about the number of persons one knitter can supply with hosiery under our modern system. We lose sight of the machine makers, the money-lenders, the bankers, the miners, the railroad men who participate in that process. The knitter can do much with his machine after it is set in place and the power attached, but it requires endless processes to get to that point.

We see the worker and his knitting machine. But we overlook the man digging the ore from the ground, the men transporting it to the reducing furnaces, the cars carrying it and the processes of their production, the rails upon which they run, the furnaces which produce the ore and the intricacies of their production, the manufacturers of ingots and all their elaborate, expensive and perishable machinery, the makers of the parts of the spinning and knitting machines, as well as the carders and cotton gins, the builders of dams, the manufacturers of electric machinery or of steam engines, the miners,

shippers and handlers of coal, the planters of cotton, the transporting railroads, the makers of packing cases and paper wrappers, the hewers of timber for the cases and the pulp, the shipping of the finished product, the army of commercial travellers, clerks and salesmen, and above all, the profit takers, the rent and interest men, standing at every lane and alley and levying toll. So that what the inventor has saved the capitalist absorbs. The processes which produce a piece of hosiery in the hands of the consumer are almost infinite in their ramifications and every one under our present cumbersome system of industry is strictly necessary. Is it so wonderful then that when we come to reckon everything, including the depreciation of all this delicate and elaborate machinery the advantage of our processes over the more primitive but direct processes are not so striking in real results?

On every hand we hear the unprecedented railway tonnage heralded as evidence of our great industrial progress, as though our final end in life was to move great masses of material great distances. The whole mass of freight charges represents friction in our industrial system, a charge upon our industrial energy, a mighty obstacle to be overcome in making products available for consumption. It is really a most onerous part of the manufacturing process, and if we could dispense with it we would be just that much ahead. The greater the proportion of the articles which must be moved, the more burdensome the process. It is a tremendous waste, to be obliged to cart building material from Puget Sound to the banks of the Delaware when a little care and foresight would give an ample supply right at hand. Our dwellings are built quite as laboriously as our clothing is spun.

Railways, machines, telegraphs, telephones, banks, even governmental systems are merely devices for overcoming the friction incident to our social and industrial organization—or largely devices

used for this purpose. Now in our manufacturing industries we seem to have reached a point where the friction is out-running our inventive genius. One might produce a very ingenious machine so elaborate that the maximum energy which might be applied to it would be entirely absorbed by friction.

Waste is another item we are prone to lose sight of. It becomes more serious as our machinery and organization become more complex and expensive and as our methods require more frequent discarding of old devices and organizations.

Individual responsibility is at a minimum in the big organization directed toward private gain. Systems of checks to prevent "graft" prove a heavy drain upon the energy of the superintending and working forces. So far as the public has had glimpses behind the scenes, great corporations are conducted most wastefully. The denial of chances for betterment except as exploiters, the smothering of individual initiative and consequently individual interest, by organization and discipline, must tend to lower individual efficiency. Possibly educational defects contribute to the same end.

A comparison of factories proper as to efficiency in relation to size does not give a satisfactory result. The very smallest and the very largest seem the most efficient. The bigger the medium grade of factory, the less efficient it is. There are reasons for believing that the very small factory is efficient because it represents the work of its highly skilled and interested owner in connection, probably, with one or two apprentices. As for the very large factory (that with annual product of more than a million dollars), the fact that liquor manufacture shows approximately twice the production of value of any other industry, would indicate that monopolistic manipulation of prices has more to do with value of product (comparative) than any efficiency of operation.

Stock-watering has held high carnival

for a number of years in the big manufacturing corporation. Witness the increased capitalization of the Carnegie industries from twenty-five millions to about six hundred millions in passing from the Carnegie Limited to the United States Steel Corporation. That means unearned profits of enormous proportion, great fixed charges upon industry, decreased net values. Real estate has advanced by leaps and bounds, including the mines and the forests. Here again is an enormous unearned charge paid by industries in buying raw material and meeting miscellaneous expenses. Result, decreased net values.

Enormous salaries are the rule for high officers of big corporations. Talent thus furnished, as we judge by following press notices of distinguished travelers, seems to be expended mainly in viewing foreign scenery and works of art or dallying with the foreign tiger. Wall street is the stamping ground for these high-salaried men while "at home." They spend their time, not in directing manufacturing operations, but in this financial center looking after speculative interests, mostly personal. Actual manufacturing or transportation business does not get the services of the executive talent it pays for so highly. That talent becomes predatory, exploiting. Therefore, impaired efficiency.

As our industrial organization becomes more elaborate, we add enormously to the professional classes engaged largely in the smoothing out of the friction incident to our system of organization. Watch the multiplication of lawyers, bankers, brokers, money-lenders, insurance men of various sorts. Mere idlers multiply. Topping all are the profit takers who have become legion. Their gates are thick on every industrial highway. Their tolls are called profits, rent, interest, fees, salaries, etc. Again, I ask, is it so wonderful that the net values produced by our mud-sills carrying this pyramid on their shoulders, are not as imposing as we might expect?

To sum up: Our efficiency is impaired:

1. By the enormous profits which we pay.

(a) On each of the many processes necessary to create the finished article.

(b) In interest on increased capitalization.

(c) In rents.

(d) In transportation.

(e) In marketing or distribution.

2. By the indirectness of our processes.

3. Transportation charges made necessary in the exploiting of railways and the building up of terminals at the expense of the country at large.

4. Growing depreciation of an increasingly complex and expensive plant.

5. Waste due to spoiling of products and discarding out-grown machinery and processes.

6. Sham capitalization.

7. Diversion of the most highly paid executive talent to speculative activities for personal gain.

9. Unearned salaries.

10. Impairment of individual responsibility. Multiplication of red tape in great business organizations.

11. Stifling of individual initiative and ambition.

12. Multiplying of non-productive workers and mere idlers.

Whether the causes be few or many, impaired efficiency within the past five years is an indisputable fact. The age of consolidation has become the age of inefficiency. With our pitifully small production per worker, impaired efficiency is a most serious thing. If our complex organization has been too cumbersome for further efficient service, let us simplify it. If we have reached a barrier in our industrial progress, let us remove it. If we are failing because too many get something for nothing, let us see that they cease to get these gratuities. If idleness and non-productive labor are responsible, let us see that idlers go to work and unproductive workers do some-

thing useful. We cannot make a decent living for the multitude unless everybody lends a helping hand.

Is consolidation an evil? Has organization gone too far? I think not. The trouble is not with the principle of organization, but the kind of organization. Without doubt we have gone too far in the direction of organization whose purpose is exploiting large masses of workers for the benefit of individuals or small groups of individuals. If organization is to be beneficial, it must have for its object the benefiting of the whole people. It must be directed to eliminating profits, not increasing them. It must give the whole people the benefit of rent and interest charges. Workers must be made to know that they are working for themselves, not their exploiters. They cannot be made the playthings of unreciprocating manipulators. The few cannot wallow in unearned wealth without destroying the efficiency of the many. If we are to maintain a strong, efficient, democratic state, we must develop it along the lines of the coöperative commonwealth rather than give our industrial and political organization over to the irresponsible industrial autocracy which we have so blithely built up.

For those of my readers who wish to verify the facts which I present, I append a table and a word of explanation. The table is compiled from Bulletin 57, Department of Commerce and Labor, Tables Nos. 1 and 2. These figures are not exact. They show the tendency, not the exact extent of the tendency. Computations are but approximate. There may be slight errors, but none to invalidate conclusions.

Figures in the census reports are neither complete nor exact. They are not supposed to be. "Value of Products," as used in the census reports and quoted extensively, is largely fictitious, being something like five thousand million dollars too large. This statement may be verified by reference to "Statistics of Manufactures" in the Census for 1900,

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FIGURES BEARING UPON MANUFACTURING EFFICIENCY IN 1905, INDUSTRIES IN THIS TABLE

Average annual net value produced per wage-earner.

	Factories and Mechanical Industries.		Factories only.		"Shops."	
1890	\$839	*\$797	.....	.....	.....	.....
1900	872	*872	\$834	*\$834	\$1,174	*\$1,174
1905	929	*815	889	*780	1,232	*1,123

Average annual net value produced, deduct depreciation (per wage-earner).

1890	\$765	*\$727	.....	.....	.....	.....
1900	786	*780	\$737	*\$737	\$1,107	*\$1,107
1905	815	*716	769	*675	1,196	*1,050

Average annual net value produced per wage-earner, deduct depreciation and capital reserves.

1890	\$675	*\$641	.....	.....	.....	.....
1900	697	*697	\$674	*\$674	.....	.....
1905	684	*614	670	*588	\$1,094	*\$961

Average annual net value produced per salaried man.

1900	\$11,690	*\$11,690	\$10,819	*\$10,819	\$21,000	*\$21,000
1905	10,102	*8,870	9,313	*8,177	18,642	*17,378

Average annual net value produced per establishment.

1890	\$10,089	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1900	9,045	.....	\$18,990	.....	\$2,273	.....
1905	10,709	.....	22,421	.....	2,403	.....

Percentage net value produced paid wage-earners.

1890	53 per cent.	.....	.....
1900	50.5 per cent.	51.2 per cent.	44 per cent.
1905	52.4 per cent.	53.9 per cent.	53 per cent.

Percentage of net value produced paid salaried men.

1890	†11 per cent.	.....	.....
1900	8.8 per cent.	9 per cent.	3.2 per cent.
1905	12 per cent.	11.9 per cent.	4.6 per cent.

Percentage of whole service fund paid salaried men.

1890	†17.2 per cent.	.....	.....
1900	14.8 per cent.	16 per cent.	.....
1905	16.8 per cent.	18 per cent.	8 per cent.

Percentage of whole service fund paid in wages.

1890	†82.8 per cent.	.....	.....
1900	85 per cent.	84 per cent.	.....
1905	83.2 per cent.	82 per cent.	92 per cent.

Percentage salaried men to whole number of workers.

1890	†9.7 per cent.	.....	.....
1900	6.8 per cent.	7.1 per cent.	5.1 per cent.
1905	8.4 per cent.	8.7 per cent.	6.3 per cent.

Percentage net value produced, paid capital.

1890	36.2 per cent.	.....	.....
1900	41.1 per cent.	40.1 per cent.	‡51.8 per cent.
1905	36.6 per cent.	36.6 per cent.	‡51.1 per cent.

* Corrected to a uniform price (by Dun's index numbers).

† Includes salaries of officers and owners.

‡ Including salaries of owners.

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1900 AND 1890. ALSO EFFICIENCY IN NEIGHBORHOOD AND HAND DESIGNATED AS "SHOPS."

Percentage miscellaneous expenses to net value produced.

	Factories and Mechanical Industries.	Factories only.	"Shops."
1890	18 per cent.	.....	.....
1900	22.2 per cent.	25.6 per cent.	20.2 per cent.
1905	27.1 per cent.	30 per cent.	22.5 per cent.

Average annual wages per worker full time.

	1890	1900	1905	1890	1900	1905	1890	1900	1905
.....	\$445	*\$423	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	488	*438	.....	\$427	*\$427	.....	\$529	*\$529	.....
.....	480	*430	.....	478	*420	.....	591	*519	.....

Average annual salary per salaried man.

	1890	1900	1905	1890	1900	1905	1890	1900	1905
.....	\$850	*\$808	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	1,016	*1,016	.....	\$1,041	*\$1,041	.....	\$700	*\$700	.....
.....	1,076	*945	.....	1,105	*900	.....	748	*657	.....

Average capital per worker.

	1890	1900	1905	1890	1900	1905	1890	1900	1905
.....	\$1,388	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	1,722	.....	.....	\$1,849	.....	.....	\$1,355	.....	.....
.....	2,070	.....	.....	2,255	.....	.....	1,500	.....	.....

Capital per establishment.

	1890	1900	1905	1890	1900	1905	1890	1900	1905
.....	\$18,380	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	19,174	.....	.....	\$44,000	.....	.....	\$2,750	.....	.....
.....	25,978	.....	.....	58,790	.....	.....	3,760	.....	.....

Capital employed per wage-earner.

	1890	1900	1905	1890	1900	1905	1890	1900	1905
.....	\$1,512	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	1,852	.....	.....	\$1,906	.....	.....	\$1,414	.....	.....
.....	2,237	.....	.....	2,319	.....	.....	1,750	.....	.....

Capital employed per salaried man.

	1890	1900	1905	1890	1900	1905	1890	1900	1905
.....	\$14,130	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	24,732	.....	.....	\$24,670	.....	.....	\$26,000	.....	.....
.....	24,509	.....	.....	24,398	.....	.....	25,780	.....	.....

Average number of men employed per \$25,000 capital.

	1890	1900	1905	1890	1900	1905	1890	1900	1905
.....	16.25 per cent.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	13.05 per cent.	.....	.....	13.5 per cent.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	12.4 per cent.	.....	.....	9.6 per cent.	.....	.....	14.5 per cent.	.....	.....

Gross product per salaried worker.

	1890	1900	1905	1890	1900	1905	1890	1900	1905
.....	\$35,526	.....	.....	\$31,698	*\$31,698	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	32,755	*\$32,755	.....	.....	.....	.....	\$49,000	*\$49,000	.....
.....	29,810	*26,174	.....	23,460	*24,998	.....	44,497	*39,069	.....

Gross product per wage-earner.

	1900	1905	1890	1900	1905	1890	1900	1905
.....	\$2,454	*\$2,454	.....	\$2,430	*\$2,430	.....	\$2,715	*\$2,715
.....	2,790	*2,588	.....	2,706	*2,580	.....	3,026	*2,657

Gross product per establishment.

	1890	1900	1905	1890	1900	1905	1890	1900	1905
.....	\$26,401	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	25,399	*\$25,399	.....	\$54,861	*\$54,861	.....	\$5,190	*\$5,190	.....
.....	31,211	*27,403	.....	63,528	*60,178	.....	6,500	*5,700	.....

* Corrected to a uniform price (by Dun's index numbers).

pages CXXXIX. to CXLII. I have, therefore, used "Net Values Produced" in my table so as to avoid ambiguity because of the unfortunate use of "value of products" in the census tables.

In reaching the figures for net values produced, I subtracted from the census figures for "value of products" the "cost of raw materials" plus "miscellaneous expenses." This eliminates duplications and leaves the "net values produced" by the employes of the manufacturing establishments considered.

Average numbers of wage earners and salaried employes were used as divisors in reaching average annual net product per "wage earner" and per "salaried man," respectively. Also in reaching average wages, the dividend in that case being the aggregate wages paid. While the results are not necessarily the wages received or the "net values produced" by any average individual, for a thousand different men might have worked in the course of a year in an establishment

with an average force of but 200, it does give a correct estimate of the "net value produced" by the average individual working full time, and is correct and sufficiently exact for our purposes.

Items have been included setting forth "net values produced" after deducting five per cent of the capital on account of depreciation. Also after an additional amount has been deducted for capital reserve. This "capital reserve" is the additional capital actually added from year to year in enlarging old enterprises and adding new.

Price corrections are founded upon Dun's index numbers for 1889, 1899 and 1904, the years actually covered by the census figures involved.

In the tables the small establishments, including neighborhood and hand industries, are called "shops" to distinguish them from factories proper.

J. W. BENNETT.

Minneapolis, Minn.

WHY THE CATHOLIC CHURCH OPPOSES SOCIALISM.

BY A LEADING SOCIALIST.

THE PERSISTENT attacks being made upon Socialism by Catholic prelates and societies justifies the question: Why does the Catholic Church oppose Socialism so uncompromisingly and bitterly?

Two reasons immediately present themselves to the Socialist mind, at least: First, as one of the richest religious institutions in the world, the material interests of the Catholic Church naturally place it on the side of the propertied classes. Second, wherever the question of the separation of the Church and State arises, Socialists stand for the freedom of the

State from religious responsibility and inspiration.

These reasons would seem to be sufficient, and they undoubtedly are, if there were no other. But there is another reason, not so apparent, and yet, in my opinion, as vital and worthy of attention. Of course, I do not here consider the basic motive of the Church to advance its theological principles, to increase its power as a spiritual director and adviser, to dominate the minds and subjugate to its control the spiritual and temporal affairs of people everywhere—a motive which characterizes all religious sects

and institutions to a greater or lesser extent.

In the logical course of events Socialists anticipate the combined antagonism of those institutions which materially thrive through Capitalism; and the Catholic Church, perhaps more than any other, thrives upon the conditions which make for poverty and ignorance. Apart from its subsistence upon the contributions of its faithful members, it is, through its enormous holdings and investments, an instrument of exploitation of the working class; and it resents, like any other corporation, any proposed interference with that exploitation.

So, from this standpoint, there need be no extended comment; nor does the second reason above stated require different treatment. Socialists consider religion as a private matter, as one for the individual to settle with his own reason and conscience; and he holds that the institutions which deal with such a purely private concern have no right to expect recognition or support from a government representing a people differing in their religious views and opinions.

Socialists are opposed to the state ownership in brains and governmental supervision of conscience which the affiliation of Church and State has always implied and produced. And it is because clericalism in Italy, France, Spain and other European countries has been a curse to individual freedom and a dead weight upon intellectual progress and spiritual development, that Socialists unite with anti-clerical elements in the legislatures to release the various governments from the baneful influence of the Black International. For the same reason, the Socialist and Labor members of the House of Commons voted for the new Education Bill which marks a great step forward in the long fight for secular education in Great Britain.

"But," the reader says, "the conditions prevailing in Europe do not exist here. There is no such thing as Church

and State, or Clericalism, or the Black International, in the United States." This is true, but only partially so.

The Catholic Church adapts its policy to the social and political conditions dominating in each country. Because Church and State are separated in the United States, because we have here secular education or a semblance of it, because other denominations have here a more general membership and influence than they have in European countries—because of these things the Catholic Church is compelled to resort to less open and more subtle methods to maintain and extend its power and influence. It is here that Jesuitism is called into fuller play, because there is more occasion for it.

Thus it is that we find the Catholic Church the most rigid upholder of conventional, bourgeois law and order, the most uncompromising defender of social traditions, and the most adept truckler to the dominating political factions and opinions. If Archbishop Ireland is a Republican in Minnesota, and Cardinal Gibbons is a Democrat in Maryland, they are so because these are the dominant political parties, and each prelate is able to exercise for the Church a valuable influence with the Republican or Democratic administration, as the case may be.

The Catholic Church has a problem to handle in the United States almost entirely different from that confronting it in the European countries. Here we have a heterogeneous population, far advanced in the rudimentary elements of education, a public school system practically free of religious influence and an industrial life which tends to eradicate race and religious differences and to develop among the working class especially a new type of the reasoning, discerning, thinking man. In a European country, on the other hand, there is usually but one race to deal with, encumbered by the inherited prejudices and customs of cen-

turies, with brains cast in the same mold, bearing the heritage of pre-natal superstitions, and with imaginations conforming to primitive conditions and limited geographical boundaries. Here there is a fusion of races, an interchange of ideas and opinions, and a release of the imaginative faculties through travel and association. We dream, not as the local priest would have us, but as our own awakened, quickening impulse fires us.

Since the membership and financial support of the Catholic Church are drawn from the working class, it is of primary interest to the Church, if it is to survive in America, to retain its influence upon this class. This is particularly the case with the Irish race, which constitutes a large part of the American proletariat; and as I am come of Irish stock myself, born into the Catholic Church and tutored by it, I may claim competence to speak upon this phase of the question.

The Irish people in America are the backbone of the Church. Other nationalities are well represented, and while in a general way my remarks fit them as well as the Irish, yet they apply more pointedly to the latter. The strength of the Church among the Irish people in America centers in those who came as immigrants years ago, or in their immediate descendants, and who retain all the beliefs and prejudices imbibed in their native land or delivered to them at first hand by their ancestors.

But with the rising of a new generation, living under different social conditions, thrown into social intercourse with members of other races whom their ancestors have always despised as enemies or superiors (the English and Italians, for instance), forced to work for a living in close association with the descendants of these races, educated mostly in the public school, burdened with civic duties and responsibilities unknown to their progenitors, the old beliefs, superstitions and prejudices are losing their significance and power of satisfaction and appeal, and are

being uprooted to give way to new ideals and ambitions. The mental horizon is becoming broadened, the social instinct stronger, and deeper grows the sense of oneness with their fellows.

The Irish race possesses qualities which have made it in the past the invaluable ally of any cause it has espoused. It has energy, devotion, combativeness, enthusiasm, imagination, and great executive, administrative and organizing ability. It has the genius of politics, the gift of oratory, the daring of command and the capacity for self-sacrifice. It has furnished the modern world with some of its most romantic figures in literature, oratory, statesmanship and war. If the energies of this race have found vent and reached higher attainment in other countries than its own it is because the brutal force of a tyrannical government has overwhelmed it and cast adrift the noblest and bravest of its sons. That Ireland is not free is due largely to the fact that the Catholic Church has exacted from the Irish race blind allegiance and unquestioning faith, and has diverted to the use of the Church the ability which the cause of freedom should have had.

The Catholic Church has had in Ireland and up to within a few years ago, in this country, a practical monopoly of the energies of the Irish people. The Church has fed upon the deep-rooted faith and whole-souled devotion of this people. It has carefully selected from its faithful adherents the fittest to do the work of the Church, to spread its gospel, to extend the vast machinery of its government, to maintain its grip upon the affection of its parishioners and win over new converts to its cause. No Irish family but at some time has yielded its quota of brains to the service of the Church, and has done it gladly, for the Church has placed this service as the holiest ambition of a Catholic family. And the Church has been able to replenish its treasures from the pennies of the Irish people, as it has been

able to replenish its government from the choicest of its flock.

But with the passing of the older generation of the Irish people, and the change in habitation in primitive communities, where ignorance and superstition flourish and the priesthood intellectually dominates, to the larger social spheres—with the coming of the new generation developing under modern social conditions, with the concomitants of education and independent thinking, there is also coming a change in the relation of the Irish people to the Catholic Church. The monopoly of the Church is being broken. The priesthood no longer has first choice of the brainiest son, or the cloister the pick of the favorite daughter. There are other claimants for their hands, new fields of usefulness and wider opportunities opening up, and there is a higher social duty to perform than ever the Church offered.

By very force of circumstances the Irish are a working-class people. As workers they are taking part in the labor movement, and to an extent not equaled by any other race. And this not alone through material circumstances, but because the same qualities which have made them predominant in other causes are finding full scope in the labor movement, which appeals to the temperament of the Irish because it offers them a cause for which they can work and immolate themselves with the same enthusiasm and whole-hearted vigor which they have immemorably devoted to less worthy causes and less tangible ideals.

There is not a labor organization in America (except those organizations confined largely to one nationality, as in the clothing trades), but the number of officials of Irish descent is proportionately greater than that of those descended from other races. The roster of any labor convention, all other things being equal, exhibits the activity and natural ability of the Irish members through their large share in its composition. The leading and best-known labor officials in this

country, with few exceptions, are of the Irish race.

Years ago, when Labor Unionism was in its infancy, the Catholic clergy were openly antagonistic to it until, since they came to realize that they were fighting the inevitable, they keep discreetly silent, when they do not openly support the workers' cause. The Church exacts absolute devotion from its followers, and any organization or movement which threatens to weaken or divert that devotion sooner or later falls under the ban. The attempt to keep the workers from the unions failed because the workers were learning that the unions were essential to their material welfare and that the Sunday morning sermon presented no solution to falling wages or unendurable conditions. The Church was silenced because it found silence wiser than warfare. It could not successfully combat a social fact. It compromised to hold what it had rather than lose ground.

The labor movement through its utilization of the energies of the Irish working class, has deprived the Church of much that it has always had without question. How grudgingly the Church has yielded to this loss only those who have experienced the result of its displeasure can begin to appreciate. And now comes the Socialist movement, and, apart from other considerations, threatens to take still more. For with the rapidly growing understanding of the real industrial situation, the intellectual development of the whole working class, and the manifest inadequacy of the unions to resist the employing class, the Catholic workingmen, despite the adjurations of priests, the orders of bishops and the decrees of popes, are turning to Socialism and becoming increasingly active for the Socialist cause.

None know this better than the priesthood itself, that priesthood which has its ramifications wherever the Irish people are. And though the priests work hard to offset the progress of Socialistic thought

among their followers, yet industrial conditions are too much for them. They are succeeding only in shattering the last vestige of faith in the Church in the breast of the young convert, for he invariably cherishes the hope that the priest will see as he sees until the hope is dispelled and a choice between the new religion and that of his fathers has to be made.

The Church, in its opposition to Socialism, is grappling with social forces, and forces stronger than itself. The Church loses its hold upon its adherents because it cannot offer to the new generation anything but an ideal which does not fit in with the crying necessities, the struggling aspirations, the larger imagination of the working people. The old paraphernalia of worship is losing its effectiveness. Rather does the gorgeousness of Church ceremonies and parades inspire doubt and add to discontent than awaken awe and reverence.

The Irish temperament requires an ideal, an ideal which warms the blood and fires the imagination—an ideal which it can die for, if need be, as well as work for. Socialism comes to the Irish race with such an ideal, and an ideal which is all the more appealing because it brings relief from oppressive social conditions while giving an inspiration which comes from working with and for your fellows for a lofty purpose.

All other reasons aside, this then is one reason why the Catholic Church fights the Socialist movement. And it is a good reason. For Socialism is the only movement in the world which can take from the Catholic Church that which has sustained it for centuries. Socialism will drain the Catholic Church of its life-giving force and turn that force to regenerating the world instead of using it to keep the world enslaved by perpetuating ignorance, submission and superstition.

SOME SUGGESTIONS AND A PROTEST: A CRITICISM OF JUDGE CLARK'S PAPER.

BY FRANK D. BLUE.

THE PAPER in the February ARENA, by the Hon. Walter Clark, suggesting some changes in the Constitution of the United States, was, upon the whole, quite excellent, but I believe the honorable gentleman fails to fully grasp the situation.

While the election of senators and judges, the pro rata elective vote and the expiration of the term of one congress upon the election of another, are wise and needed reforms, the almost impassible obstacles to either a change in the present constitution or the making of an entire new one, make it necessary to seek a more feasible line of change.

Mr. Clark would take away from our

supreme courts the right of passing upon the constitutionality of laws. Now that very feature has always struck me as being almost the only redeeming feature of our various supreme courts.

Our government was made up of what was supposed to be a complete system of checks and balances, and a goodly part of the functions of supreme courts is to save people, not only from the folly of their representatives expressed legislatively, but against their own foolish and unconsidered acts.

It was originally supposed that by the time a law got through two deliberative bodies and was passed upon by the chief executive, it would be a safe and sane

law, but it was discovered almost at the beginning of the nation that greater safety was needed and the supreme courts promptly attempted to supply this want, if not by law, then by common consent, which is always superior to statute law.

Our people are fast learning that unbridled legislation is an unbearable evil, and they realize that the supreme courts, even with the wide scope of power they use, cannot be depended upon to protect them, so they are setting limits both upon the number of sessions and upon the length of time sessions may sit, but these expedients, too, have failed to bring the necessary relief.

To adopt the European plan of making legislatures infallible, would be like stepping out of the frying-pan into the fire. All bodies of men, in combination, level down instead of leveling up, which explains why so many imbecile laws get upon our statute books.

So long as we deal with imperfect humanity, there will be errors made, and our courts will once in a while be swayed by considerations other than that of justice, as was the United States su-

preme court in the Income Tax and the John Turner cases, and as Mr. Clark's own court was, when he told the people of North Carolina he cared nothing about the injustice of the law under consideration, if they didn't like it they should make the legislature repeal it.

We have all sorts of panaceas offered for our social ills, practically all of them paternalistic or socialistic in character, leaving the individual out of consideration entirely, and I believe it is time he should be considered.

Our jury system has been warped and hampered and thwarted in so many ways, until no one these days seems to know it was originally instituted to abrogate evils of the very sort we now complain of. A return to the original jury system, modified, of course, to suit our new conditions, will bring about a reformation that would be a revelation to our people.

I hope at some future day to be able to point out specifically how, I believe, these changes can be best brought about.

FRANK D. BLUE.

Kokomo, Ind.

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

SOME COUNTS IN THE PEOPLE'S BILL OF GRIEVANCE AGAINST THE CORPORATIONS.

Wholesale Tax Evasions on The Part of Public-Service Corporations.

IN THE case of the people against the corporations, one of the leading counts in the popular bill of grievances is the persistent, determined and flagrant evasion of taxes, which saddles on the people onerous burdens that are in effect an excess of just taxation. In the desperate battle waged for years between the people, led by Senator LaFollette, on the one hand, and the railways and other public-service corporations, led by Senator Spooner and Congressman Babcock, on the other, this was one of the things which Senator LaFollette, representing the people, sought to redress by compelling the enforcement of equal and just taxation, and in the conflict he had to meet the united and formidable opposition of the political machines and their masters, the corporations. The winning of this battle for the people by the incorruptible and brilliant young statesman of Wisconsin has heartened the people throughout the nation and led to a new and aggressive campaign for the enforcement of laws against the most lawless element of society—the criminal rich who operate the public-service corporations.

If a citizen refuses or neglects to pay the taxes levied, his property is sold. He may be in straitened circumstances, but the law takes no cognizance of his misfortune. Any neglect on his part is followed by the sale of his property. If a corporation, however, neglects to pay the taxes levied against it, in many instances, under the present rule of political machines supported and directed by corporate wealth, the matter is ignored by the men supposed to represent the people and who are sworn to administer the laws impartially.

Now from the standpoint of equity, there is no class of tax-payers against whom the laws should be as rigidly enforced in the collection of taxes to pay for the operation of government as against the public-service corporations; for it is only through the favor or the bounty of the public, through its servants that these financial bodies are able to acquire vast fortunes, a large proportion of which are

the direct result of the inestimably valuable franchises given by the public servants to the favored individuals that compose the corporations. Yet in America to-day we are confronted by the amazing fact that owing to corrupt practices long indulged in by corporate wealth, and the strangle-hold which these privileged interests have on the political machine and politicians, the corporations are constantly defying the law and evading taxation. When caught red-handed, and no other loophole is found for them to creep out of, they fight for delays, if there happen to be officials in positions of power who cannot be bribed or frightened into silence.

Recently an impressive though unfortunately typical example of this nature came to light in New York City. There, owing to the neglect of the Republican state officials and the Democratic city authorities, the great corporations have systematically and with perfect impunity evaded paying the taxes levied against them. Some time ago the *New York American*, believing that at last the Empire State had an attorney-general who would enforce the statutes against the law-defying corporations as readily as against the individual citizens, employed an expert accountant to go over the comptroller's books. The revelations which followed were startling—almost incredible. According to the returns, there were over thirty-three million dollars which the corporations of New York City owed for taxes, interest on the same and for real estate taxes, percentage taxes, car-fare licenses, etc. Of this sum more than eighteen million dollars was for franchise taxes alone, exclusive of interest on same. The Interborough Metropolitan System—the Ryan-Belmont aggregation—is the great criminal in this case, as it is the most sinister influence in all New York political matters. After the *American's* exposures, this corporation promptly paid three million dollars of the sum over to the authorities, but refused to pay the rest unless they could affect a compromise that would enable them to slip out of paying a large share of the amount due. At-

torney-General Jackson, refused to see how an over-rich and persistently law-defying corporation should be shown favors which would not be accorded to the honest tax-payer, and refused the proposed compromise.

Later, the State Board of Tax Commissioners made a report showing that in the city of New York for franchise taxes alone the corporations now owed \$18,476,585.54. This does not include interest on the above or \$7,858,510.95 owed for other than the franchise taxes and interest.

The Board makes some sensible recommendations which, were we living under a republican government instead of under a plutocracy masquerading under a republican form, would have been accepted and acted upon as a matter of course by the proper officials from the first. The Tax Commission insists that the tax-evading corporations be deprived of their franchises and that their property be sold in the event of continued delinquency. It furthermore urges that in the future the corporations be treated exactly the same as an individual citizen and required to pay taxes when due as a condition precedent to right of court review. This is precisely the stand taken by Attorney-General Jackson and is the only justifiable position that honest officials could maintain. The assumption that favors should be shown immensely rich corporations which are refused to the individual citizen is so absurd on its face as to call for no argument.

In commenting on the report of the State Board of Tax Commissioners, the editor of the New York *American* observes that:

"If equality before the law signifies anything at all, it means that the same rule of procedure shall be applied to the trust as to the average business man. That payment of taxes when due is a condition precedent to the right of review is a well-established principle in law. It applies to all real-estate taxes, and franchises come under the same head.

The legal technicality behind which the tax-dodging corporations have sought to shield themselves is that their assessments have not been equalized on the same basis as those of the local real-estate assessments. Even granting this, the State Board insists that they still owe \$16,000,000, and this on franchises alone and exclusive of interest. To prevent further evasion of this sort the Commissioners ask that they be allowed to inquire as to the rate

of real-estate assessments in the local districts, and to fix the franchise assessments accordingly. This would prevent any future Attorney-General like Julius M. Mayer from appointing referees and so procuring delays for years. Delay is the long suit of the tax-dodger.

"All that is needed to compel the corporations to pay up like individuals is the enforcement of the law against them. A city administration not owned by the tax dodgers would never have permitted such a system of evasion to exist, which system defrauds the people and discredits New York."

This example of systematic shifting of the burden of taxation to the backs of the people, by the over-rich privileged few who control the immensely rich public-service corporations, though an extremely flagrant example, is by no means an isolated instance of this specious form of dishonesty. The great railway and other public-service companies are constantly either preventing just taxes from being levied, or are evading their payment when the law prescribes that they be justly taxed; and to add to the growing exasperation of the people against having to bear this added burden because of immunity being granted to the privileged few, we have the scandal constantly pointed out of the very rich individuals swearing off their taxes and paying only a moiety in proportion to what they possess, of what the farmer, the artisan, and the man in moderate circumstances is compelled to pay.

Here, then is one reason for the rising discontent against the rule of privileged interests through political machines—one count in the popular indictment against the domination of corporate wealth.

The Modern Tax-Farmer.

Tax evasion is but one of the lawless and iniquitous practices of the criminal rich which is operating in such a way as terribly to increase the unjust burdens borne by the millions of wealth creators and consumers. A concrete illustration of how the modern tax-farmer arbitrarily plunders the people was brought out in an impressive manner during the recent investigation of Mr. Harriman's practices in the hearing before the Interstate Commerce Commission in the case of the Chicago & Alton Railroad. It was shown by the sworn testimony that Mr. Harriman bought the Chicago & Alton for forty mil-

lion dollars, and after burdening it with a mortgage of twenty-two million dollars which he and his associates divided among themselves, he sold it to the Union Pacific for eighty-nine million dollars.

The revelations brought out, though so thoroughly familiar to the Wall-street gambling world that no special attention was paid to them, were of so shameful and discreditable a nature that when made public even the most conservative journals and upholders of the theory of private ownership of public utilities were forced in numbers of instances to severely criticize the action of Harriman and his associates, though all of them are typical characters in the world of high finance who are controlling the natural monopolies of America to-day and who, through the vast wealth that they are able to farm from the people, have for a quarter of a century been steadily debauching the fountains of government in city, state and nation. Thus, we find that even so sturdy a champion of the private ownership of railways and other public utilities as the *Boston Herald*, in its issue of March 2d, in a leading editorial, when referring to the action of these high financiers who were being investigated, said:

"Whenever they, and particularly Mr. Harriman, were forced to meet questions, there was disclosed a system of fraud and deceit in the conduct of these men as far removed from honest stewardship of their trust as light is from darkness. . . . If Harriman, Rogers, Rockefeller, Gould, Stillman are professors of 'high finance,' they are practitioners of low morality. They were trustees of other people's money. They used it skilfully and built up a great railroad corporation. Then to themselves as trustees—call them directors, if you choose, it is the same thing—they sold at enormously inflated prices securities that belonged to themselves as individuals. They paid themselves with the money of those who had chosen them as trustees. And they did it with all possible secrecy. They constantly used their inside information to their own personal profit. They falsified accounts and put out a deceptive report of their railroad's condition and the stocks in other roads which it owned.

"In the mind of every honest man and woman the conduct of these 'magnates' is no different morally from that of a crook who

robs a house. And they are the men who cry out against government supervision of railroads and accuse the President of 'corruption-baiting.'"

So general and sweeping were the denunciations of the press after the facts, which had long been known to the Wall-street financiers, had been made public property, that the Harriman syndicate felt it absolutely necessary for them to issue a defense, and on the 14th of March there appeared a pamphlet entitled "Official Statement Respecting the Recapitalization of the Chicago & Alton Railroad Company." The pamphlet declared that it was authorized by the syndicate that acquired the property in 1899. The pamphlet is, as the *New York World* characterized it, "a defense of the high-finance jugglery to which E. H. Harriman and Kuhn, Loeb & Co., submitted that property," and "the statement declares that 'The profits of the syndicate have been absurdly overestimated.' It then gives a peculiar array of figures which set the market value of the property before Harriman put it through its high-finance performance at \$54,396,617, and the value of the new securities, after the recapitalization, at \$105,090,000. It says that \$19,500,000 were spent for improvements, new equipment and reconstruction, and \$3,000,000 for the Springfield and Peoria line. This accounts for \$22,500,000 of the \$50,700,000 of new securities, but the statement says nothing whatever as to what became of the remaining \$28,200,000."

The above does not refer to another phase of this exhibition of modern high finance brought out at the investigation. We refer to the issue of 3 per cent. bonds which Mr. Harriman and his confederates issued to themselves at 65 and then unloaded on an insurance company which was controlled by high financiers at 95.

It is with the tax-farming phase of these transactions, however, that we are at present concerned. Here, according to the evidence, after Mr. Harriman had secured the Chicago & Alton, he had an enormous issue of bonds made, much less than half of which was spent in purchase of property or increase of the tangible assets of the road. The rest went into the pockets of the stockholders and financial jugglers. Here we find millions upon millions of bonds issued that did not represent any outlay to increase tangible assets

and which would have been as worthless as the paper they were printed on, but for the taxing power which is enjoyed by the public-service corporations, by which those in possession of natural monopolies are able to levy extortionate tariffs on the wealth-producers and consumers of the nation. The three, four, six or eight per cent. dividends that are paid on this wealth that was arbitrarily increased by the irresponsible tax-farmers are taken from the pockets of the toiling millions as arbitrarily and mercilessly as were the taxes extorted by the tax-farmers of ancient Rome.

The millions upon millions of "made dollars" that were merely issued to Mr. Harri-man and his stock-holding confederates were as valuable to the holders as if they represented actual outlay for improvement of property, because the railway magnates have the power to go into the pockets of the hard-working farmer, who with wife and family toils from twelve to fourteen hours a day in grinding labor for a meager return; into the pockets of the artisan, the manufacturing mechanic and the miner, whose wages are so small that their children have to slave in factory, mill and mine, instead of going to school and enjoying that freedom necessary to healthy development of the body, brain and soul of youth; and into the pockets of the doctor, the clergyman and the merchant, or, in a word, of the wealth-producing and consuming public, and arbitrarily take wealth that does not represent return on money invested and which by no stretch of the imagination can be said justly to belong to them.

One of the obvious reasons for the high prices which are to-day such a burden on the people is found in the high freights which the railroads have found it necessary to charge in order to pay dividends on this vast burden of bonds that have been arbitrarily created by the criminal rich, in order to further inflate their swollen fortunes and to enable them to further indulge their insatiable appetite for unearned wealth and their insane passion for gambling, and which are rendered possible only because of the taxing power possessed

by the railways and other public-service corporations.

In ancient Rome no class of people was so hated in all the provinces, and none did so much to weaken the sway of the one-time Mistress of the World, as the tax-farmers, who frequently through corrupt use of wealth were able to buy privileges to farm the people; and all students of history know how much the unjust farming of the poor agriculturists and wealth-creators of France and the evasion of taxes by the aristocracy, church and official classes had to do with rousing the popular rage that made the French revolution inevitable.

Our modern irresponsible public-service tax-farmer does not buy his privileges in quite so open and direct a manner as did his soul-mate of Rome during her decline, but the methods of these moral criminals of both periods are the same. To-day the railway and other public-service magnates, the banking chiefs and the master-spirits in the great trusts buy the privileges which they enjoy in farming the public, through liberal campaign contributions, courtesies and various forms of indirect bribery, when secret and direct bribery is not employed. In recent years, through their campaign contributions alone and the complete control of the political bosses, they have been enabled to so largely influence the nomination and appointment of officials in various branches of city, state and national government as to render it possible for them to farm the people at their pleasure.

The pitiful concessions that have resulted after all the exposures of the measureless corruption in the investigations of railways, insurance companies and the beef and oil trusts, only serve to render more startling the tremendous power exerted by the feudalism of privileged wealth in its effort to evade its fair share of taxes and its systematic employment of extortion in the farming of the wealth-creators and consumers.

Here, then, are two important counts in the long bill of popular grievances against the present feudalism of privileged wealth.

THE LONDON MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS.

The False Claims of The Servants of The Public-Service Corporations Exposed.

TO THOSE knowing the facts, nothing recently has been more illuminating or characteristic of the tactics persistently pursued by the Morgan-Ryan-Belmont newspapers, the public-service corporation bureaus of misinformation and the magazines whose chief function seems to be the making of special pleas for the public-service corporations and the distorting of every fact relating to public ownership, than the persistent effort to mislead the American public in regard to the significance of the recent municipal election in London. These multitudinous voices, raised in behalf of the most lawless and sinister element of privileged wealth that is waging warfare on fundamental democracy, with one accord strove to create the impression that the great issue involved in the London election was public ownership and operation of public utilities. It was claimed that London had given public ownership a thorough trial and had repudiated it. This statement, though thoroughly characteristic of those who accept briefs for the most greedy, lawless and corrupting element in our government, lacked the merit of veracity. It was precisely what the masters of the subsidized press wished had been the case, but not what was the fact, as was admirably shown in a review of the situation by the brilliant author and journalist, Charles Edward Russell. This writer has recently returned from Great Britain, where he carefully investigated conditions in London. He is recognized as a consistent writer and competent authority, and his words are entitled to great weight. In a signed editorial published in the *New York American* Mr. Russell thus examined the claims of the servants of the public-service companies:

"Municipal-ownership had no more to do with the election in London than it had to do with the earthquake in Kingston.

"Municipal-ownership, either as a general principle or in detail, was not involved in the London election, and will not be affected by the result of the election.

"Here are the facts:

"About a dozen years ago the London that

is under the care of the London County Council (population about 4,300,000) entered definitely upon the general policy of public-ownership for all public utilities.

"That policy has been repeatedly approved by the electorate, and is by practically universal consent established as the course that the government of London (as of all other English cities) is to steer, no matter who has the helm.

"In London many things have been done on the lines of this policy, and some other things are yet to be done.

"The new County Council elected week before last will follow the policy just as surely as its predecessor followed it, and will never entertain any other idea.

"The Council, since the policy was adopted, has been of several complexions, but has never wavered from the idea of converting the public utilities from private to public ownership, and we may be perfectly sure that no matter who may be elected that idea will continue to rule.

"One reason for this is because the whole English nation is unreservedly committed to the public-ownership idea. It has nationalized its telegraph service, is now engaged in nationalizing its telephone service and is preparing for the day when it will nationalize its railroad service.

"In England it is not necessary to convince people that a nation can exist without being robbed; they believe that already.

"In England they have no faith in the sanctity of loot. They do not believe that the robberies of an express company have divine warrant, and they think that a country community can rid itself of a gang of watered-stock grafters and still escape the vengeance of Heaven.

"The English have very little superstition about graft. To them corporation thieving is much like other thieving, and they know of no reason why certain gentlemen should be perpetually privileged to have their hands in other people's pockets.

"Hence, all over England they have abolished the traction company and the gas company and some other forms of corporation frauds, and you can always be perfectly sure, no matter what you may read in Mr. Morgan's newspapers, that all these frauds will stay abolished—in England."

The Real Reasons For The Reactionary Triumph.

To thinking men and women who are students of history and economic progress, there is nothing surprising or disquieting in the result of the London election, as will be seen when we consider the influences supporting the reactionaries and the facts that were used to sway a population composed very largely of persons who think more of taxes than of present health and happiness or the future greatness of their city.

The Liberal London Council, which has been in power in recent years, strove to change London from one of the darkest, most congested and non-progressive cities in the civilized world to a municipality worthy of the twentieth century. In pursuance of this plan it increased the lungs of the city by broadening the park area and adding seventy parks to those that had hitherto existed. How great has been this vitally important work is seen from the fact that the Liberal administration has added 1,400 acres to the park area of London. In many of these parks the council provided for recreation for the people.

A second great source of expenditure, which all thoughtful people must admit was imperatively demanded, was the broadening of the Strand and the construction of King's Way, the thoroughfare that connects the Strand with Holborn.

Other streets, where the municipal cars ran, had to be widened and dangerous curves abolished in order to accommodate the demands of the traveling without constantly menacing life, and these widenings, again, added much to the taxes.

The asylums for the care of the insane were taken over by the council, that the treatment of the most unfortunate of our people might be worthy of twentieth-century civilization.

Now the first cost of all these things was naturally very great and inevitably increased the tax burden. In referring to this increase in the tax burden, which was made the most effective argument with the tax-payers, Mr. Russell says:

"The London County Council attended to other things besides the extension of municipal-ownership, and it was the other things that got into trouble the party that has lately been in control.

"These things were chiefly the widening of the Strand and the opening of the new thor-

oughfare between the Strand and the Holborn.

"Enormously costly were all the undertakings. Real estate all along the Strand is the most valuable in London, and wherever the council effected a widening of the street it was forced to buy the entire parcel from which it cut a slice.

"The new thoroughfares, Aldwych and King's Way, were driven for half a mile straight through very costly property, all of which must needs be purchased before the improvements could be made.

"Again, London has never been a beautiful city, and the council, at great expense, has tried to modernize and adorn some of its streets.

"All this has piled up a very heavy expenditure. A great part thereof is merely an investment, because the property purchased will eventually return increasing revenues and abundantly justify what has been spent.

"But for the present there is nothing but outgo, and there will be nothing but outgo for a few years to come.

"In consequence of these expenditures, which involve something like \$100,000,000, the taxes of London have been heavily increased.

"The tax-payers have felt and resented the increase; they do not care to look forward to the time when the investments will begin to return profits; and at the election they most naturally voted against the party that had caused the enhanced burden.

"That was all there was to the London election. Municipal-ownership had nothing to do with the increased taxes and was not in any sense at stake in the contest.

"The municipally-owned enterprises of London, like those of other English cities, are admirably managed in the public interest, most of them are successful as business concerns, and the people have repeatedly shown their entire satisfaction with them.

"If you were to go to London a year from now you would find more municipal-ownership than you will find now, and if you were to go there again two years from now you would find still more—because the English people know when they have had enough, and they made up their minds some time ago that they had enough of pilfering by the private corporations."

That the public-service companies and financiers who long for such golden harvests

as are being reaped by the great public-service corporations of America aided in various ways to advance the interests of the reactionaries and friends of privileged interests, is doubtless true, for those seeking special privileges and class rights always support the enemies of genuine democracy and progressive government which makes the prosperity, happiness and advancement of all the people the object of first concern. But there were other factors besides that of increased taxation and the comparatively insignificant influence of those interested in private ownership of public utilities that were used with great effect by the financially powerful conservative forces, which are thus admirably summed up in an editorial in *The Outlook*:

"Besides the growing burden of County Council government, the Progressives had come in to conflict with many vested interests. The theater and music-hall proprietors had no liking for the close oversight of their structural arrangements by the council; and the proprietors of the music-halls found the censorship exercised by the council irritating. The brewing, liquor and saloon interests are almost invariably Tory in municipal as well as in national politics. They threw their

influence against the Progressives. So did the Anglican clergy and the supporters of those elementary schools in London which, by the Education Act of 1903, are still largely under clerical control."

Here we find the financial interests, which have small concern for the health, happiness and elevation of the great struggling masses of the city or for the beautifying and bettering of London, reinforced by the saloon influence, the music-halls, the dives and the reactionary clerical power. Of the absurd claim made by the servants of the Morgans, the Ryans and the Standard Oil corporate interests, that the election was a defeat for municipal-ownership of public utilities, the editor of *The Outlook* well observes:

"This overturn has been hailed in some quarters in this country as a defeat for municipal-ownership. Of course it is not. It is rather a check to certain experiments in municipal operation—a very different matter. The election of the Tories also puts to rest one bugaboo—the control of elections by municipal employés. These employés did vote, we understand, pretty solidly for the Progressives, but their votes were cast ineffectually."

THE SATURNALIA OF BRIBERY AND CORRUPT PRACTICES IN SAN FRANCISCO.

The Tap-Root of Municipal Corruption Again Laid Bare.

THE ARENA has pointed out on several occasions the important fact that whenever an exposure has been made of wholesale and systematic corruption, in city, state or nation, in almost every instance and place it appeared that the master corrupting power had been the public-service corporations and privileged interests who wished to rob the people and defeat the ends of civic righteousness and who found that the surest and safest method of procedure was to elevate their men to positions as political bosses or in other ways gain control of the party machinery, so that they could pack the offices with their kind of men—men who will sell out the people for personal enrichment.

The exposures and prosecutions made by

Governor Folk, in St. Louis, while he was district attorney, showed that the real source of the wealth and power of the ignorant and corrupt democratic boss, Butler, was the criminal rich who operated the public-service corporations and through bribery were able to gain franchises of untold value which belonged to the people. And the revelations in St. Louis have been matched wherever there have been thorough investigations of systematic bribery of the people's servants.

In the case of San Francisco we have another eloquent witness to the fact that the privileged few, chiefly the public-service corporations operating natural monopolies, are the master influences in the corruption of government and the exploitation of the people. Here has been brought out, by the sworn testimony of a number of persons before the

grand jury, one of the most amazing revelations of wholesale and systematic bribery by public-service companies on record. The United Railroads Company, the Pacific States and the Home Telephone Companies, and the San Francisco Gas and Electric Company, had all engaged in a wholesale bribery of the public servants. In the case of the United Railroads Company, the sum paid for bribery of Boss Ruef, Mayor Schmitz and the eighteen supervisors, reached, according to the testimony, the almost incredible sum of \$1,120,000—a sum which eloquently speaks of the immense monetary value of the public-franchise grants which the false servants of the people are systematically giving away to their real masters, while pretending to represent the public interests.

The conservative Republican *Boston Daily Journal*, of March 22d, in speaking of the disclosures made by the terrified officials who to save themselves confessed to receiving and disbursing the ill-gotten gains, said:

"The graft disclosures . . . show that several big corporations bought supervisors at so much a head to vote for franchises in which they were interested.

"In a nutshell, the supervisors have confessed to the following transactions: The United Railroads Company paid each supervisor \$40,000, and to Schmitz and Ruef \$400,000.

"The Pacific States Telephone Company paid to ten supervisors \$5,000 each.

"The Home Telephone Company paid ten supervisors \$3,500 each.

"The Home Telephone Company also paid to seven supervisors \$6,000 each. The Home Telephone Company paid to Ruef and Schmitz (estimated), \$150,000.

"The San Francisco Gas and Electric Company paid the supervisors \$750 each."

So long as the railroads, the telegraph, the telephone and the express companies are in the hands of private corporations, the nation and state governments will be corrupted and debauched by these immensely rich operators of the public-service monopolies, who desire to gamble with watered securities and farm the wealth of the nation into the pockets of the few great gamblers. So long as municipal utilities are owned and operated by private corporations, the city government will be the sport and plaything of the grafting public-service corporations and the people will be

the victims of the unholy alliance between the natural monopolies, the money-controlled machines and the men that the corruptionists select to misrepresent the people.

Two Important Demands.

The interests of free government no less than of civic integrity call urgently for the introduction of two great progressive movements, the first and most important of all being the simple and practical measure for preserving and bulwarking the basic principles of democratic government—direct-legislation through the initiative and referendum. With honest direct-legislation provisions, the people will again be in actual power, and the scandal of corporation and machine rule under the fiction of republican government will be at an end.

But here it is absolutely important that direct-legislation measures be formulated by their friends and not by corporation attorneys or machine politicians. Measures satisfactory to the corrupt, subversive and anti-republican influences will be so framed as to be too cumbersome and difficult of operation for practical purposes. The framing of impractical measures is one of the tactics of the enemy when it finds the people will no longer be hoodwinked by the present corrupt and faithless rule. Friends of direct-legislation must be on guard to oppose all measures requiring too large a percentage of names to make it easy to obtain the requisite number within the specified time limit. They should also oppose measures so drawn as to make the will of the people permissive instead of mandatory in character.

Of less immediate importance but very necessary to clean, honest and effective government in the interests of all the people, is public-ownership of natural monopolies; but here again the people must not accept any gold bricks from the great green-goods men of Wall street—the high financiers who have already robbed every man, woman and child through extortionate charges made necessary to pay dividends on inflated or watered stock. The government, whether of nation, state or city, must resolutely refuse to pay for the water in the various stocks. If the people should accept the inflated prices, they would take upon themselves a generation-long burden which they would have no right to assume.

Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace, citing Herbert

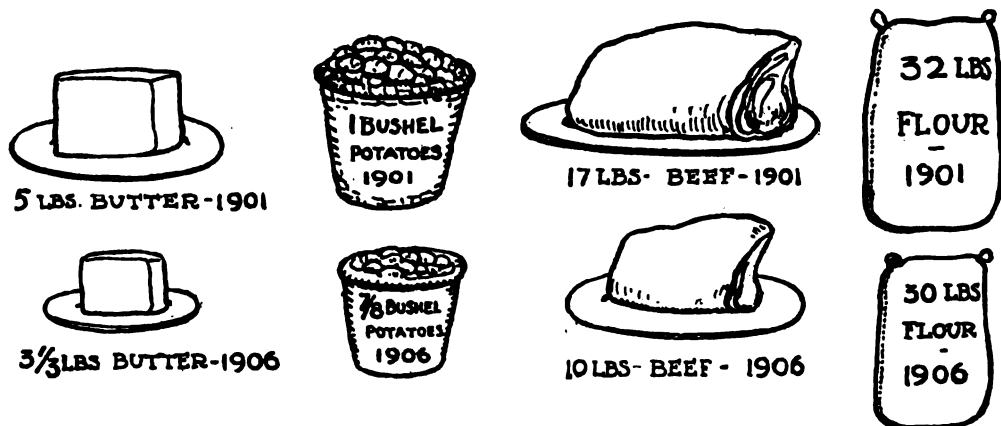
Spencer's law of social justice in the January *ARENA*, showed a wise, just and equitable course to be pursued. But if in the interests of immediate relief and a more liberal than just course the people should decide, in city, state or nation, to allow the corporations as much as the property could be replaced for, no serious injury would be done to the public.

Beyond this, however, the people should resolutely refuse to go. The rights and interests of the long-plundered and exploited masses must in the future be considered before the avarice of the criminal rich and those who voluntarily trust their money with these thoroughly-exposed and faithless gamesters.

A CONCRETE ILLUSTRATION SHOWING HOW THE COST OF LIVING GREATLY EXCEEDS THE INCREASE OF WAGES.

AN INTERESTING and concrete illustration of how the trusts and monopolies are adding to the swollen fortunes of the few at the expense of the industrial millions of the nation—an illustration that reveals how essentially hollow is the persistent cry about

years ago, to-day find it impossible to make ends meet; while the housewife and the children, who have no income, still demand the same necessities that they required when prices were low. All these—those whose salaries have not increased, and those who are depend-



increase in wages, was recently given to the public by Chief Statistician Charles F. Pidgin, of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor in an interview in the *Boston Herald*. Mr. Pidgin illustrated his statements by diagrams which we reproduce, showing the purchasing power of a dollar in 1901 as compared with its purchasing power last year, as shown by the statistics.

It is true that the farmer receives somewhat more for his produce to-day than he did five years ago. It is also true that in many instances the wages of the laborers have been increased; but for millions of consumers there has been no increase in income. The professional men and a large proportion of those who receive fixed salaries, which only enabled them to live in reasonable comfort ten

ent upon the salaries or wages of others—feel the bitter pinch incident to higher prices; while the wage advance is, in most instances, not nearly as great as the increase in cost of living. The farmer, also, when he buys anything, has to pay the increased burden due to the heavy increase in prices. In his interview, Mr. Pidgin said:

"The increase in wages throughout the country has not kept pace with the increased cost of living. This I make as a general statement based on Massachusetts statistics going back ten years."

In enumerating the increase in living expenses, this statistician said:

"Codfish has jumped from 7 to 10 cents

a pound; rice from 7 to 8; beans from 7 to 10; sugar from 4 to 5; soap from 4 to 5; starch from 7 to 8; roasting beef from 14 to 17; soup beef from 5 to 7; corned beef from 9 to 10; veal from 12 to 15; fresh pork from 10 to 14; salt pork from 9 to 12; sausages from 10 to 12; lard from 8 to 13; butter from 24 to 30; cheese from 14 to 16; potatoes from \$1.01 to \$1.14 a bushel; milk from 5 to 6 cents a quart; eggs from 21 to 25 cents a dozen; coal from \$6.00 to \$6.65 a ton; prints from 5 to 6 cents a yard; ticking from 11 to 13; sheeting from 8 to 13; four-room tenements from \$8 a month to \$12, and six-room tenements from \$11 a month to \$19.

"These figures put so as to represent the purchasing power of a dollar last year compared with that of five years ago, mean that 32 pounds of flour could be bought then for what 30 pounds cost now. That 13 pounds of fish could be bought with the dollar that is now expended for 10 pounds; that 17 pounds of beef could be had for the cost of 10 pounds now, and 14 pounds of mutton at the cost of 9 pounds to-day.

"A six-room tenement could be had ten years ago at less than the cost of a four-room tenement now, and this, in spite of the fact that the building statistics show an unexampled increase in the construction of houses."

THE GOLDEN RULE IN MODERN BUSINESS. A PRACTICAL ILLUSTRATION.

WE HAVE, on several occasions, called the attention of our readers to the progress made along the lines of justice and enlightenment by various coöperative works in the Republic. Among these has been the Coöperative Association of America, whose master-spirit since its organization has been Mr. Bradford Peck. Mr. Peck built up the greatest department store in Maine, situated at Lewiston, and after the organization of the Coöperative Association of America this store became a part of the activities operated by the association. The aim has been to make the store more and more an exemplification of the broad spirit of fraternity based on justice, and to this end innovations have steadily been

introduced. One of these is the giving to all employes of two weeks' vacation in the summer and two weeks in the winter, or four weeks every year, with pay. Another important innovation which has voiced the coöperative spirit in a very practical manner has been the giving to each employé of a dividend representing a certain percentage of his salary. Thus, on the 15th of March of this year, every employé in the great department store received a check amounting to ten per cent. on his salary. These employes are not stockholders in the work and have not made any financial outlay; but the management recognizes the service they are rendering and their equitable right to share in the profits of the enterprise.

A FURTHER WORD ON CHRISTIAN SCIENCE.

**The Most Flagrant Recent Attempt to
Prejudge a Case Before It Reaches
The Trial Court.**

WE WERE impelled to write our article on Christian Science in the January *ARENA* because our sense of justice was outraged by the shamefully mendacious attacks made on its aged founder—attacks that had been proved to be false but which were persistently circulated. It was not our purpose further to discuss the subject, nor should we do so now if the matter were merely a religious

controversy. *THE ARENA* is especially concerned with great fundamental social and economic principles that make for harmony and the highest development of the individual through a just social organism. But since the publication of our article the course pursued by certain persons and newspapers in relation to a suit that has been instituted, seems so flagrantly unjust that we are impelled again to protest against actions that are at variance with the rights of the individual and so essentially unfair as to call for the censure

of those who realize how vital is justice to the healthy life of the State.

In recent years an offense against justice, which is morally disintegrating in its influence on society, has become more and more pronounced where lawyers, as wanting in a proper idea of human rights and the demands of equity as they have been desirous of gaining notoriety or of strengthening a weak cause, have united with reporters for sensational newspapers in systematic attempts to try certain cases in the public prints and gain popular condemnation for the accused by scattering broadcast *ex parte* versions and sensational write-ups and stories so colored and deftly turned as to create feelings of distrust or a conviction of the guilt of the accused in the minds of the people who read these reports and who know nothing of the real facts involved.

Perhaps the most flagrant example of this character, the most persistent and determined attempt to have an important case prejudged, is to be found in the methods attending the recent suit brought by the son of Mrs. Eddy and certain other relatives and beneficiaries, to prove that the distinguished founder of Christian Science is incapable of administering her property and that she is virtually a prisoner and the victim of a number of well-known and prominent leaders and officials in the church which Mrs. Eddy has founded and built up.

The bringing of such a suit as this in an age when the lust for gold so frequently overrides all the finer sensibilities and leads men and women to disregard the reverence and sanctity due to motherhood and to venerable age, might not occasion great surprise, for the materialism of the market has during the past fifty years played sad havoc with the moral idealism that was a chief glory of our people in the early days of our national life; but the manner in which the interested parties, their representatives and the reporters of the sensational press have systematically striven to prejudice the public mind by the circulation of the most absurd stories and by a vicious attempt to discredit honorable and honored men, whose lives have long been marked by a sincere and consistent endeavor to be faithful and true to the law of love and the teachings of the Great Nazarene, and the equally shameful attempt to discredit or misrepresent Mrs. Eddy, while pretending to be working for her, constitute so shameful a

page in newspaper and extra-legal action as to call for passing notice.

For several days immediately after the bringing of the suit a systematic attempt was made to discredit men like Professor Herman Hering, Rev. Irving C. Tomlinson and the honored and honorable official board of The First Church of Christ, Scientist, of Boston. These and other men whose lives had been as thoroughly consecrated to a cause which they believe to be true as are the lives of the noblest clergymen and leaders in other faiths, were represented as a designing clique, a set of men who had succeeded in dominating Mrs. Eddy and in making her devote her money to the advancement of the church work or to spend it in a manner different from what she presumably would have disbursed it had she been free from the influence of her faithful secretary and the men whom she had gathered around her and had chosen to carry forward the work under her own direction. Supplementing these attempts to discredit her leading executive agents in the great work to which Mrs. Eddy had consecrated her life, were published moving stories describing the deep emotion of the strange son of the venerable founder of Christian Science when talking of his mother in the hands of those who, the public was expected to believe, were her jailers. The moving descriptions of the concern of this son, which were evidently published to give the impression of genuine solicitude for the feelings and well-being of the aged mother, would have been more convincing to thoughtful people had he not been aligning himself against all those who for a quarter of a century had dwelt in the love and confidence of the mother,—against the church which she had founded and against the honored representatives of the cause to which she had dedicated her life. Moreover, it was noted that this son, whom it was desired that the people should regard as so concerned for his aged mother, was consorting with the man who had been the most bitter and persistent enemy of Mrs. Eddy for years—consorting with, and having for his Boston counsel, this man who for a long time, on platform and with pen, has assailed Mrs. Eddy as either morally or mentally irresponsible; the man, who just previous to the bringing of the suit, had at the state house in Boston derided the teachings of Mrs. Eddy and industriously engaged in a vain attempt to take away the legal right of

tens of thousands of citizens of Massachusetts to enjoy the services of Christian Science healers in the hour of sickness, when they so desired to employ them. A man who cherished a mother's good name and who entertained ordinary filial love, or even respect for his parent, would hardly be expected to select as his active counsel in a case involving that mother, a person who had striven with a persistence as untiring as his effort had been futile, to convince the public that the mother was a fraud—a person either morally or mentally irresponsible.

Not content with the effort to discredit the leaders of the Christian Science movement and the attempt to create sympathy for the son who was harassing the aged mother with the suit, though he had never contributed a cent to her support, while on the other hand, he had been in recent years the recipient of generous aid from her, the counsel engaged in the effort to prejudge the case next gave to the public intimate personal correspondence of Mrs. Eddy to her son. This was published, headed up in a sensational manner and with comments aimed to color the subject-matter or to convey the ideas which the counsel wished impressed. If the son or his attorneys felt it important for the issue of the trial to place this correspondence in evidence, when the case was called, that would have been a very different thing from allowing intimate personal letters from an aged mother, that should be regarded as something too sacred for promiscuous publication, to be used in the sensational public press, long before the trial, and with the obvious purpose of discrediting the mother and proving that she was not competent to administer the fortune she had made.

And this was followed by other sensational stories whose evident purpose was to further prejudice the case and discredit those who have long stood before the community as strictly honorable citizens, before the courts had had any opportunity to consider the charges that had been made.

Our criticism has nothing to do with the case before the trial courts. It is a protest against an unjustifiable, cruel and indecent attempt to prejudge a case in the press of the nation before it has been tried in the courts—an attempt that ruthlessly disregards the feelings of and is calculated to harass and injure a woman eighty-six years of age, who has long enjoyed the respect and high esteem of the community in which she lives, and

who is venerated and revered as a loving benefactor by hundreds of thousands of intelligent and conscientious citizens.

If those so interested in Mrs. Eddy's fortune, and those equally anxious to discredit the religious belief that she holds to be redemptive in its power and to which she has consecrated her life, felt that they were justified in bringing the suit in the court, every sense of decency and regard for aged womanhood, no less than the simple right which is due citizens who have heretofore enjoyed the universal respect of the community, should have demanded that no unnecessary publicity be given to the case until the courts had passed on its merits.

This systematic effort to prejudge a case, indefensible under any circumstances, is especially reprehensible in this instance, because the presumptive evidence is so clearly against the contention of the petitioners. If Mrs. Eddy, when her income became more than sufficient for her personal needs, had spent the excess on her family and relations, or had revelled in personal luxury and paid little or no attention to the advancement of the religious theories she had promulgated and which she from the first had declared held the secret of health and happiness for all the people; or on the other hand, if, like John Wesley, she had given away in individual cases the excess of her steadily growing income, and then, after surrounding herself with people who believed her teachings to be redemptive in character, she had suddenly reversed her course, refusing any aid to relatives or to individual applications and had devoted a liberal share of her income to the furtherance of the religious belief she had promulgated,—we say, if such had been her course, while it would by no means follow that she had come under the undue influence of those surrounding her, it might have been claimed that there was presumptive evidence favoring such a contention. But the facts are just the reverse of this. From the time when she was able, by great personal deprivation, to issue her first edition of *Science and Health*, she has devoted her thought, life, energies and fortune to the furtherance of the religious beliefs which she is convinced hold the key to health, happiness and moral victory for the children of men. Never, for one day, has she swerved in her efforts to spread what she believes to be the gospel of life. Long before she was associated with any of the persons who we are asked to believe are exploiting her, this was

the master thought of her life, and it was for the purpose of better advancing this cause that she selected these persons to act under her direction in forwarding the work that was nearest and dearest to her heart. True, in recent years, after the church work was well-established, Mrs. Eddy, finding that her son did not seem capable of making an independent living, paid his debts and built him a beautiful and expensive home; but this was after, and not before, Mrs. Eddy had surrounded herself with the persons in whom she had the greatest confidence and whom she selected to help in carrying forward the church work.

Thus, the presumptive evidence is all against the contention of the fortune-hunting relatives, who, aided by their counsel and the sensational press, have sought to prejudice the public against high-minded men and to discredit and injure the founder of a religious belief that during the past ten years has grown in a most phenomenal manner in the midst of the most cultured centers and whose members are among the most intelligent and thoroughly conscientious of our people.

We hope and trust that the flagrancy of this offense will lead to a general protest on the part of self-respecting and justice-loving citizens against any recurrence of such shameless acts, which reflect so seriously on our manhood and civilization.

Professor Kent Disproves a Typical Story Circulated in The Attempt to Discredit Mrs. Eddy.

The revelations given to the public by Professor Kent, of Concord, New Hampshire, afford an illuminating example of the tactics of those who since the systematic attacks on the founder of Christian Science have in newspaper, magazine and by legal acts, sought in every way possible to discredit and harass an honored and venerable woman. Professor Kent was relied on by the attorneys representing the prosecution as a star witness in their hope to prove Mrs. Eddy incompetent to administer her estate, but a short time before the matter came up for a hearing in the courts, Professor Kent published a statement in which he declared that he would have nothing whatever to do with the plaintiffs in the suit, alleging, as a reason, that his statements and views expressed had been so grossly misrepresented by those attacking Mrs. Eddy and her cause, that he refused to have anything to do with those opposing the

founder of Christian Science. Professor Kent cited one illustration showing the way the enemies of Mrs. Eddy and her faith sought deliberately to prejudice and mislead the public. He said that a statement had been widely circulated to the effect that when he bought his home near Pleasant View, Mrs. Eddy had sent him a check for \$500. This story, which Professor Kent asserted to be absolutely without any ground in fact, had been so industriously and circumstantially circulated that many of his friends had believed it.

In precisely the same manner those who are attacking Mrs. Eddy under the shameless pretense of representing her, have tried to prejudice the case and prejudice the public by reference to Mrs. Eddy's trusted friends as her "jailers" and as an unscrupulous clique who are trying to exploit her; and this, notwithstanding the fact that these gentlemen have behind them a consistent record of honorable and upright citizenship.

The Present Legal Status of The Case.

Since writing the above the case has come before the courts. Mrs. Eddy placed her property in the hands of three trustees: Josiah E. Fernald, President of the National State Capital Bank, of Concord; ex-Congressman, Henry M. Baker, a leading citizen of New Hampshire, and a relative of Mrs. Eddy; and Archibald McLellan, the able head of the Christian Science Publishing Society of Boston. The two first-named of these gentlemen are not Christian Scientists. The appointment of such a board of trustees, and their acceptance of the trust, showed more clearly than ever the absurdity of the claim of the attorneys and the sensational newspapers, that Mrs. Eddy was a helpless prisoner in the hands of a clique of unscrupulous men.

Mrs. Eddy's action surprised and discomfited the plaintiffs. Finally, however, they made a motion to vacate the trust on the ground that Mrs. Eddy was incompetent to manage her fortune. The aim of the agents of the relatives whose avarice is leading them to harass an aged woman in order to get gold they never earned, it is claimed, is to get Mrs. Eddy before the courts and then elicit her views concerning her belief in regard to certain theories that are as counter to the concepts of *materia medica* as were the teachings of life and love which marked the gospel of the

Nazarene counter to the popular and accepted tenets of the Scribes, Pharisees and doctors of the law in the Jerusalem of Jesus' day. They claim that if she swears to certain statements, medical experts will declare her to be mentally unsound and thus incapable of administering her affairs.

Now just here let us pause to notice one fact. This suit has been brought ostensibly in the interest of Mrs. Eddy, to protect her property from being squandered wrongfully, and the grounds on which the greed-crazed relatives bring the suit is that she is not mentally able to conduct her business. But the beliefs or theories on which the plaintiffs' attorneys are said to base their hope of success are the beliefs and convictions that Mrs. Eddy has adhered to and taught from the day when she was penniless to the present time. All the fortune earned by this remarkable woman, which the avaricious relatives so covet was made while Mrs. Eddy held and taught these beliefs.

Moreover, the views held and taught by Mrs. Eddy, and which are as directly opposed to the teachings of the medical profession as were the religious views of Calvin opposed to the dogmas entertained by the members of the Spanish Inquisition, are to-day held by hundreds of thousands of thoughtful and highly intelligent people,—men like Judge Works, formerly of the Supreme Bench of California, Mr. Van Buskirk, formerly Attorney-General of Indiana, and Judge Ewing, of Chicago. All these, and many others that might be named, are men of commanding legal attainments; while in various other walks and stations of life are scores upon scores of the best representatives. Men like W. D. McCrackan, A.M., Charles Klein, Lord Dunmore, and hundreds of thousands of other intelligent people, all hold these same views, which it is said the attorneys for the plaintiffs are depending upon to prove Mrs. Eddy incompetent to manage her affairs.

From time to time independent thinkers and leaders of great religious and philosophical movements have promulgated teachings that have been diametrically opposed to the conventional and popular thought of their age, and in every instance where appeal has been made to the representatives of the popular concepts which were diametrically opposed to the new thought, the verdict has naturally enough been against the leader, whether he

be Socrates, the Nazarene, Galileo, Harvey or Hahnemann. Yet time and the march of civilization have vindicated the despised iconoclasts whose ideas were ridiculed and condemned in their day.

Socrates taught a nobler and loftier philosophy than was held by the society in which he lived. Hence, he was charged with assailing religion, teaching impiety to the gods, and corrupting the youths of Athens. The lives and writings of Plato and Xenophon show how he corrupted the youths and how he taught unsafe philosophy. But though he was a way-shower of righteousness, the conventional judges of his age condemned him to death.

If, in Jesus' time there had been medical schools of experts and asylums, how easy it would have been to have proved to the satisfaction of all the physicians who belonged to the conventional sects of Pharisees and Sadducees that the great Nazarene was dangerously insane, simply by citing some of his own teachings. Utterances like "I will destroy this temple and raise it again in three days" would have been all that was necessary to prove the contention which the physicians and conventionalists of the day desired to establish. Indeed, the false charges and the fate of Jesus at the hands of the Sanhedrim afford another of the many, many examples of how popular thought ever regards those who teach a new religion.

So with scientific and philosophical thought that runs counter to popular ideas. Witness Galileo in the hands of the scholarship of the Roman Church. How would John Calvin have fared before a learned council composed of members of the Inquisition? When Hahnemann had achieved marked success in the treatment of typhoid fever, he aroused such a storm of hatred and popular prejudice among the physicians and reactionary scholastic element in Leipsic that he was compelled to leave his home city. Who doubts but what, if Hahnemann had been brought before the courts and some old-school physicians had been summoned to pass on the sanity of the man who taught that "like cures like," they would have unhesitatingly brought in a verdict against his mental soundness?

Christian Science is a metaphysical system of thought, and what student does not know how difficult it is to convey the metaphysical concept to those habituated to think along material lines? It is said that from ten to

one hundred persons in a given time clearly grasp the force of Plato's philosophical teachings and are able to translate enough of his thought into terms that are comprehensible to the people to prove a luminous and inspiring influence in every period. Those who have studied the works of great metaphysical writers readily understand how difficult it is to make their terminology comprehensible to many people, because of the different significance attaching to the meaning of terms. A metaphysician holds that that is real which is eternally true, which persists and holds vital potentiality; while that which is transient, ephemeral and unvitalized with the principle of life is regarded as unreal. Yet when he speaks of reality he speaks in an unknown tongue to those who do not thus discriminate. The metaphysical and mate-

rialistic concepts are fundamentally opposed to each other, they are mutually antagonistic; and to bring the representatives of one philosophy to sit in judgment on the representatives of the other, on a vital question relating to a person's sanity who has previously proved herself a person of extraordinary executive ability, possessed of an exceptionally able business mind, and whose teachings have brought life, comfort, happiness, peace and joy to hundreds of thousands, would be as fundamentally unjust as was the treatment meted out to great leaders of other revolutionary theories of life that have run counter to the popular ideas of their time but whose beliefs have been vindicated because they held enough of truth to make them vitally helpful and redemptive in their influence on struggling human lives.

ARIEL: A TYPICAL EDITORIAL JOURNAL OF SOCIAL PROGRESS.

AMONG the number of bright and readable little monthly editorial journals which come to our table, journals that are taking the place of the pamphlets and leaflets of other great reformatory epochs, *Ariel* deserves special mention. It is edited by the Rev. George Elmer Littlefield, who left a lucrative position as a popular minister in the Unitarian church, because he felt he could better carry forward the work of the Great Nazarene by giving his life's energy to the advancement of social justice or equitable economic conditions. For several years he has dedicated his life to the cause of social progress along coöperative lines, and on the platform and with pen he has done yeoman's service for economic advance and the awakening of man on the conscience side of life. Some time since, he, together with a number of kindred souls, formed the Coöperative Fellowship and established a coöperative printing plant at Westwood, Massachusetts, and it is from that office that *Ariel* is published.

But Mr. Littlefield, unlike Elbert Hubbard and several other strong writers who have established personal or editorial journals, has gathered a band of remarkably fine special writers about him; men of breadth of thought and tolerance of spirit; men of clear mental vision and warm hearts; sincere reformers who worship toward the dawn. Among these writers are Bolton Hall, John Ellis, Ralph Albertson, Morrison I. Swift and, until his untimely death, Ernest H. Crosby, whose last contribution was written for the April number of *Ariel* and appears in that issue.

The aim of Mr. Littlefield and his co-workers is to voice the purposes and aspirations of the present world-movement toward a coöperative social order. The publication is socialistic in spirit, but it is very broad and hospitable to all fundamentally just and democratic reform movements. It is one of the most virile and vitally progressive journals that are sowing the seed of light and civilization and preparing the soil for a juster and truer social order.

EDITORIALS BY ALLAN L. BENSON.

How The Mouthpieces of The Subsidized Universities Slander The Dead in The Interests of Plutocracy.

A KEPT university serves many useful purposes to a rich man under the fire of public criticism. It was a Standard Oil professor who declared a year or two ago, that if Lincoln were alive he would be denounced by the "mob" as a corporation lawyer, merely because Lincoln was for many years before the war an attorney for the Illinois Central Railroad. And now another Standard Oil instructor, Professor Sparks, declares that if George Washington were alive he would be denounced as the possessor of a "swollen" fortune, because of the fact that his \$530,000 worth of property made him one of the richest men of his time.

Only the slightest analysis is necessary to show the dishonest character of such statements. It is indeed true that Lincoln, in his capacity as an attorney for the Illinois Central Railroad, was a corporation lawyer. But he was a corporation lawyer in the days when even the greatest corporations, instead of being a menace to the public welfare, were striving loyally and honestly to assist in the development of the country. Between the honest professional service which Lincoln rendered to his corporation client and the rascally service that the modern corporation lawyer renders to his tax-dodging, law-breaking client, there is all the difference that exists between honesty and dishonesty. And it is to insult public intelligence to assume that the people cannot comprehend the difference.

The same may be said about Professor Sparks' statement concerning Washington and his "swollen" fortune. It is of course true that Washington was the Rockefeller of his day, in the sense that, like the Standard Oil magnate, he was the richest man of his time. But there the similarity ends. Washington inherited much of his wealth, adding to it by his own efforts and the efforts of his slaves. Although a beneficiary of the institution of slavery, he was opposed to it in principle and often expressed the hope that it would be abolished.

On the other hand, Mr. Rockefeller started with nothing and acquired all he has by swing-

ing the bludgeon on his competitors, profiting from unjust laws and defying just laws. More than once he has been caught in the act of trying to manipulate Congress for his own selfish purposes, and if minimum sentences were to be imposed upon him for all the violations of law of which he is actually guilty, a life-time of a thousand years would find him still in jail.

But Standard Oil professors, perhaps, cannot be expected to comprehend the difference between swollen fortunes of the Rockefeller kind and the fortune of Washington. American citizens generally, however, will have no difficulty in perceiving the fact that no fortune, however large, is "swollen," in the bad sense of the term, that is the product neither of the dishonesty of its possessor nor of the injustice of the laws under which it was produced.

In other words, even though another Standard Oil professor once declared that Rockefeller was greater than Shakespeare, there is still an essential difference between the financial and industrial methods of John D. Rockefeller and the methods of George Washington. And that is why Washington could come back here with safety to-day, while Rockefeller oftentimes has to dodge around rapidly to elude the police.

ALLAN L. BENSON.

Equitable Distribution of Wealth The Pressing Economic Demand.

JAMES J. HILL, president of the Great Northern Railway Company, and Leslie M. Shaw, ex-Secretary of the Treasury, are both supporters of existing economic and political policies. In the opinion of each of these gentlemen, nothing is radically wrong with things as they are. Yet both Mr. Hill and Secretary Shaw predict hard times and men out of work, Mr. Hill fixing the date at 1908 and Secretary Shaw confining himself to a general statement of impending distress when "men who will be hard to deal with" will be turned out of factories. And the fears of both gentlemen are based on the belief that there has been over-production of manufactured goods.

When famine strikes India there is more excuse for men and women starving to death—

the productive capacity of India is relatively small. But what excuse can there be for men and women going hungry in the United States, the productive capacity of which is so far in excess of the needs of its people? Is there not something shockingly inconsistent in the declaration that American citizens must go hungry, as they have gone hungry before, because they have produced too much food; that they must go ill-clad because they have made too much clothing, and shelterless because they have made too much lumber and built too many houses? And yet ex-Secretary Shaw and James J. Hill both defend the economic and political conditions that make such absurdities not only possible but inevitable. For in times of industrial depression, we have often gone hungry because we have produced too much—never because we had produced too little.

Plainly the great problem of the age is the equitable distribution of the products of labor—not the increasing of the product. The introduction of machinery into industry has solved the question of production. We have learned how to produce enough to support all

in comfort, but those who are doing the producing have not learned how to obtain their product. Nor will the system defended by Mr. Hill and Secretary Shaw ever give the producers their product. Under this system there will continue to be periodical industrial depressions, during which the producers will go hungry because they have produced too much—because of "overproduction," as the Hills and Shaws put it.

Two men who were raising potatoes on a vacant lot could hardly be pacified in their hunger by the kindly statement of a neighbor that their misery arose from the fact that they had raised too many potatoes. The explanation would not be accepted by them as valid, and they might be expected to look into the kindly neighbor's cellar to ascertain if any of their potatoes were concealed therein. Some day the 16,000,000 adult male Americans who inhabit this country will be as skeptical about the "overproduction" explanation of industrial depression. And possibly when that time comes they will look in the cellars of some of the eminent explainers and find their potatoes.

ALLAN L. BENSON.

PUBLIC-OWNERSHIP NEWS.

BY RALPH ALBERTSON,

Secretary of the National Public-Ownership League.

Duluth's Report for 1906.

THE GAS plant and water-works of Duluth are operated under one department. For the year 1906 the total income from both exceeded the total expenditures for operation, maintenance, and interest by \$47,573, \$40,768 of this being from the water-works and \$6,805 from the gas plant. Of this amount \$40,639 was invested in extensions.

The water rates are now just half what they were under private-ownership. These reductions in water rates have saved to the consuming public, since the change to municipal-ownership, over half a million dollars.

Gas, in 1906, was sold at 75 cents for light and 50 cents for heat and gas engines; whereas in 1898, under private-ownership, \$1.90 was charged for light and \$1 for fuel.

The cost of manufacturing gas has decreased

from 49.68 cents in 1899 to 40.52 cents in 1906; the cost of service from 33.64 cents in 1899 to 14.07 cents in 1906; and the interest account from 69.68 cents in 1899 to 17.95 cents in 1906; all per 1,000 feet. The decrease of the two last items is largely accounted for by the increase in amount of gas sold from 25,309,963 feet to 151,004,300 feet.

The cost of the gas plant is given as \$615,632.04. Operation, maintenance and interest in 1906 amounted to \$109,538.30, of which \$61,191.52 was the cost of gas in the holder; \$21,244.69 was expended in services, and \$27,102.09 paid in interest. Lost taxes would have been about \$3,574; and depreciation at 3 per cent., \$18,469; a total of \$131,581.30. The total receipts were \$116,342.75. Comparison made between the 1906 gas rates and those in force under private-ownership show a saving to consumers last year of \$114,159.28.

Holyoke, Massachusetts.

THE CITY gas plant of Holyoke increased its business last year 8.3 per cent., and the city's electric-light plant shows an increase of 35.6 per cent. The gas receipts (\$1 per thousand feet) were \$160,202. After figuring off all expenses, interest and depreciation, a net profit of \$21,241 is shown.

Electricity is sold at 10 cents per kilowatt hour, and the price for arc lamps has been reduced to \$60 per year. The income of this department was \$135,746. The expenses, interest and depreciation, leave a net profit of \$39,029. The Holyoke officials do not figure off "lost taxes," nor does the city lose the taxes; rather, these plants pay triple taxes on themselves into the city treasury.

Escanaba, Michigan.

GAS AND electricity for lighting are furnished by the Escanaba municipal lighting plants owned and operated by the city.

According to a report published in the *Municipal Journal and Engineer*, there are 92 arc lamps run on a moonlight schedule at \$81 per year, and 5,500 incandescent lamps with meter rates of 8 cents to 12 cents, according to the amount used and the discount allowed for prompt payment.

The receipts for the eleven months from January 1 to December 1, 1906, were \$36,004. The expenses for the same period were: salaries, \$6,061; repairs, etc., \$4,945; insurance, \$465; coal, \$9,198; interest on bonds, \$1,558; a total of \$22,228. This leaves a net profit (omitting depreciation) of \$8,046. If \$61,149 be allowed for lighting the streets and city buildings there still remains a balance of \$1,897. The city council has directed that an expert electrical engineer be employed to investigate the plant and report improvements that should be made.

Richmond, Indiana.

THE ELECTRIC-LIGHTING plant which has cost \$200,282 brought in \$63,188 last year, and as the operating expenses were \$33,587, the gross profits of \$29,601 seem to be amply sufficient to cover interest, sinking-fund, depreciation and lost taxes, and still leave a good credit balance. There was an increase of customers in 1906 from 1,383 to 1,731. The plant furnishes current at 7½ cents per kilowatt. For street-lighting 294 arc lights are furnished.

Cleveland's Street Cars.

SUPPLEMENTING the mention made last month of the street-car fight in Cleveland, we are glad to note that the report of the first three months' operation of the Municipal Traction Company shows financial success for the city's three-cent line from the start. The total receipts were \$17,271, operating expenses \$16,085, leaving a balance of \$1,186. This covers the period of open war, during which the lines did not reach the Public Square.

Monroe, Louisiana.

THE TOWN of Monroe, Louisiana, is not only the first in the United States to achieve municipal-ownership of street-railways, but has municipalized many other activities as well. The coöperative idea in municipal affairs, as the *Chicago Socialist* puts it, prevails in this town to an almost Utopian degree. Light, power, transportation, education, medical attention, sewerage, household supplies, and even amusement are furnished by the municipality. The citizens of Monroe enter a theater directed by the mayor and his assistants; witness a ball-game in a park owned by the city; ride on trolley-cars whose crews are paid by the people; take electric-light and power from plants wrested from a private monopoly; cross the Ouchita river on a municipal bridge, without paying toll; purchase household supplies in a city market-house; are taken to a municipal hospital when they get hurt, and when they die are given final attention by a municipal undertaker. All this has been accomplished since the election of Mayor A. A. Forsythe, six years ago. He has succeeded himself year after year, standing for municipal-ownership in an extreme sense, having behind him a city council which believes in the theory as devoutly as himself. The municipal electric railway was built without the necessity of a bond issue. The city council used \$100,000 of the reserve fund for the purpose of building and equipping a street-railway. The line, covering nine miles of streets, was thrown open July 11th, and proved a money-maker from the start. The city officials are looking forward to a profit of ten per cent. at the end of the fiscal year. The street-railway system has recently been extended eight miles to a suburban park owned and operated by the city for the especial benefit of those in

moderate circumstances. The park embraces 125 acres, skirting a lake where free bathing and boating are afforded the masses at the expense of the municipality.

East River Ferries.

THE GRAND Street Board of Trade, of Brooklyn, the Municipal Ferry Association, and others in Greater New York are advocating the purchase of the Broadway and Grand street ferries by the city. The position taken by these organizations is that the service would be improved under municipal management. Surely, this speaks well for the Municipal Staten Island ferry. There is a strong sentiment in the metropolis, also, that the ferry-service should be free, at least during rush hours.

Municipal Insurance.

A MUNICIPAL-INSURANCE system has been proposed and will be investigated by the city council, of Knoxville, Tennessee. The State of Tennessee has been insuring its buildings for a number of years and is said to be making money by so doing. If the city owned only one building the plan would not be thought of, but as its property is scattered the risk of a total loss is small. The only insurance money the city has ever received was for some plate glass which was shattered by an explosion.

Dalton, Ohio.

A PROPOSITION to light the village of Dalton, Ohio, by a public electric plant carried at a special election recently, and a \$7,000 plant will be erected.

Fergus Falls, Minnesota.

THE CITY council has voted to submit to the voters the question of issuing \$24,000 bonds for the purpose of rebuilding the electric-light plant.

Arlington, Ohio.

THE PEOPLE have voted to issue \$15,000 bonds to buy and improve the present private electric-lighting plant and operate it as public property in the public interest.

New Madison, Ohio.

IT HAS been decided, after long discussion, to build and operate an electric-light plant

under city-ownership and operation. The cost will be \$16,000.

Ladd, Illinois.

THE COUNCIL has decided to install a public electric-lighting plant for village purposes, and will go ahead with the work without a referendum vote.

Tama, Iowa.

THE COUNCIL submitted the question of establishing a public lighting service to the citizens, who voted in favor, authorizing the bonds. The plant will be built at once.

Elyria, Ohio.

CONTRACTS are now being let for the erection of a complete municipal electric-lighting plant. The cost will be about \$50,000.

Ashland, Wisconsin.

COUNCIL has unanimously voted to have plans prepared and invite bids for the construction of a municipal electric-lighting plant. It has also been decided to develop a local water-power for the city's financial benefit.

The Intercolonial Railway.

News of the successful public operation of public utilities continues to come from the great dominion of the north. Minister Emmerson, of the government railways, made his annual statement to Parliament on March 22d, in which he showed that in the six months ending with December there was a surplus of \$379,000 on the Intercolonial. The freight rates on this system he said are the lowest, not only on this continent, but in the world. He opposed the granting of any franchises on the government lines to private companies. He advocated the state purchase of the feeders and the extension of the main line to Toronto. The Dominion has given away \$15,000,000 in railway subsidies which would have been far better spent in the construction of state lines.

Telephones in Manitoba.

THE PEOPLE of the Canadian province of Manitoba have voted some 10,000 to 7,000 in favor of public-ownership of the telephone business. It was in the smaller places that the opposition votes were largely found. The

programme of the provincial government is to establish the system under the joint ownership of the province and the municipalities, while the liberal party urges single provincial government-ownership and operation. In any case, the provincial government is now proceeding to establish a system of its own and has called for tenders of poles and 1,000 miles of line.

Alberta's Telephones.

THE GOVERNMENT of the Province of Alberta, Canada, is taking steps to supply all the cities, towns, rural municipalities, and local improvement districts that want them, with telephones at the lowest possible prices, the province undertaking the installation, operation and maintenance of the whole system. It is believed that this service will be rendered for \$10 to \$12 a year and give long-distance connection for little more than the cost of a postage stamp. The Public Works Department will be ready when the frost is out to go ahead with the construction of the line from Edmonton to Lloydminster. Edmonton has been called the Glasgow of Canada. In addition to a progressive system of taxation she also owns her own street-railway, telephones, water-works, and electric-lighting system. A number of the new towns throughout the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan are following the same course.

Fort William, Quebec.

THE CITY of Fort William, Quebec, realized a profit of \$3,300 on its municipal telephone plant in 1906, after providing for interest on the investment and a sinking-fund to redeem bonds and setting aside 10 per cent. of gross receipts for depreciation. (Some municipalities do figure off depreciation very liberally.) The citizens pay only \$2 a month for business telephones, and \$1 a month for residence service. This city also owns its electric-lighting department which gives the citizens equally cheap service and still brings a small profit to the city. The gross receipts last year were \$34,000.

Government Coal Mines.

A DISPATCH to the *Chicago Record-Herald*, from Regina, Saskatchewan, says that Hon. W. R. Motherwell, provincial minister of agriculture, said recently that the local gov-

ernment had decided to purchase coal areas from the Dominion government and operate mines on the public-ownership principle. As each day passes, the minister said, the government has the necessity of this action forced upon it more clearly. The minister considers it the duty of the government to relieve the present fuel situation, and the only real solution of the fundamental problem involved is for the government to operate the mines.

Port Arthur, Canada.

THE SMALL city of Port Arthur has not bestowed any franchises upon favored citizens, but has built and owns all its public utilities. It owns its street-car line, water-works, telephone system, and lighting plant, the total investment being \$150,000. The income is \$36,000 a year, or 24 per cent. on the investment. The rates charged citizens are low. One-half the taxes are paid out of the revenues of these public utilities. The other half comes from a municipally-owned water-power, which the city sells to mills and factories. In fact, there are no taxes levied in Port Arthur, the needed income of the government being provided in these municipal activities. The *New York Sun*, from which the above facts are taken, says that in this remarkable town every citizen takes a personal interest in all the city enterprises—that the man on the street knows to a cent what each plant is making, and is a mine of information on city affairs. In other words, each citizen feels that the gas plant, trolley-cars, and the rest, are partly his own property, and watches their operations as he would his own business.

The Reaction in London.

IN THE county council election in London, March 2d, the progressive councilmen who have done so much for the best welfare of the city and its people, were decisively defeated by a band of reactionaries who call themselves "reformers," and the new county council stands 2 to 1 against the extension of public activities. How far retrenchment will be attempted does not yet appear, but the leader of the reaction, Lord Avebury, is ardent in his opposition to the entire principle of municipal-ownership and has done valiant service in enlightening the English public on the superiority of private over public monopolies.

The truth seems to be that the old county council made some mistakes, and was likely

to go too far, or at least too fast. This being true in a small way the opposition was able, by means of parading some rotten bricks and woollen blankets through the streets, and by employing American campaign methods generally, to thoroughly arouse the property owners whose taxes were slightly raised, and to bring about the reaction. As a matter of fact, it appears that less than one-fifth of the tax-rate paid by Londoners is due to the progressive policy of the council. And there is another side which was not paraded in the streets. The council had reduced epidemic diseases 44 per cent., phthisis 32 per cent., and the general death-rate from 20 to 14 per cent. Eighteen years ago London had 40 parks and open spaces of 2,600 acres. Now it has 110 parks of 5,000 acres. Old haunts of disease and crime have been obliterated from the map of the city, and in scores of ways the general welfare of the city has been radically promoted. It is comforting to know that however much the election may afford

comfort to the enemies of civic progress much and perhaps most of the good done by the old County Council cannot be undone by their successors; and it is not at all impossible that the force of circumstances and the logic of events which these gentlemen will meet in office may so far convert them to the larger conceptions of civic responsibility that they will not actually tear down the splendid municipal housing properties nor sell them to Lord Avebury or his American friends.

The Electricians' Strike in Paris.

THE SIGNIFICANT fact about the strike of the electricians of Paris in March is that the employés of all plants, except the one which is owned by the city went on strike. The demands of the strikers were for such terms of short hours, weekly day of rest, old age pensions, etc., as were being enjoyed by the employés of the city plant. The employers were compelled to grant the demands.

RALPH ALBERTSON.

THE INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.

BY RALPH ALBERTSON,

Secretary of the National Federation for Peoples' Rule.

Legislators Under Direct-Legislation.

THE QUESTION is often asked, "What will become of legislators when we have direct legislation?" An answer comes from the experience of Oregon, which is both interesting and instructive. We quote from the *Portland Oregonian*, of January 27, 1907, sent us by the kindness of our friend, Max Burgholzer.

The *Oregonian* says:

"The present session of the legislature bids fair to redeem the reputation of legislatures in general, in this state, and to lessen the general distrust in which law-making bodies are held. Whether the opinion be well-founded or not, there has long been a feeling that the legislature misrepresents the people. This idea has found frequent expression not only in the newspapers of the state, but among people who take an interest in public affairs. This legislature is different in several respects from any that has preceded it. Its members were

nominated and elected by the people and not in a convention controlled by a boss. The legislature was organized without the presence of any of the men who have been active figures in the preliminary struggles in years gone by. The legislature elected senators on the first ballot and without any candidates at Salem maintaining expensive headquarters where liquor and cigars were provided for all visitors. The two houses have been working two weeks and have gotten along fairly well without the presence of 'House bill 104,' in other words, a supply of whiskey at a convenient place. It is asserted that there is no liquor to be had in the capitol, and there will be none throughout the session. The legislature has manifested from the start a disposition to eliminate the extravagances that have brought criticism upon its predecessors. There is no talk whatever, of clerkships held by women of doubtful character.

"The legislatures of years gone by have been the ruin of many of their members.

Going to Salem from quiet towns where they live respectable lives, the members were thrown into the company of lobbyists and employes of senatorial candidates, and were wine and dined as they never before had been. In forty days of fast living many of them acquired new ideas to life and were never of use to themselves or to their families afterward. Many a man who went to the legislature, rich in reputation, returned to his home a bankrupt. Boodle and booze did the work. This session seems to have started out on a high plane, with no liquor in evidence and no one entertaining lavishly or trying to exert an improper influence upon the members. This session is likely to be a creditable one to its members and to the state."

Mr. Bryan on Direct-Legislation.

IN A SPEECH before the legislature of Oregon, on January 24th, Mr. Bryan congratulated the state upon the advanced position it had taken in adopting the initiative and referendum, and spoke, in part, as follows:

"The object of the initiative and referendum is to bring the government nearer to the people. If the legislative body refuses to do what the people want done, they have it in their power, through the initiative, to compel the doing of what they want done; and if the legislative body does something the people do not want, they can put a veto on what the legislature does, and when you put in their hands this power, you put a restraint upon the legislature, which will seldom be used, for, when they know if they go astray the people can correct them, they will not be so apt to go astray.

"I was in Switzerland, where this system of initiative and referendum has been in use for years; they have it in the cantons and the whole country. They have the government resting so securely on the will of the people that, while they have three distinct nationalities, speak three languages in the management of the government, and record their proceedings in three tongues, it would require the armies of nearly all Europe to take liberty away from little Switzerland. The more freely the people have their way, the more safe is a government.

"The way to make a government strong is to make it good. I believe it is the destiny

of this country, this nation, and this government, to destroy the thrones of the world—not by force or violence, but by showing them something better than the thrones—a government resting upon the consent of the governed, strong because it is loved and loved because it is good."

Among The State Legislatures.

NORTH DAKOTA has joined the ranks of the truly democratic states. Representative Ueland's initiative and referendum bill, described in the last ARENA, has been passed by the legislature. It amends the constitution, giving 8 per cent. of the citizens the power of the initiative and 5 per cent. the right to invoke the referendum. The amendment is self-executing, but must be submitted to the next legislature and must then go to the people.

IN MAINE the Weeks bill for a constitutional amendment passed the House by a unanimous vote and the Senate by a vote that was practically unanimous, only one senator failing to vote in the affirmative, and he asked to be excused from voting. The Maine and North Dakota bills are practically the same, and the reason in both states why the direct-legislation measures adopted do not apply to constitutional amendments is the fear of reopening the prohibition question.

THE MISSOURI legislature has passed the joint resolution submitting a constitutional amendment for the initiative and referendum, and the people will take final action on it in 1908. Under this amendment the initiative can be secured by 8 per cent. of the voters in each of at least two-thirds of the congressional districts, and the referendum demanded by a 5 per cent. petition of the citizens of at least two-thirds of the congressional districts. In other respects it is like the amendments in the other states.

THE MASSACHUSETTS Public-Opinion bill has been reported favorably by the joint committee with only one dissenting vote. The corporations' lobby and the *Transcript* are fighting against it.

THE WASHINGTON House has passed the constitutional amendment bill by a vote of 66 to 26.

THE CALIFORNIA Assembly has voted down the direct-legislation bill of Representative J. O. Davis.

ALTHOUGH 60,000 voters petitioned for it, the House judiciary committee of the Michigan legislature voted 9 to 3 not to permit a vote on the initiative and referendum bill.

SPEAKER Shurtleff, of the Illinois legislature has introduced a bill for the repeal of the Illinois public opinion law.

THE MINNESOTA bill noted in the April ARENA has been favorably reported by the Senate committee.

THE PENNSYLVANIA bill has been favorably reported, and a strong campaign is being made in its support.

THE OHIO legislature is not in session, but Herbert Bigelow is. The Senate, before adjournment last year, passed a constitutional amendment bill for direct-legislation, but the House took no action. It will take 73 votes to pass the measure in the General Assembly, and Mr. Bigelow is working hard during the recess to make sure of this vote. Before the end of March, Mr. Bigelow announced that he had secured pledges in support of the bill from 81 members.

THE HOUSE committee, in charge of the constitutional amendment for the initiative and referendum in Rhode Island, has decided to report the bill with a recommendation for indefinite postponement.

THE DELAWARE legislature has failed to obey the behest of the advisory vote taken last fall, whereby the people, 6 to 1, instructed them to enact a direct-legislation law.

A Referendum Over The House of Lords.

THERE is a widespread sentiment in London against the power of the House of Lords to obstruct legislation by a disagreement. In his speech at the opening of Parliament, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman voiced the general feeling when he asserted that the opposition to the will of the people interposed by the House of Lords must be overcome by necessary constitutional changes. It is sug-

gested in behalf of the present system that in case of a deadlock of the two houses, the House of Lords should be required to pass a disputed bill with an amendment reading: "This act will not take effect until approved by a majority in a popular referendum."

The London *Tribune*, which has won the sincere appreciation of progressive people throughout the world by its ardent championship of the cause of equal suffrage during the present struggle in England, says:

"There is no doubt that the referendum is the most logical alternative to the veto of an obsolete Second Chamber. To propose it would be to take the House of Lords at their word. They profess to know the will of the people better than the House of Commons. That the government should go on quietly, session by session, sending up bills for the Lords to mutilate or reject, and imagine themselves all the time to be doing their duty to their constituents, seems to us a disastrous policy. The referendum provides an active method of training the people in the art of government, whereas it is open to question whether a nation which merely tenders a vote once in several years for a party rather than a principle, is capable of becoming a genuinely self-governing body."

Buffalo, New York.

THE REFERENDUM League, of Buffalo, New York, is having a hard fight to secure for the people a right to vote on the acceptance or rejection of a new city charter which a few people have prepared and sent to Albany with the request that the legislature put it in force. The league wants the referendum so arranged that each section of the charter shall be voted on separately by the people. By a vote of 18 to 6 the Board of Aldermen have adopted the referendum clause. The Buffalo papers say that no city in that state ever took such a vote. And besides it would cost almost \$10,000.

The league held its annual meeting recently, at which an active membership of nearly 5,000 was reported, and the treasurer reported a balance on hand of \$122. The following officers were elected for the year: President, Lewis Stockton; vice-president, J. J. Siegrist; secretary, Dr. Thomas M. Crowe; treasurer, William H. Baker.

Lincoln, Nebraska.

THE INITIATIVE and referendum ordinance, passed by unanimous vote of the city council of Lincoln, on February 18th, provides that the people, at the spring election, shall determine whether the municipality of Lincoln shall accept the privileges granted by the state law, of referring all large and important measures to the vote of the people, instead of having them decided by the council alone. On the demand of 20 per cent. of the voters of Lincoln, any measure of large importance may be taken from the council and submitted to the voters at the polls. Emergency measures and appropriation bills are accepted. There is a provision in the Nebraska law, also, for the initiative which can be taken by a 15 per cent. petition. Both the initiative and referendum in this Nebraska city's laws are mandatory.

Pennsylvania's Primary Election.

THE NEW uniform primary election act was given its first test throughout Pennsylvania on January 26th. With the exception of those naming state candidates the new law does away with all nominating conventions of parties that have polled 2 per cent. of the largest entire vote cast for any candidate at the preceding election, and provides that these parties shall nominate their candidates by direct vote of electors of the respective parties. In Philadelphia there were twenty-seven names on the Republican ballot for the mayoralty nomination, ten on the City Party ticket, which organization is opposed to the regular Republicans, and thirteen on the Democratic ballot.

News Items.

THE GRANGERS and labor union people of Chautauqua county, New York, have secured the introduction of a bill at Albany, requiring that all appropriations made by boards of supervisors in excess of twenty-five thousand dollars, must be submitted to a vote of the tax payers of the county, and also requiring the submission to vote of any appropriation in excess of ten thousand dollars, in the event of a petition signed by 2 per cent. of the voters.

THE McCORD bill, providing for the election of United States senators by direct vote of the people has passed the Pennsylvania

House by a vote of 146 to 15, and has gone to the Senate, which there is every reason to believe will pass it.

WE HAVE been requested to call the attention of our readers to a valuable article by Professor John R. Commons, on the need for the initiative and referendum in American cities, published in the *Political Science Quarterly*, for December, 1902. This is a Columbia University publication.

THE CONNECTICUT Referendum Union was organized at Sound View, March 2d, with H. J. Hilliard as secretary. The object of the union is to work for the enactment of a good general referendum law in that state.

THANKS to the faithful work of Louis F. Post, the Chicago Charter Convention, by a vote of 42 to 4, finally reduced the percentage requirement for a referendum on franchise questions from 20 to 10 per cent. in the draft of the new city charter.

THE DISTRICT Trades and Labor Council, of Toronto, has asked the government for a law making all municipal by-laws, which have met with public approval by a referendum compulsory.

THE REFORM divorce bill recently passed by the South Dakota legislature will not go into effect until it receives a majority of the votes cast in the general election in November, 1908.

THE VOTE for ratification of a natural gas franchise at Lee's Summit, Missouri, in March, was 166 to 1.

AN ELECTRIC light franchise order, that has been passed by the city council of Mitchell, South Dakota, will be voted on by the citizens in the April election.

GOVERNOR Stokes, of New Jersey, in a reply to a question from the Newark Board of Trade, as to his attitude on a bill to permit Newark to build its own lighting plant, said that he would wish to see every bill of the kind have a referendum clause to it, and he then would favor it.

NINE different questions, involving bond issues of two and a quarter millions are to be

submitted to the voters of Pittsburg on March 28th. The questions include the building of a garbage plant, a city hospital, more park land, wharf improvement, repaving, the widening of streets, and water-works extensions. If the people should vote against the issuance of bonds for repaving, an expense which should be included in the tax levy and paid for when done, they will, by their referendum, give Boston and many other bureaucratic cities a good example and a much-needed lesson.

THE LEGISLATURE of Nevada recently undertook to pass a bill incorporating Tonopah, without referring it to the people, but such a demand for the referendum came up from the people that it has been granted.

THE CALIFORNIA Senate has unanimously passed a bill providing for a referendum vote of the people of the state at the next general election on the question of Asiatic immigration.

A REFERENDUM vote on franchise ordinances, after they have been passed by city councils, is provided for in a bill laid before the Illinois legislature by Assemblyman Behrens. It applies to all cities in the state, and the petition required to invoke the referendum is 25 per cent.

SEVERAL townships in the neighborhood of Statesville, South Carolina, have recently voted to bond themselves to an extent of from \$15,000 to \$25,000 apiece for the purpose of subsidizing a local railroad enterprise.

THERE is a strong movement in Montreal toward a law limiting all municipal contracts to 10 years unless approved by referendum vote. The Citizens' Committee demand the law, and in support of this demand, *Canada* says: "The proposal deserves the serious consideration of the government. It is the safeguard, in accordance with the principles of democracy, against the abuse of power to which elective municipal bodies are unfortunately exposed. In submitting the sanction of the city council's act to the municipal

electors, the proposed law does not in the least encroach upon municipal autonomy."

SENATOR John Mitchell, who has a bill before the Massachusetts legislature, demanding the election of United States Senators by popular vote, has revised his bill by adding a referendum clause so that the legislature may have an expression of public opinion on this measure.

THE NEW JERSEY House has passed a bill which will give the voters a referendum on the use of voting machines.

THE CITIZENS of North Milwaukee, Wisconsin, are to take a referendum vote at the April election, respecting the issuance of \$20,000 bonds.

THE CALIFORNIA Assembly, by a vote of 59 to 19, has passed a bill for the removal of the state capitol from Sacramento to Berkeley. This bill had already passed the Senate and now goes to the people for a referendum vote at the next general election.

AFTER a disheartening experience with the legislature at Sacramento recently, Mrs. Mary T. Wilson, a prominent equal-suffragist, went before the Political Equality Society and advocated the abandonment of the fight for equal suffrage, and other reform movements. Mrs. Wilson startled her hearers when she declared that there was only one way to reach recreant legislators and that was by inaugurating the initiative and referendum. "When people who are spending their own time and money and labor in a cause entirely for the good of others, making an impersonal disinterested plea for humanity, are met by the supposed representatives of the people with narrow-minded, bigoted unfairness, what hope is there for any reform measure placed before them? None whatever. We will gain our ends quicker, if we drop completely the equal suffrage and other reform measures, and work entirely for the initiative and referendum. That is a reform measure of much broader scope than any of the others, and would ultimately include them if adopted."

RALPH ALBERTSON.

COÖPERATIVE NEWS.

BY RALPH ALBERTSON,

Secretary of the Coöperative Association of America.

The N. O. Nelson Company.

JUST how the new and larger American form of coöperation is to come about is a subject upon which there are many opinions. Many forms will be noted, as usual, in this month's items of coöperative news. One of the successful efforts, if not the only one, to solve the hardest problem for the coöperator—that of the factory—is the well-known work of Mr. N. O. Nelson, of St. Louis. The division of profits on last year's business amounted to \$177,500, and this went in capital stock to every one of the employés and customers. That was "the 21st year of profit-sharing with employés, and the second year with customers. The employés have received dividends for every one of the 21 years.

"Those who have been with the company the whole 21 years have received in dividends on wages and dividends on stock the amount of between two and three years' extra pay. They own stock for it which is better paying and safer than any other investment they could make. They are fully established partners in the business.

"The customers received for the past year a larger dividend than the previous year. It cost them nothing. It was not a gift, it was their proper share by the coöperative plan of business.

"For the first six months' dividend of last year they were given the choice of cash or stock, only a twenty-fifth part took cash, and these mostly because they had quit business.

"The plan is to turn the whole business over to the employés and customers without any payment from them, the dividends paying for the stock. When that is done, they will own a large and very valuable property,—the big St. Louis store, the splendid Leclair factories, the Bessemer factory, the stocks of goods in St. Louis, Leclair, Bessemer, Los Angeles, Pueblo and Joplin, and all the outstanding accounts and cash. It will be theirs for their joint use and benefit.

"When the stock held by anyone reaches \$2,000 he may then draw the dividends in

cash, when it reaches \$5,000 he will be paid only in cash."

Mr. Nelson, from whom the above quotations are made, is one of the best known advocates of coöperation in the United States, and his personal example and influence lend great weight to the economic doctrine of which he has so long been a faithful apostle and, may we add, a true prophet.

Proctor, Vermont.

VALUABLE beginnings in the direction of coöperation are being made at the marble works, in Proctor, Vermont, which are owned and operated by Senator Proctor and his son, the present Governor of the state. They have established a coöperative store system for the workmen. The initiation of this plan was suggested by an article descriptive of the coöperative stores of the Krupp Gun Company, in Germany. During the past year the total sales amounted to \$471,000 and each of the 3,300 employés received a dividend of 8 per cent. upon the total amount of his purchases for the year, which amounted in all to \$33,000. A committee chosen by the employés from their own number, shares in the management of the store and audits the accounts at the close of each season's business. The company furnishes the capital. During the four years that this system of coöperation has been carried on, over \$111,000 have been divided among the marble-workers of the company. Nearly all of the townspeople patronize these stores of the company because the prices are lower and the service better, but none of them, unless members, receive any dividend. The firm has established a number of features common to betterment work, but none of these is so important as the coöperative store.

Co-operative Building in New York.

THE BUILDING of expensive apartment structures on the coöperative plan is attracting just at present a great amount of attention,

and the idea bids fair, says the *New York Times*, to be applied in the near future to the middle grades of multiple housings, and eventually to the cheaper kinds of flats and tenements.

The plan had its earliest trial in the group of studio buildings erected on west Sixty-seventh street, between Central Park, west, and Columbus avenue, New York, by William J. Tayler, who is now the active spirit in the Coöperative Building Construction Company. Since then the company has built, for one group of "founders" as the original participants in such enterprises are called, an eleven-story apartment house at the northeast corner of Lexington avenue and Sixty-sixth street, on a plot 100 x 170. On the adjoining southeast corner of Lexington avenue and Sixty-seventh street, a similar structure is just being begun, while at the northeast corner of Lexington avenue and Sixty-seventh street, on a plot 59 x 100, transferred a few days ago, there will be still another. The coöperative plan is also responsible for the duplex studio apartment house nearing completion on Eighty-sixth street, adjoining the northeast corner of West End avenue.

Briefly stated, the plan involves the purchase of the plot and the erection of a building by a group of individuals, the founders, each of whom, through his subscription, becomes the virtual owner of one of the apartments in the completed structure.

The founders are organized into a corporation which takes a title to the site, and which, at all times, occupies, with regard to the entire operation, the position of owner. A founder may, at any time, dispose of his investment. This can usually be accomplished without difficulty, since founders' shares in the coöperative apartment houses hitherto erected have sold at from \$2,000 to \$10,000 premium.

Plans have also been prepared for a fourteen-story duplex apartment house on a plot 100 x 100, at Park avenue and Eightieth street.

These are all expensive buildings—shares in which cost as a rule something like \$20,000 each. The *Times* says that this investment, however, quite equals in the comforts and conveniences provided, a \$50,000 investment in an individual house.

It is freely predicted by the press that this principle of house-building will soon be applied to the problem of housing the tenement

population. Yes, when the tenement dwellers discover it for themselves.

Co-operative Fire Insurance.

A NUMBER of Yolo county, California, farmers, who live in Woodland and vicinity, have taken the preparatory steps toward the organization of a coöperative fire insurance company in that county. A meeting was held recently and temporary organization effected. At this meeting, \$25,000 of insurance was subscribed. Permanent organization will be effected when the final papers are prepared, at which time it is expected the amount of insurance will be materially increased.

At a meeting of the Washington State Grain-Growers', Shippers' and Millers' Association, held at the Agricultural College, Pullman, January 10th, a Mutual Insurance Company was organized to insure standing grain against fire. The farmers are paying from 8 to 16 cents an acre for such insurance in the old companies and all present believed it cost less than 5 cents to cover all losses.

A Scandinavian Insurance Company.

THE SCANDINAVIAN Mutual Fire Insurance Company, of Fresno, California, was incorporated in 1899. Starting with 35 members and \$50,000 insurance, it grew until, on January 1, 1907, it had within the boundaries of Fresno County 972 members and \$1,280,113 of insurance in force. During 1906 the insurance increased at the rate of \$1,000 a day, and the fire losses paid were \$2,690. In the seven years of existence only four assessments have been levied; one for 30 cents and three for 25 cents each on the \$100 of insurance. This is certainly a very low premium, about one-third of the old-line charges. The company has but \$3,000 on hand. This sort of mutual insurance is one of the best organic expressions of business brotherhood we know of. There is no need of money in the treasury, no use for corruption funds; when losses are to be met they are met by the direct and, therefore, most economical method.

A California Creamery.

THE DANISH Creamery Association, of Fresno, California, has been doing business

since 1896. During ten years its business has increased from one and a half million pounds of milk to nearly seven million pounds. Last year its payments amounted to considerably over \$200,000.

Danish creamery butter has taken a number of first prizes and gold medals at state fairs, in competition with butter from all parts of California. Its reputation is so good that it is never able to supply the demand. The company is composed of 177 stockholders, who each paid in \$50, or \$8,850 in all. Eight per cent. interest is paid on this.

The creamery plant is modern and up-to-date, and has electric as well as steam-power. Together, with horses and wagons, it is worth over \$9,000. Besides this, there was, on January 1st, a surplus of \$3,523.69.

It has been able to pay its patrons two to four cents more per pound of butter fat than the commercial creameries paid, hence it has always been able to hold its members and customers, and to extend its business.

A Co-operative Type Foundry.

A NEW coöperative enterprise, known as the Coöperative Type Foundry Association, has been organized at Chester, Pennsylvania. The association expects to produce hand-made type for high-grade magazine and book work, and to make a far better quality than that manufactured by the trust, which makes most of its type by automatic machinery. Mr. Ziegler, an expert type-foundryman is at the head of the association, and all of the interested men are fully experienced. "There is every indication," says the *Times*, of Chester, "that the new plant will, in a few years, become one of the largest industries of its kind in the country." They have already purchased a large brick building to be used for their purposes, and work has been begun making the necessary alterations and installing the machinery.

Maine Granges.

HOULTON grange will do a coöperative business of \$100,000 for the year. The Patrons' Coöperative Corporation, controlled by the State Grange will transact a business of \$275,000, and the coöperative financial work among the granges, besides that mentioned, will amount to at least \$100,000 more. They have three patrons' fire insurance companies, representing a business of \$25,000,000,

furnishing a safe and cheap risk from fires at a cost of one-fourth of 1 per cent. The membership represents one-twelfth of the population of the state.

New Jersey Granges.

THE NEW Jersey granges make the following report of coöperative business for the year: Hope, \$2,697; Mercer, \$5,980; Morristown, \$43,248; Pioneer, \$3,500; Riverside, \$14,335; Columbus, \$4,500; Mullica Hill, \$7,000. "These," says the *Country Gentleman*, "are only a few of the New Jersey granges that are making it profitable to themselves to unite in business enterprises, where buying and selling farm products and farm supplies in large quantities, entitle them to a good discount from regular retail prices."

Athol, Kansas.

ATHOL, Kansas, boasts of three coöperative industries controlled and almost entirely owned by nearby farmers who have invested their surplus capital in building up the town. There is the Athol Coöperative Grain Company, with an elevator which handles 23,000 bushels of grain, and which in 1906 disposed of 180 carloads of grain to the entire satisfaction of the farmers; the Farmers' Shipping Association which handled 129 cars of stock and made sales amounting to \$130,056.12, besides \$253 collected as damages from railroads. Of this amount the share-holding farmers received \$129,354.80. The People's Lumber Company is the latest venture of the farmers, and it is believed it will prove successful.

Co-operative Ice Company.

A CO-OPERATIVE ice manufacturing company, which was incorporated in Orange, New Jersey, recently, has purchased a large lot for the location of their plant and it is expected that it will be ready for business by the first of June. The company will purchase ice and make deliveries to consumers until the plant is completed. Demands for ice are constantly coming in from people in the Oranges, Montclair, and Bloomfield.

Central Consumers' Ice Company.

A CO-OPERATIVE ice company has been formed in New York by saloon-keepers, who propose to keep themselves supplied with ice

at a reasonable cost. They have purchased a large brewery, which they intend to transform into an ice-plant with an output of 200 tons a day. Family trade will be carried on after the members are supplied.

Findlay, Ohio.

SOME coöperators, of Findlay, Ohio, have opened a coöperative general store. They have conducted a cigar and tobacco stand for some time, and finding it a success, they have entered into business on a larger scale.

Amera, Wisconsin.

ATTENTION was called in the March *ARENA* to the Polk County Coöperative Company, of Wisconsin. A fire broke out in the night recently in the store of the Amera department, and in spite of the heroic efforts of the local fire company, the immense stock of goods and the building went up in flames and smoke. Happily, it was well insured, and the net loss will probably be not over \$5,000. The Right Relationship League correspondent, at Minneapolis, calls attention to the fact that if this loss had fallen on the membership at Amera alone, it would have been a very great hardship, but falling, as it does, upon a membership scattered throughout the entire county, and owning several other stores, it will not be a serious matter. The Amera department will rebuild at once. In union there is strength.

Lewiston, Maine.

ANOTHER ten per cent. cash dividend to co-worker employes in the great department store of the Coöperative Association of America was distributed in March. This follows a five per cent. cash dividend paid in September, making a total of fifteen per cent. dividend on wages to co-workers during a year. The co-workers are enthusiastic for coöperation because it pays.

Armstrong, Iowa.

THE FARMERS' Coöperative Elevator Company was organized at Armstrong, Iowa, in January, 1906, with a capitalization of \$25,000, \$5,000 of which is paid up. There are about 140 farmers interested. Owing to some difficulty in finding a suitable site, the elevator was not finished until November 15th. Since then the buyer has taken from 40 to 83 loads

daily, and at present is working the elevator to its fullest capacity, and even turning grain away every day. The line elevators in competition with this new company are offering 30 cents a bushel in an effort to crowd out the coöperative elevator company, but the farmers have become convinced that they are capable of transacting their own business and have staunchly refused to accept these terms. These same elevator companies are paying but 24 cents in nearby towns.

Auburndale, New York.

A PROPERTY-OWNERS' Coöperative Society, and a Coöperative Construction Company have been organized by the citizens of Auburn-dale, Long Island, New York, to improve the town and guard against infringement of their rights. The construction company has been organized with a capital stock of \$50,000 and is engaged in the manufacture of concrete building-blocks, of which it is proposed to construct the town. A small plant is now in operation at Auburndale, and it is proposed, in the spring, to enlarge this, put in new machinery and engage in the manufacture of blocks on a very extensive scale.

The Co-operative Journal.

THE *Coöperative Journal*, of Oakland, California, is the official organ of the Pacific Coast Coöperative Union, the Washington Farmers' Grain and Supply Company, and the Right Relationship League of Minneapolis. It contains a large amount of coöperative news from various branches of these organizations and from some other fields of coöperative effort. It is published by the Coöperative Education Publishing Company, of Oakland, a joint-stock company, incorporated under the coöperative act of 1878. Seven hundred shares of stock have been sold at ten dollars each, and are held by forty-five different individuals and companies. The authorized capital is twenty-five thousand dollars. Because of the lack of capital the company does not own its own printing plant, and has not paid any dividends. The *Journal* is doing good work and deserves the hearty support of all friends of the cause.

Enamclan, Washington.

THE ROCHDALE Coöperative store at this place was incorporated in May, 1905. It

has a paid-in capital of \$5,850. The first year's business amounted to \$31,063; and during the first eight months of the second year the business was \$37,731. The interest paid on capital is 8 per cent. Dividends paid were $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The membership numbers 141, and the assets are computed at nearly \$8,000.

Roseburg, Oregon.

THE ROSEBURG Rochdale Company has 76 members and a paid-up capital of \$3,405. During 1906 it did a business of over \$25,000, and after paying 8 per cent. interest on capital turned over to its members the very remarkable dividend of $14\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on their purchases. Naturally the members are enthusiastic, and they have undertaken at once to double the capital and business of the company.

Mississippi Farmers.

THE ANNUAL meeting of the State branch of the Farmers' Educational and Coöperative Union of America was held at Jackson, Mississippi, in February. It declared itself in favor of adopting the warehouse plan which was outlined by the national organization at its convention in Atlanta, and steps will be taken to put the plan in operation for the benefit of the farmers at the earliest possible date. It is said that the national organization has 750,000 members and keeps 150 organizers in the field extending the society's territory and membership.

Durand, Wisconsin.

A CO-OPERATIVE store in Durand, Wisconsin, is organized on the equal-ownership Rochdale plan, with a capitalization of \$25,000 and 67 members. The business increased 25 per cent. in six months. About one-third of the sales have been to non-members.

Grain Dealers' Convention.

THE THIRD annual convention of the Farmers' Grain Dealers' Association of Iowa, representing 135 coöperative grain companies in the state, with a membership of over 20,000 grain growers, and indirectly representing over 100,000 farmers, was held in Fort Dodge on January 30-31, 1907. The convention was an enthusiastic and helpful one, and the progress reported was most encouraging.

Co-operative Brick Factory.

A CO-OPERATIVE brick manufactory has been organized by some merchants of San Francisco with a capital of \$200,000.

University of Cincinnati.

THE UNIVERSITY of Cincinnati has a coöperative book store, which is made up of 300 students, each of whom contribute \$1 each year to the capital fund. Five per cent. interest has been paid on the capital and the first year's dividends were 19 per cent.

University of Colorado.

THE UNIVERSITY of Colorado is to have a coöperative store operated by the students. This movement is endorsed by the faculty and the regent.

Long Island Co-operative Colony.

A YIDDISH coöperative colony is to be established on Long Island, and about 400 colonists have bought land on the instalment plan, paying from \$100 to \$250 each.

E. V. Wilcox on Agricultural Co-operation.

THE STATUS of the coöperative movement among farmers in this country is summed up by E. V. Wilcox, in an article, entitled "The Great Value of Coöperation," which appeared in *Farming*, for January, 1907.

"The coöperative movement among farmers has come to stay. There are nearly one million men in it at present, not for political purposes but for the purpose of attending to their own business. That is the reason why the movement brings results with so little noise. There are already more than 700 coöperative grain elevators owned by the farmers who produce the grain. One of them, in Ruthven, Iowa, saved to the farmers in one year five times the total capital invested. An association of farmers' wives in the same town secured to its members five cents per dozen more for eggs than they could otherwise get. Coöperative cotton gins in Oklahoma pay two dollars per ton more for cotton seed than other gins. A large coöperative creamery in Iowa pays three cents per pound more for butter fat than the farmers had previously received. These and many other similar results have been achieved in increasing the farmers' profits, and at the same time the price of the finished product to the consumer has been lowered."

RALPH ALBERTSON.

"LOVE—THE LAW."*

A BOOK STUDY.

BY D. FRANGCON-DAVIES.

NIGHT AND MORNING is a dramatic poem or poetic drama. It has for its central figure the woman to whom Jesus, the Christ, spake the words: "Neither do I condemn thee; go and sin no more."

The curtain goes up on a scene, bold and grand in design, and painted with mystic subtlety. Night, the Eastern Night, is there, and we are in and of it. Grimly suggestive are the judiciously few scenic touches—the tower of Antonia, and the Pharisee Eleazar's house, cheerless and ghostly, with the "Fading stains of paschal blood on

"The lintel of the tomb-like entrance door."

It is here that Miriam, Eleazar's wife and thrall, passes a loveless existence, within this "low Judean house," which, as is ever the case in the East, has its garden. There is a sense of color and of beauty in the garden landscape as depicted by the poet which is striking and quite in the spirit of the subject. Our artist loves her garden and is alive to every cogent detail, revelling indeed in what may be styled pre-Raphaelite fancy and imagination, and unconsciously recalling Browning's delight in his "one old populous green wall," without faltering at all in her individual treatment of the theme. The scene is a song, and it is the singer's own. Subtle rhythm and musical knowledge mark such lines as:

"The penetrating stars
And the majestic mistress of the night—
Fair silver-sandalled moon—on her slow way—
Across the spacious sky—looked down between
The boughs that parted to the passing breeze."

It would be easy and delightful to dwell upon the melodic fitness and the clairvoyance of every one of these and kindred phrases. Very happy, too, the heralding of the discovery of the lovers, Miriam, and Leonidas, the Greek, with note of nightingale and noise of restless plashing waters. The difficulty of comment is that one does not know how to pass on. One would like to linger over many passages.

*"Night and Morning": A poem. By Katrina Traak. Price, \$1.25 net. Flexible leather, \$2.00 net. New York: John Lane Company.

The character of Leonidas, "the brave imperious Greek," is finely and surely drawn, with insight and intuition which go far to prove that so-called sex limitations are arbitrary concepts. Strong and imaginative, with all the wayward fancy of the Greek, and swayed by such ideals as inhere in mythological belief, the lover pleads his cause with a power which cannot fail to influence the woman who loves him. Had the wooing been less forcible, the drama would have been episodic. Being what it is, i. e., characteristic, the wooing carries conviction, and is essential to and inherent in the warp and woof of the piece; and the drama is, consequently, whole and upstanding. So earnest is Leonidas that he touches the chord of true and simple earnestness in Miriam to such purpose that the Universe itself becomes interested in the tale of their love. The very seasons

"Have waited on to-night."

And "the music of the stars" tells the pair that they

"Stand before the portals of high heaven"

but it is significant that "heaven" means "Athens"—with Miriam—to Leonidas. It, moreover, becomes clear that Miriam's loftier aspiration cannot, of itself, secure the triumph of the higher Ideal which comes, as the poet presently shows, through Idealism, and not through Law. The supreme demand of love is that it *shall yield*. But to what? We must wait to the end of the poem for our answer. Here is the keynote of the symphony, if I may be allowed the phrase. The insufficiency of the impermanent is yet to be made manifest. Pressed by her confession of the illumination of her universe, and of the dawn of diviner joy through love, Miriam is driven, in a strong passage, to take refuge in what we may describe as a gloss upon the fundamental principle of Jewish prophecy:

"Obedience is more than argument."

Now her vision clears, only to be obscured

by the crafty Greek with the very ancient and modern argument of "the life of love," and the death of "the formal bond." Like a shuttle through the loom of the drama goes the argument based upon the ideal, and its antithesis based upon the seeming real. David and Solomon are brought upon the scene, and the problem of the manifestation of the divine through the human, the coming of the Messiah through the royal line of David, is presented by the lover. Then, with irresistible force, comes to Miriam the thought of her bondage and the memory of the first coming of Leonidas and love, so that she is now attuned to hear again the voice of Aphrodite and of Eros, and the wisdom of Pallas Athene. The breath of love stirs once more her woman's personal heart, and her soul plunges madly toward the visionary goal of her being. Her life seemed filled by the mutual love of herself and of her lover, while her obedience to Jehovah, and Law seems to be rewarded but by inhuman bondage to Eleazar. The sweet romance of days that are gone, when Leonidas came to tell

"Many a tale
Of thy sea-girdled and blue-vaulted land,"
comes back with renewed passion. *Must it all come to an end, now?* At length, with cunning appeal to the pity of the fast yielding woman, pity for himself—pictured as being forgotten by her in her daily and religious life, the lover triumphs:

"No thought for thee!—*For thee*—Behold my heart!
Leonidas, my love, thou hast prevailed."

The higher ideal is lost, the impersonal has become wholly personal. Love yields indeed, but to the bondage of human will, not to Love. The Night, the Nightingale, the Garden, and Leonidas have triumphed, and the woman goes out with her lover to her doom.

In the section of the poem styled "The Middle Watch," there is an arresting, a breath-holding hush when

"Without the vineyard, Freedom beckoned them;
Within, Fear stalked, a phantom by their side."

Here is a touch of irony and of Sophoclean fate, accentuated by gliding serpent, shudder of rustling leaves, swoop of hawk and howl of jackal. Then—the lost moon, the gathering clouds, the silent nightingale, and—what?

There are two masterly touches as the curtain comes slowly down on the "Middle

Watch of Night." Through the gathering gloom, in silence made doubly oppressive, now that the watchman's solitary cry of "Midnight," which momentarily broke it, is still:

"A hungry vulture flew to Golgotha."

There is a swiftness about this line which is most graphic and portentous.

And in the stillness,

"Then the grim door of Eleazar's house
Moved stealthily—and opened to the dark."

Nothing could be finer from a dramatic point of view, than this vague terror, dumb and unseen, pointing to a coming doom. The very abruptness of the lines chills us with a thrill of fear. All is silent, the very door is in the plot, and opens stealthily without one creak. Then—It—Vengeance is there!

It is Morning. The contrast is striking. The night seemed full of promise of fulfilment which ended in disaster. The Morning breaks, but even the joyous light is dark with forebodings and threatenings to the abandoned one. How is it to end? The tone-color of the opening section of the Symphony (for such it is) is appropriate, and the up-building of harmony through melody is classic and formful in spirit and construction. Here is a writer who does not forget the antiquity in the youth of the world.

The influences of the voices of the past are present, but the "Bird" that sings is a free singer. Would there were more of these free singers who have found liberty in the constraint of Love and Truth. How beautiful is that hint of "A far off, divine event," given us by that "one fleecy cloud on Olivet." How real the everyday-ness of the scene, the actual—the moving crowds, and how each figure fits into its place in the unrehearsed pageant of Jerusalem's diurnal existence. The Pharisee and Scribe—we see them and their eyes "beneath lowered eyelids," eager to mark the movements of *others*. What a quick picture it is. In two strokes the thing is done.

And, there is the central figure, Miriam, taken in her flight, her "rhythmic grace" a mockery and a shame to her and to her tormentors, and her degradation paraded to the public gaze of men, women, and children, the latter, with their lisping "death," surely a fearsome comment on judgment by physical, by man's notion of God's Law. And Miriam,

on her defense for what seemed, in her eyes, pure enough, shielding her love for Leonidas and his love for her from the scorn of the crowd, is defiant. She could not see that she had forgotten something, or that something had not dawned upon her, or been born to her. That new birth was to come, the light to dawn. She was to see herself as recipient, producer, nurturer of a spiritual idea, which is surely the inner meaning of motherhood. Just now, however, law—as physical man understands it, in his own overbearing interests, is condemning that which her woman's soul would fight for, namely, the innocence of her love and her surrender to Leonidas. For this cause the shower of stones must fly. Let it be so! She would die for her idea of love and feel a proud and pure woman. Her love, to her, was "The fountain in the desert," "The grove of palms," "The burning bush." She could indeed defy the cruelty and the stones.

The interest of the reader is in no danger of waning for the verse is consistently picturesque and significant. The crowd is moving up the slope toward the Temple to "find the Christ" and to seek his judgment. A hint of the coming unravelling of what may be termed the mystery of ungodliness is finely given at this point. Miriam has now arrived at the Corinthian Gate. The Veil, the Ark, the Cherubim, are close at hand. Here, she falters and is in fear.

"Thus thought she, knowing not, as yet, that now
Without the Veil, the Mercy Seat was nigh."

It was but for a moment that she failed in her pride, and so she passed into the Temple Court where, by the Treasury, the Master "sat and taught the multitude." The lines upon the voice of Jesus are very telling. They suggest the depth and power of the sympathy of "the Man of Sorrows" whose voice now penetrates to the soul of Miriam. The sound of the Master's voice, His glance of pity, understanding, and uplifting strength, are treated with inborn reverence, and the poet here reveals the intimate knowledge which comes only to those who sit and wait.

I will not attempt to describe the course of the new birth, or the dawn upon Miriam of the new Light which enabled her to see a "new heaven and a new earth." The Temple Court was her Patmos. She found her Christ there. The inflowing stream of the Christ influence into the soul of the Outcast,

which is seen in the last twenty pages of the poem is indeed a very "river of God." No man or woman can rise from a perusal of the lines upon the coming of Miriam unto Jesus without feeling the chains of sense fall away. The poetry is full of significance to those "who have ears to hear." And the realization of the failure of love, as Miriam had conceived it, "in fulness to fulfil itself," the breaking down of the last barrier between self and not-self, adds the finishing touch to a masterful study of character. Henceforth, Miriam begins to know the higher law of love and to lament her own offense "against the light," a sin which she now sees, wrought ill to men, aye, even to the man she loved.

When relieved from the presence of her tormentors, she awaits condemnation worse, it may be, than the death with which they had threatened her—she knows not what awful form it will take—to her come the swift words which convey the human aspect of the central message of Jesus, the Christ, that "God is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity." There is no condemnation to them who know that Love is Law. The Christ reveals Love as Life. There is no death. And because Jesus, the Christ, is there to show her that Life is all, and that death is not, his words "Go and sin no more" are to her as natural and as compelling as the joy which follows emancipation. Death and fear are not, and therefore, sin cannot be. It was as though the Master had said,—Go, and know that sin has no dominion. The Evangel is that mortals need not sin. The only constraint is that of Love. Jesus has made it known to Miriam that the law of Love has made her "free of the law of sin and death." Love yields not to sin or death. Love's surrender is to Love. It reigns supreme. Its Kingdom is the real Idealism which converts the Individual into a Social force. The constraint of Love sets him free to manifest the reality of Eternal Life. And the individual who does this work is, to quote the author's argument to the poem, "Triune,—body, mind, spirit."

A subject, made difficult because of the point-of-view of those who regard law as law and not as love, who conceive God as a jealous God of punishment and not as the spirit of Love, has been treated ideally in this poem. None but they who realize and hold as their ideal the essential oneness, i. e., the fitness, the harmony, the homogeneity,

the righteousness of triune man—spirit, mind, body, and the necessary consequence of this ideal in action, can grasp the full significance of the Master's manumission and consecration of Miriam, or that of the poem which our author has written. The condemnatory verdict of the physical man leaves the culprit in his or her rebellious ignorance. It takes the verdict of the triune man to make the divine manifest—to make the path of growth and development clear. And indeed, is it not the actual fact that the better a man is the gentler he is, and the less disposed he is to condemn?

The poem is a notable achievement, and is one of which American art may well be proud. Its development and constructive power indicate a mind of very uncommon

order. There is a continuous upbuilding of interest until the last words are spoken. The poem is didactic, but its artistic form is preserved, in spite of the extreme difficulty of the situation which might easily have resulted in the art being, at all events, obscured by theological discussion. There is in it a lesson, but that lesson is poetry, and fine poetry. There is philosophy, but it is so essentially human that it becomes the poetry of vibrating, pulsing, rhythmic humanity. I said the work is a symphony. Such it is, or, at least, a Symphonic Poem. And it is new. Melody, harmony, "orchestration" are rich, fresh and inspired. There is a sense of completion about it all which enables one to say that its music is poetry, and its poetry, music.

D. FFRANGCON-DAVIES.

London.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.*

The Malefactor. By E. Phillips Oppenheim. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 304. Price, \$1.50. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

NOT SINCE *A Prince of Sinners* has Mr. Oppenheim written so excellent a novel as *The Malefactor*. While many of his recent stories have been admirable in plot and intensely interesting, as is everything he writes, they have shown unmistakable marks of hasty workmanship and been more or less disappointing to those who felt that the author was capable of better things.

In *The Malefactor*, however, we have a story which reminds us strongly of Mr. Oppenheim's earlier work. It is a fine psychological study of a man who goes to prison for an offense which he did not commit, in order to save the reputation of a vain and frivolous woman who could have lifted by a word the cloud of suspicion which hung over him. At the end of ten years he comes out, an embittered man, determined to do everything he can to make others suffer as he has suffered. His efforts in this direction and the manner in which he succeeds afford the material for the plot of the story.

Had Mr. Oppenheim been content to make the outcome of the story a little less obvious

from the beginning, the novel would have gained in strength, but barring this defect, the book is an exceedingly good piece of work, in which all the characters are well drawn, while it brings out clearly the futility of all efforts to secure satisfaction or happiness so long as the heart is filled with hate and resentment.

AMY C. RICH.

The White Cat. By Gelett Burgess. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 390. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

IN CHOOSING the fascinating mystery of dual personality as the theme of his latest novel, *The White Cat*, Mr. Burgess has departed from the literary fields formerly frequented by him and has attempted work of a more serious character than we have been accustomed to look for from his prolific pen.

The White Cat is an exciting and rather well written story of a young woman who is the victim, as she supposes, of amnesia, her lapses of memory occurring about one day in every seven. For a long time she is ignorant of the fact that during these periods another personality inhabits her body—a personality in every way inferior to her real self and whose presence, for selfish and unworthy reasons of his own, is encouraged by the physician who the girl believes is striving

*Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, Editorial Department, THE ARENA, Boston, Mass.

to help her gain her normal condition. A young architect, whose automobile is wrecked near her home, becomes interested in her and falls in love with the true Joy Fielding. Thenceforth he wages a bitter battle with Dr. Copin in an effort to free his sweetheart from the domination of the lower personality whose entrance into Joy's body the physician

is encouraging by means of hypnotic suggestions. A devoted colored girl, some remarkable colliers and a high-class Chinaman, who is in hiding from the tong to which he belongs, all add to the interest of the story, which moves swiftly from the opening pages and culminates in a highly melodramatic climax.

AMY C. RICH.

OUR MONTHLY CHAT WITH OUR READERS.

WE BELIEVE this issue will be found to be one of the strongest and most interesting numbers of *THE ARENA* that has ever appeared. Its contents are varied in character and vital in their grasp upon great living questions in the domains of politics, economics, education, social adjustment, religion, philosophy and art, and the writers are admirably equipped to competently discuss the subjects they treat.

Take, for example, "The Evolution of the Trust." No man, we think, in America is better qualified to consider the trust question in a masterly manner than John Moody, the author of *The Truth About the Trusts*, the most monumental and illuminating work that has appeared on the subject. Mr. Moody, who is the well-known publisher of *Moody's Magazine*, is one of the best-informed authorities on economic subjects in America's great metropolis. He is a fundamental thinker, a strong upholder of Direct-Legislation, Public-Ownership and other issues in a really practical programme of progress.

In "The False Note in the Modernization of Germany," our brilliant and authoritative correspondent in Germany, Maynard Butler, contributes a paper of international interest. This writer is one of the closest observers and most competent essayists in Europe, and the conclusions arrived at are those of a mind thoroughly trained to consider all factors involved in a great theme and to go to the root of an important question.

In the paper on "The Spirit *versus* the Letter of the Creeds," by the Rev. A. R. Kieffer, D.D., we have a masterly plea for a broader spirit in the treatment of Christian dogmas. The author is one of the very able clergymen of the Episcopal Church who while growing old in the service of Christianity, has maintained the liberal, truth-loving spirit and the larger faith that are so beautifully characteristic of youth.

In the domain of religious thought we also present a paper of real value to those who would know of the essence of a faith or belief before judging it, in "The Meaning of Christian Science," by W. D. McCrackan, A.M. The author of this paper is a graduate of Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut. He is the author of many scholarly works which have given him an enviable place among present-day writers. For the past two years he has been the First Reader of The First Church of Christ, Scientist, of Boston. He is, therefore, well qualified to present the teachings of Christian Science in an authoritative manner. The illustrations of Christian Science churches which accompany this paper complement the series of pictures of other churches of the same denomination that ap-

peared in the January *ARENA* and indicate the marvelous strides that the new belief has made, especially if the reader remembers that the first church of the denomination was built no earlier than 1896.

Passing from religion to the domain of philosophy and the drama, we find in Mr. Charles Klein's paper a deeply instructive and suggestive discussion of a very important theme. Mr. Klein, as our readers know, is the author of "The Lion and the Mouse," "The Music Master" and "The Daughters of Men," the most vital and popular of recent American plays. Following this paper will be found a contribution of the stage as a factor for progress, prepared by the editor of *THE ARENA*.

Mr. J. W. Bennett's paper dealing with our present status in regard to industrial efficiency is a contribution that every thinking American should peruse. It is not so pleasing to the vanity of the shallow-minded as the hosts of superficial and boastful papers that have appeared from the bureaus and sanctums where the discerning ones have learned to look for inspired utterances made in behalf of high tariff or in defense of trusts and monopolies, but it is a profoundly thoughtful contribution. The author is an able and clear-thinking journalist,—a man trained to get at the bottom of facts and statistics, to find their significance and to generalize luminously upon given data.

In Professor Edwin Maxey's article on "The Reconstruction of the House of Lords" we have a discussion of one of the larger world problems which must be of interest to all thoughtful people, and especially will it appeal to English-speaking readers.

In "Why the Catholic Church Opposes Socialism" will be found a timely contribution of value to those who have noticed the general attacks of late on Socialism all along the line, on the part of Catholic publicists, priests and prelates. In the presence of such a general assault it is important that the other side be heard, especially as much of what has been uttered as representing cardinal tenets of Socialism is so grotesquely absurd and untrue as to be thoroughly misleading to persons ignorant of what Socialism aims to achieve. The paper we present has been written by one of the brightest Socialist editorial writers in America,—a man who was born and reared in an Irish-Catholic home.

Though the above are not nearly all the features of the present issue of *THE ARENA*, they are sufficient to show how wide in range of thought, how able in presentation and how vital are the discussions monthly appearing in this magazine, and which, with the editorial departments, afford, as a leading paper recently observed, "a liberal education along vital lines of thought."

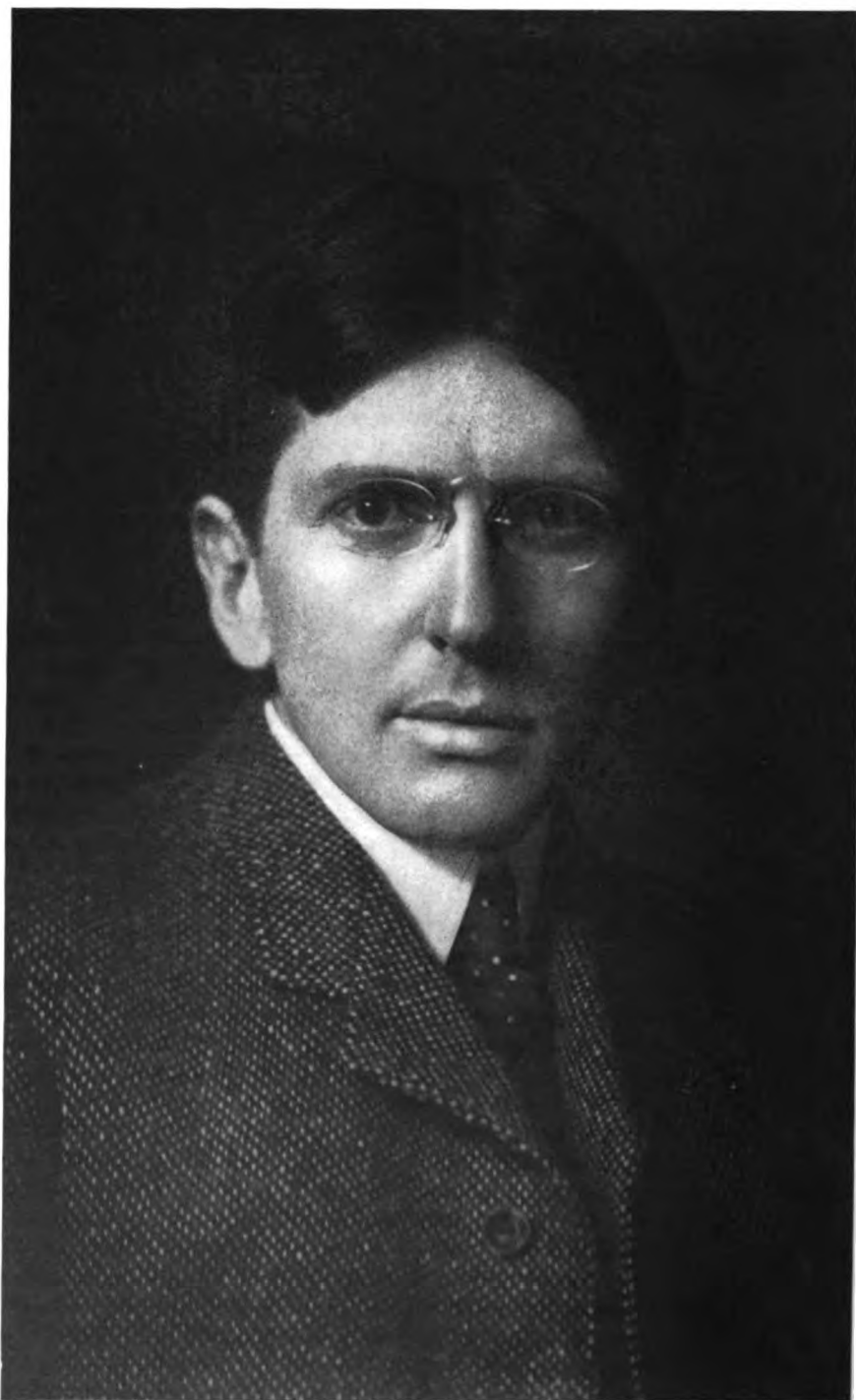


Photo. by Lewis, Toledo, O.

HON. BRAND WHITLOCK

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."—HEINE.*

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THE STORY OF TWO OLIGARCHIES.

BY PROFESSOR FRANK FROST ABBOTT, PH.D.

WHAT SUDDEN and radical changes time brings upon us! Only a few years ago a very clever book appeared establishing the fact that the Speaker of the lower house of Congress controlled the political policy of the nation. One could not dispute the conclusion. In the palmy days of Randall and Carlisle the House ruled at Washington and the Speaker ruled the House. The country waited to hear his choice of Chairman for the Committee of Ways and Means and for the Committee on Appropriations to know whether he and his advisers had decided to give the nation free trade or protection, to prescribe an economical or a liberal policy for the coming two years. His faithful supporters on the floor were rewarded with committee assignments which gave them prestige in the House and before the people. His open enemies, when such could be found, or the men whose hostility could be neglected, were shelved in the Committee on Weights and Measures.

How the House has fallen from its high estate and the Speaker with it! Who cares to-day whether it favors or opposes a judicial review of the decisions of the Inter-State Commerce Commis-

sion, the retention of the present rates on products from the Philippines or the reduction of them? The settlement of such matters now rests with its lord and master at the other end of the Capitol. The senators wink at one another, as did the Roman augurs, when even such a skilful leader and clever tactician as the present Speaker announces his intention to have the House treated as a coördinate legislative body. If the Senate is in a generous mood, by making some trifling concessions in the matter of form to the conferrees from the House, it may allow the Speaker to "save his face," as the Washington correspondents put it. This gracious course it took in the statehood dispute and won the gratitude of the House by its condescension, but concessions on points of serious moment a sovereign can hardly be expected to make. To the House the situation is a *fait accompli*. The measures which it sends up to the Senate, are like petitions to a ruler, to be received and enacted into laws with radical changes, if the Senate finds something of merit in them, or rejected altogether, or left unconsidered in committee. That the House accepts the situation seems to be clear from the loose form in which

it leaves important propositions, like the rate bill. Why spend time in perfecting a measure when the real business of legislation is carried on elsewhere? Why trouble oneself with consistency, completeness, or constitutionality, when another body will settle all these questions as seems best to it? And yet the House finds useful work to do under the new interpretation of the Constitution. The projects which are laid before it and the discussions which take place in it are published throughout the country, and the Senate has an opportunity to learn the trend and the strength of public sentiment before it takes up a matter for action. It is rarely obliged, therefore, to change its attitude on a question on account of an unexpectedly strong popular feeling against its course. Furthermore, since the House is carried along more easily than the Senate by the current of public opinion, and since it can take action quickly, inasmuch as it would be useless labor for it to take time to perfect its measures, the Senate rarely finds it necessary to initiate important legislation, but can wait until public opinion has been tested through the medium of the House. The late Speaker Reed is said to have thanked God that "the House was not a deliberative body." Were he living now he might express thankfulness or regret that it is not a legislative body.

This elimination of the House from the control of the government has narrowed down the struggle for supremacy to the Senate and the President, just as the death of Crassus in the waning years of the Roman Republic brought the other two members of the First Roman Triumvirate face to face, precipitated a conflict between them, and made the triumph of Cæsar or Pompey inevitable. This second stage in the Senate's struggle for supremacy is intensified by a variety of circumstances. The present occupant of the presidential chair holds positive views on public questions and insists upon them vigorously. Few political

or social abuses escape his eye, and a fair catalogue of the evils of the day, with remedies for them, might be drawn up from his messages and personal letters. This passion for reform is caviar to so conservative a body as the Senate. To make the matter worse the great majority which he received in the last presidential election made him in a peculiar sense the tribune of the people, and in his contest with the Senate he has believed that public opinion supported him. Then, too, as if in anticipation of the future, on the night of his election he announced that he would not accept a renomination, and thus made it known that the fear of arousing enmities which would prejudice his political future would not influence his action. It has been remarked also that no one of his predecessors took so active a part in the actual work of legislation as he has done. Whether this is true or not, probably no president has intervened in legislative matters in so public a way, as the present occupant of the White House. In fact, the element of publicity is one of the noteworthy features of the struggle, and draws tight the lines of battle between the parties to the contest. The President makes a legislative project his own cause, and his personal leadership in the fight for a rate bill, a pure food bill or a Santo Domingo bill, is recognized by both its friends and its enemies. It happens, too, that most of the issues which have arisen between the President and the Senate are issues upon which a deep interest is felt throughout the country. The lists are open; the trumpet has sounded, and the people are watching the outcome. Will the Senate unhorse this antagonist as it did its other rival, or will it be borne down by the fierceness of his charge? Are we gradually passing over to an oligarchical form of government, or to a democratic empire?

One is tempted to turn back in history to another great struggle between an ambitious oligarchy and a chief magis-

trate, to the struggle between the Roman senate and consul, to see if it will throw any light on the present situation. The comparison is tempting because the Roman oligarchy, like our own, had to face a legislative and an executive rival, and history gives us in some details the story of its contest with both of its competitors. The similar character of the two cases is the more striking because in its essence the Roman governmental system was not unlike our own, and because the relation of the three contending parties was nearly the same as it is with us. In their senate and popular assembly the Romans had practically a bicameral system. Within certain limits, bills, after approval by the senate, were laid before the assembly for adoption or rejection. The two branches of the legislature were independent of each other. One was popular in its character; the other was a body of picked men, farther removed from public opinion. The consul, like our president, was an elective officer, and not a minister whose term of office could be cut short by the one or the other legislative body. It would be interesting to compare the circumstances which gave the Roman senate its ascendancy over its legislative rival with the corresponding situation in this country, but the triumph of our own Senate over the House, whether permanent or temporary, is complete. Our interest lies in the battle which is on, not in the contest which is settled, so that we shall confine ourselves to a comparison in its broad outlines of the struggle between the Roman senate and consul and the one which we are witnessing to-day, between our own Senate and the President.

We have already observed in a general way that the constitutional relations between the oligarchy and the chief magistrate in the two cases are similar. This fact will be still more apparent if we compare the membership and functions of the ancient and modern body.

Roman senators did not inherit their

positions, nor were they appointed to them, but they received them by election. This common characteristic differentiates the Roman senate and our own Senate from most upper houses in ancient and modern times, but the choice of senators in Rome was not made directly by the people any more than it is with us. The great majority of our senators are experienced politicians, and have held their seats for many years. This was true of Roman senators also. Many of our senators are rich men; so were the Roman senators, and one of the two bodies could be called a rich man's club as properly as the other.

A still more characteristic point of resemblance lies in the existence of a strong *esprit de corps* in both bodies. Senatorial courtesy was as marked in Rome as it is in Washington, and made Senators stand as a unit against the administration when the claims of their order or their individual rights or privileges were involved. Perhaps this sentiment was even stronger in the Roman body than it is in our Upper House, for its members constituted a class recognized by law, a class with power to transmit some of its privileges to its descendants. In this connection two or three peculiarities in Roman parliamentary procedure are interesting. In its palmy days the senate kept no minutes, did not require a quorum, and did not have motions set down in writing. This is a strange state of affairs among a people so methodical as the Romans and so gifted with political genius as they were. It does not indicate a high state of political honor among them, for corruption and chicanery were rife in politics, but it is a striking testimony to the *esprit de corps* of the senate. Evidently these lax methods of doing business had come down from early times, and it had never been found necessary to revise them. A long experience with them had shown that no matter what party advantages or personal privileges were at stake a member would

observe the principles of senatorial courtesy and the traditions of the senate. When he elaborated his motion and set it down in written form after the adjournment of the senate he could be trusted not to change the essential character which he had given to it in his oral statement. This feeling of solidarity was strengthened in the Roman senate and is supported in our Upper House by a long and honorable tradition, and by noteworthy achievements for the state. The office of chief executive has no such traditional meaning. It is the individual consul Cicero who suppressed the Catilinarian conspiracy, or the individual President Lincoln who issues the proclamation of emancipation, but it is the Roman senate or the United States Senate which, by its power to ratify treaties and confirm appointments, controlled foreign relations before the birth of a Cicero or a Lincoln and will control them after the brief term of a particular chief executive is ended. The cumulative effect of such a long line of achievements cannot be overestimated. Presidents may come and presidents may go, but the Senate goes on forever.

We have taken warning from Roman history in one respect. In our dread of Cæsarism, popular prejudice has limited the president's tenure of office to eight years, but we have not noticed the Roman senator's long term of office, and studied its effect on democratic government in Rome. Cicero and Catulus held their positions as senators for a quarter of a century, and their length of service was by no means exceptional. They became thoroughly familiar with the traditions of the senate, and were always watching to maintain and extend its dignity and influence. Their familiarity with precedents and with the transaction of business, even more than their ability, gave them a recognized leadership in the body to which they belonged. They had succeeded another group of experienced leaders, and would be followed by men like unto themselves. They

gave continuity to the policy of the Roman senate, just as the Allisons, Aldriches, and Morgans preserve inviolate the traditions of our Senate. There is no such element of continuity in the presidency any more than there was in the consulship. A chief executive with a limited term of office scarcely learns where his strength and weakness lie before he must give way to a successor. His attention is centered rather upon the carrying out of the promises which he has made to the electors, upon the preservation of party unity, or the furtherance of his chances for renomination, than upon the maintenance and extension of the dignity of the presidential office. The prestige of the position suffers, as did that of the consulship, in consequence of this difference of purpose which characterizes the two contending parties.

We have noticed briefly the similarity between the Roman senate and our own in the matter of membership and character. Let us look at the characteristic functions of the two bodies. One source of power which the Senate of the United States uses most effectively in coercing the president is its right to confirm appointments. Thanks to this privilege almost all our federal officials are chosen by senators, not by the President, and the Senate's political influence and its control of the administration is thereby tremendously strengthened. The Roman senate used the same weapon against the consul with like effect. Governorships abroad and other important appointive offices were given to men who were faithful to the senate, and those who opposed it suffered for their temerity. A recalcitrant consul of Cicero's day, for instance, lost the great prize of the governorship of Asia for his rashness in making some political speeches against a measure which the senate favored. Cæsar, too, who opposed the senate during his consulship, would have had a forest and a marsh for his province at the end of his term of office, if the senate had had its way. So clearly did Gaius

Gracchus, the great opponent of the senate, understand this fact, that he made a determined onslaught upon the senate's power to use the offices in rewarding its friends and maintaining its prestige.

At the meeting on January 1, when the legislative year opened, the presiding consul made a statement on the condition of the commonwealth, and laid before the senate the matters which he thought deserved its consideration, very much as our President does in his messages. The Roman senate well understood that nothing discredits an administration so completely as to thwart its policy by rejecting or shelving its proposals, or by adopting them in such a form that their author scarcely knows whether to accept the substitutes or not. In refusing at its late sessions to pass bills establishing a protectorate over Santo Domingo, regulating insurance, and reducing the tariff on Philippine goods, and in its treatment of the President's plan for the regulation of railway rates, the Senate was following a course which its prototype followed on many occasions. It makes little difference whether the motives which actuate a legislative body in such action are patriotic or selfish, the chief executive is chagrined, his failure is apparent to the country, and the importance of the law-making body is exalted at his expense.

We had occasion to speak a few moments ago, by way of illustration, of the control of foreign affairs by the Roman senate and our own. It is an interesting fact that Roman tradition, and that the Constitution of this country gave the popular branch of the legislature no share in the conduct of foreign affairs. So long as we followed our policy of isolation the Senate's right to accept or reject a treaty was of comparatively small importance, but now that we have become a world-power, have acquired colonies in remote parts, have assumed a quasi-protectorate over our neighbors to the south, and have even ventured

into the arena of European politics, this function of the Senate acquires an added importance, and the Senate is not unmindful of the new chance to increase its power which the change in national policy has thrown in its way. Its treatment of arbitration and reciprocity treaties has shown the President that it and not he controls our permanent relations with foreign countries. The President's power to negotiate treaties has gone the way of his power to appoint to office. It was so in Rome. The consul represented the nation in its dealings with foreign powers, but the senate easily reduced him to the position of an intermediary between itself and the representatives of the state concerned, and as Roman interests abroad increased the influence of the senate was correspondingly augmented, and at the expense of the chief executive.

The Senate of the United States is almost alone among great legislative bodies in not adopting *clôture*. The history of the last few years bears eloquent witness to the advantage under the bicameral system enjoyed by the body which allows unlimited debate over the coördinate assembly which limits discussion. Perhaps the downfall of the House may be traced more directly to its introduction of *clôture* than to any other one cause. A bare majority may push a bill through the House, but it may fail utterly in the Senate, as did the Force Bill, and the Ship Subsidy Bill, or it may be exasperatingly delayed or radically amended, unless it satisfies all the members in the Upper House. Consequently a bill, to become a law, must meet the wishes of the Senate rather than of the House. This parliamentary weapon can be used with equal effect against a chief magistrate, as the history of the Senate during the last few years abundantly shows. Strangely enough the Roman senate allowed its members the same privilege. On a certain occasion, the irrepressible Cato was filibustering against an agrarian measure which the presiding consul,

Cæsar, was very anxious to pass. Cæsar ordered the sergeant-at-arms to remove him. Cato was removed, but the entire senate followed him from the house, and no magistrate ever again attempted to limit debate.

Making use of the tactical advantages which we have outlined above, and our Senate has the same elements of strength, the Roman senate, as we know, reduced the chief magistrate to the position of its minister, and made itself undisputed master of the state. Tiberius Gracchus, to whom our own president has lately been compared, first ventured to question its supremacy, and the uprising against the senatorial oligarchy which he organized attained its success in the next century in the democratic empire of Julius Cæsar. Among the immediate causes which contributed to the downfall of the Roman senate, two stand out with special prominence, its class-prejudice and its inefficiency. It represented the wealth and the aristocracy of the times. It was strangely deaf to public sentiment. It opposed popular leaders like the Gracchi and Cæsar without justice or tact, and failed to notice that the tide was setting toward democracy. It was chauvinistic in its foreign policy, as our own Senate has shown itself in its treat-

ment of the arbitration treaties, for instance, and this attitude was not adapted to further the interests of the whole empire. Its second point of weakness, its inefficiency, showed itself, not so much in its failure to manage the government well, as in its failure to manage itself. One of its chief sources of strength in its struggle with its rivals became in the end a fatal source of weakness. In the last few years of the Republic a dozen instances are recorded in which a single member by "talking against time" prevented his colleagues from taking the action which they desired. It was in fact the obstructive tactics of Cato on the occasion mentioned above which drove Cæsar to put an end to the intolerable situation by ignoring the senate and by carrying his measures in the popular assembly in spite of senatorial opposition. This step broke the primacy of the senate, and it never regained its prestige. For the sake of completeness we have followed the story of the Roman senate to the end. It would be rash to predict a like outcome at some future day in the struggle between the Senate and the President, but the fable teaches us that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.

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MODERN GERMANY—MAD?

BY GEORGE SYLVESTER VIERECK.

AN AMERICAN viewing the life literary of modern Germany cannot but pause in wonder and ask himself, What does it all mean? Are the people mad? Surely there are many things to warrant this conclusion. "Attraction at any price" seems to be the motto of many of their writers, "and if you can't be original, be, at least, indecent and bizarre."

Perhaps we can find a reason and an excuse for this. The seeming sameness of all German lyrics has often been remarked upon. The very language seems to sit up like a snake and bite at those who attempt to clothe the new thought in new form. The Chinese classics were written by one man; of the whole body of German lyric verse it might be remarked, not without a semblance of

truth, that it might have been written by Heine and two other fellows.

The difficulty of attaining stylistic distinction has driven men of real genius, like Arno Holz and Stefan George, and even Liliencron, to take refuge in mannerisms. And excessive mannerisms, in literature as in life, are bad manners. Stefan George and Holz, especially, are form-mad. They no longer possess form, but are possessed by it. And the tragedy of the situation is that their form is often bad form. Holz, for instance, discards meter, rhythm, rhyme, and often—reason. He builds up his poems upon (or rather around) an invisible *middle axis* in the form of pyramids, erect or inverted. His imagination has power and richness of color, he has flashes of thought, yet it is extremely improbable that these fantastic pyramidal structures are likely to be as enduring as their Egyptian prototypes. They are certainly not as impressive. Linguistic gymnastics are not poetry.

Stefan George, on the other hand, though adhering more closely to classic metrics, has taken it into his head to revolutionize the German language. He follows his model Rossetti even to the extent of Anglicizing his spelling. For he insists on beginning every noun with a small letter, and only occasionally, as his fancy suggests, capitalizes an adjective. A book on his literary tendencies, published some years ago, bore the inscription, cribbed from the *Intentions*: "A truth in art is that whose contrary is also true"—a statement which looks to me more like an enigma than an epigram, though Oscar Wilde, when he wrote it, probably attached some meaning to it. I have heard it said that Stefan George presides in gorgeous costumes, in some Vienna café, over a circle of admirers whose duty it is to sit at his feet and worship. However that may be, he is a conscientious artist, a magnificent craftsman in words. I imagine that he would be quite capable, like Mr. Wilde, of working a whole forenoon to

take one comma out of a poem, and the whole afternoon to put it back.

These men are comparatively reserved; but a school of poetesses has arisen which combines with complete mastery of form an equally complete abandonment of morals. First and foremost in this school is undoubtedly "Marie Madeline," whose genius is surpassed only by her depravity. At sixteen she wrote *Auf Kypros*, a book of wonderfully melodious verse, not incomparable, in part to *Poems and Ballads, First Series*. Blended with these elements of poetic power were indications of the *demi-vierge* behind the book, who was soon to develop into the jaded woman of the world. Her second book falls far below the level of the first, and for this falling off she tries to make up by a superabundance of bad taste. Of her earlier verse she speaks in this second and mostly frivolous book as "the lyric emanations of puberty." After the vogue which her work attained and the greediness with which young Germany devoured its morbid elements, a horde of imitators sprang up like mushrooms. Of these "Dolorosa" surpasses all in morbidity and in talent. A proper discussion of much of her subject-matter falls into the domain of psychopathics, with the novels of Sacher-Masoch and de Sade.

But the writers treated of in this article are by no means the maddest. A short digression from reality may bring out even more clearly what things are possible in modern Germany. Some years ago I wrote a hoax article on a young German poet whom I chose to call Sylvio Doerman, and whom I pretended to have visited in an insane asylum in New York. I cited one long poem supposedly written by this wretched creature, and treating of the passion entertained by a female corpse for a living man. I printed an interview from which it appeared that the young poet used to be in love with a mummy, and was at present enamored of a skull.

The result was a host of letters, one of them from the literary editor of a leading Berlin newspaper, who asked me for more information about this unfortunate, since he (the editor) was writing a book about mad geniuses. Another inquirer wanted to know whether Doerman was identical with a young Viennese whose name is somewhat similarly spelled, and who is at present a prominent figure in the realm of German letters, not the inmate of a private sanitarium.

We heard some time ago that George Bernard Shaw, better known as G. B. S., and Oscar Wilde, were the only British authors who had succeeded in making themselves heard in the literary mad-house of modern Germany. Nor is this to be wondered at. For whatever we may think of the startling genius of these two men, they hardly represent the sanest elements in English literature. It may surprise us that Swinburne is comparatively unknown. The first selection from his poetry, skilfully done into German by Otto Hauser, appeared only the other day. The reason is that Swinburne, the great, mad Swinburne of "Dolores" and "Faustine" ceased writing nearly fifteen years before the beginning of the modern German movement. And the Swinburne known to youngest Germany was the poet whose characteristics Mr. George Moore summed up wittily by saying of him that he "became respectable, moved to Putney Hill, and sang of his Mother, the Sea."

Some time ago some one sent me the catalogue of a great modern German publishing house. The booklet contained the pictures and autobiographies of a number of authors. It is quite the thing to write about oneself nowadays. But then one should be either dignified or witty. But let us hear the autobiography of Gustav Wied, advertised as the German Mark Twain. (On his soul may our Lord have *Clemency*!)

"I was born quickly and with ease, March, 1858. Confirmed, '73. Book-

seller. Flunked on Exam., '80. Flunked again, '81. Hooted, '90. Served a term in jail, '91. Married '96. Begot children, built house, and shall finally die, beloved and mourned, April 12, 1927."

Perhaps Mr. Wied mistook the profession of the clown for that of the humorist.

But what shall we say of the mysticism of Else Lasker-Schueler, whom (so competent German critics assure us) "one cannot rightfully overlook in speaking of the modern lyric"? The Lady has chosen to cast her autobiography into a symbolic fish-story, or rather the story of a fish. I translate literally:

"Surrendered my human form in fire-perilous hour for the scaly, coolly form of a tench, and floated on in dill. But was enamored of several carps, especially one in changeant-blue, who, however, trod on my love with fins. Yes, then I began to poetize wave—storm—flood, roaring songs. And as several she-pikes went under, I was cast up from the depths of the water upon the surface where I was caught in a net. *Styx* is the name I gave my book out of gratitude to my arch-uncle Charon from whom I inherited some of my wisdom. Otherwise I am poor and torn like a laciniated bag-pipe without sound."

No one seems to object to this sort of thing. And after such revelations it does not surprise us to find some strange self-accounts in Hans Ostwald's *Songs from the Gutter*, an anthology which contains some admirable pieces and some that are execrable. Margaret Beutler, one of the most gifted poetesses of modern Germany, declares in her autobiography that she is temperamentally incapable of entering into permanent marital relations. And the late Peter Hille, who would have been something of a Villon had he been more of a poet, explains to us that, since he was a Westphalian, he was a "shameless liar, godless, and

without conscience." But who in the world, except the representative of some matrimonial agency, wants to know whether Margarete Beutler desires permanent conjugal bliss? And Herr Hille's veracity in his private life is a matter of interest only to his friends. But the exhibition of one's private affairs for advertising purposes seems to know no limit. Only a month or two ago, Mr. Roda-Roda, a distinctly minor light, startled the German public by announcing his "free marriage" to a certain baroness, because he regarded the present legal institution of marriage as immoral. He would probably have been made the hero of the day, had it not been discovered in time that, for any number of years, he had been quite conventionally married to the lady in question!

These men and women, though they show a deplorable lack of delicacy, still keep this side of sheer vulgarity. As much cannot be said for Franz Wedekind and his disciple, Erich Muehsam. It is matter for no slight amusement, by the way, that Wedekind's last play, "Hidalla," is so bewildering that even some of the knowing Berlin critics have confessed their incapacity to understand it. I have not seen the play, and judging from Wedekind's contributions to this anthology as well as from other work of his that has come under my notice, have no desire to read it. For, in *Brigitte B.*, he relates, without verbal music or any attempt at artistic effect, but with a cynical leer and dialectic affectation, the corruption of a young servant-girl. The poem is supposedly humorous!

If Wedekind repels, Muehsam nauseates. His "Amanda" surpasses in sheer nastiness anything I have ever seen. With the same sort of humor as his master, he describes how a young mother kills her illegitimate child by throwing it into a place not usually thought a fit subject for poetry, and then commits suicide. Especially touching is the stanza in which he relates how, at a touch on the button, the little toe of the child

disappears, last of all, in the domestic whirlpool. Herr Muehsam would probably say that this poem contains the bitterest of social satire. But surely there is something rotten in a society that tolerates this sort of thing and applauds it. And it must be remembered that these men are not isolated phenomena. They represent a school of poetry and find their way into the best magazines.

To detect literary currents one must read current literature; above all, the comic press. There beats the pulse of the nation. Tell me what amuses you, and I will tell you what you are. The first paper to be mentioned here is *Simplicissimus*, which in a way, has long ago supplanted the more harmless *Fliegende Blätter*. Its caricatures are grotesque and often obscene, but among its brilliant contributors are men who stand at the helm of the ship of German letters. Bureaucracy, Militarism, the Catholic Church and Philistine morality, are the targets against which its shafts are directed. Thus it has become, so to speak, a very center of disintegration, and the *Simplicissimus-Stimmung*, or disgust at everything, has become a very genuine factor in forming the temper of the nation. How far this paper dares to go appears from the fact that recently it published some jokes on a subject, the discussion of which was confined until then to medical treatises such as those by Krafft-Ebing and Havelock Ellis, but which has been brought to notice all over Germany by debates in the Reichstag and by the propaganda of the *Wissenschaftlich-Humanitäres-Komitee* of Berlin.

Slightly more conservative and no less widely read is the *Jugend*. It, too, prints jokes which would strike the average American as decidedly vulgar, but perhaps it is unfair in us to pass judgment, as the atmosphere in which we live is so entirely different. The illustrations in the *Jugend* are secessionistic in style. They are often of high artistic value and

have given rise to the *Jugend-Styl*. These papers, it may be added, despite of occasional lapses into vulgarity, stand for liberal and progressive habits and points of view, and are, therefore, salutary in their total influence.

But side by side with these exists a host of scandalous sheets of which *Das Kleine Witzblatt* and *Satyr* are perhaps the most malodorous. Pornography may have its place in human life, but it should not be hawked about the streets for five or ten *pfennige* to every child that runs to read. Some of the jokes there printed and illustrated are such as club-men at a stag-party would not tell even with subdued breath. And the worst is that there is nothing sprightly in these papers. The stories are told, not with the smile of the subtle *raconteur*, but with the broad grin of coarseness, and to their immorality they add the greater sin of dullness.

At what conclusions must we arrive? Is modern Germany really mad? Elements of madness certainly exist, and they involve a greater part of the people than they have ever before done. But here is a ray of hope. Even if they reach one million, or two, or three, or four, or five,—these millions are not the German nation. And if we consider the sales of books, figures louder even than the reckless advertisement of the moderns

tell us that the books whose circulations went into the hundred thousands are works of a saner character, almost old-fashioned, such as *Gatz-Kraft*, *Jærn Uhl*, and *Die Buddenbrucks*. And after all, in modern Germany at its maddest, there are traces of illuminating thought and vital human pathos. Much of its sin is due to misdirected energy that can find no political outlet. And so, too, much in the actions of Kaiser Wilhelm that may strike us as uncalled for interference in matters of art, is due to the desire of his healthy nature to place a check upon things unwholesome and unclean.

All Germany is in a process of fermentation. And the process is a violent one. It perturbs the land to its very depths and brings its literary genius to the verge of ruin. Perhaps this fermenting mass may become a rank poison which, like a pestilence, will infect the whole nation, and all nations in turn. Perhaps—and this I firmly hope and believe—it will be converted into foaming wine that shall be the delight of us all. But a great war or some great crisis may be needed to work the miracle of this transformation, even as the monks were wont to add some sharp ingredient to the must, so as to stir their vintage and to make it sweet.

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PLANT CONSCIOUSNESS.

BY ARTHUR SMITH.

THE MODERN student of plant-life no longer regards the object of his study as so many things which merely demand classification and arrangement, and whose history is exhausted when a couple of Latin or Greek names have been appended to each specimen. On the contrary, the botanist of

to-day seeks to unravel the mysteries of plant-life. For him the plant is no longer an inanimate being, but stands revealed as an organism exhibiting animal functions, many of which are certainly as well-defined as are analogous traits in the existence of the animal. Plant physiology has therefore become

a distinct branch of natural science, and every biologist who has followed it, feels the difficulty which confronts him in attempting to draw a line of demarcation between the animal and vegetable kingdoms. This difficulty is clearly shown by the fact that there are certain organisms that are claimed by both zoölogists and botanists as belonging to their respective departments of natural science.

Every living body, both plant and animal, consists in its embryonic form of a single cell, and not only this, but the lowest plants and the lowest animals are, in their full-grown, mature state, merely minute single cells. From this comparatively neutral starting point, in the sense of presenting the minimum amount of differentiation, one important feature, generally stated to be evolved only by the members of the animal kingdom, is the specialization of structure that enables animals to feed on organic matter taken into the body in a solid form. But this, as I shall show, is not confined to animals only. A second supposed mark of distinction is the possession by animals of a nervous system which has culminated in the higher groups of animals in the development, not only of special senses, but of sense-organs. But at the same time it must not be forgotten that many of the lower groups of organisms universally classed as animals, are entirely destitute of every structural trace of sense-organs or nervous system.

Although no trace of nerve-tissue has been found in any member of the vegetable kingdom, yet examples of the possession of a nervous system, sensibility, and consciousness, are to be found in it. Many plants manifest distinct movements which are responsible to external agencies; these movements agreeing in important and essential points with similar movements shown under similar circumstances in connection with animals, and which in the latter are the outcome of nervous excitement or brain-power.

Some will naturally exclaim: "How

can plants be possessed of brain-power if they have neither brains nor nerve-tissue"? And yet amongst those who have devoted any time to the observation of plant-life, few, if any, will deny the existence not only of instinct, but of a power much higher, and which runs very closely to that faculty of reasoning which no one disputes is found among at least the higher groups of animals. A few words on the mechanism connected with animal consciousness may at this point not be out of place.

Including the genus *homo*, each individual of the higher genera is, in a greater or lesser degree, the owner of a mass of gray and white matter generally contained in the head, known as the brain. This brain is the seat of all its energy, movement and sensibility. It is divided into centers, each of which is an area for the conscious perception of the different forms of sensory impressions, and also for the transmission of energy to the various muscles. Ferrier, Horsley, and others, have mapped out the brain into motor areas and centers. The term center involves the following mechanism: A sensitive surface; a nerve going to a nerve-cell or group of nerve-cells from which passes a nerve-fiber to a muscle. These nerve-cells discharge impulses to, and receive impressions from, the nerve-fibers. Each center has nothing to do with transmitting to, or receiving impulses from, any other part of the body than that to which it is connected.

For example, it has been proved that the nerve called the pneumogastric is the sensory to the muscles of the heart, lungs and stomach, and for these only; similarly the olfactory nerve is entirely devoted to the sense of smell, the optic nerve is the nerve of sight, and so on every portion of the brain has been proved by experiment to have exclusive functions. So the brain may be looked upon as a motor or engine which keeps the wonderful machinery going that produces all the various complicated movements of the animal frame. But all

motors must, in the first instance, be under the control of some power. In the mechanical world we have the powers of steam, water, and electricity. What then is the power at the bottom of the movement, etc., of organized beings? Its existence and effects cannot be doubted. It permeates not only the animal but also the vegetable kingdom, and may be described in a word as *brain-power*. It must be quite evident that the brain itself is not the source of this power, but merely acts, I repeat, as an intermediate motor. This motor is absent in plants, but does it follow that the power or force is itself non-existent? It is entirely absent in some members of the animal kingdom, but in these cases it is admitted that the power is present. For instance, none of the creatures known as *Protozoa* have any signs of specialized nerves or brains and the same remark applies to the next highly organized sub-kingdom, *Coelenterata*.

But it is not disputed that these lowly animals have a certain amount of consciousness or even that they can develop that accumulated experience of theirs we call instinct.

It is perhaps sometimes difficult to actually define whether a given action is instinctive or intelligent. A great authority tells us that instinct is only "blind habit or automatically carried out action." This being so, then instinctive actions only move in one direction and cannot adapt themselves to circumstance. Again it has been defined as "reflex action into which there is imported an element of consciousness." But where one finds variation in action according to varying circumstances, a state of things which is seen over and over again throughout the plant-world, there seems ample grounds for believing that plants are capable of intelligent action and are endowed with consciousness to perceive and feel the variation in their environment, and so are able to vary their actions accordingly.

The commonly adopted opinion that

plants cannot be classed among conscious agents has never been proved, although perhaps to most people it may seem self-evident. Wordsworth did not think so, for he said:

"It is my faith that every flower which blows,
Enjoys the air it breathes."

But those acquainted even superficially with the habits of plants, will scarcely deny that they have the power of adapting themselves to circumstances and have many movements that are the very reverse of automatic, which point to the idea that they are endowed with a power something higher than mere instinct. Numerous instances will occur to their minds of sensibility as fully developed in the plant as in the animal, and which in the latter is without doubt the outcome of conscious perception and thought brought into action through the medium of the brain.

Take, for instance, that wonderful plant, the *Mimosa*, sensitive not only to the most delicate touch, but like most other genera, to the approach of darkness or to even a shadow thrown upon it, of which the poet says:

"Weak with nice sense, the chaste mimosa stands,
From each rude touch withdraws her timid hands;
Oft as light clouds o'erpass the summer glade,
Alarmed she trembles at the moving shade,
And feels alive through all her tender form,
The whispered murmurs of the gathering storm,
Shuts her sweet eyelids to the approaching night,
And hails with freshened charms the rising light."

Many species of *mimosa* possess this property, and indeed most of the genus in a greater or lesser degree. They have their leaves beautifully divided, again and again pinnate, with a great number of small leaflets of which the pairs close upwards when touched. On repeated touching, the leaflets of the neighboring pinnæ also close together, and the fact that when the touch is given to one of the pinnæ the movement is conveyed to the others until at last the entire leaf sinks down and hangs as if withered, points to the power of transmitting impulse; after a short time the leaf-stalk

risers and the leaf expands again. It is noteworthy that a touch on the upper side of the leaf has no effect. This appears to be an analogous trait to that which is found in many insects, and in fact all parts of the animal kingdom of feigning death at anyone's approach or when slightly touched.

The mimosa, too, goes to sleep when night comes on, or even a cloud passing over the sun will cause its leaves to fold up and sink down, in fact the whole plant appears to go to sleep. In going to sleep, the mimosa is not, however, at all singular, as most species of plants close their leaves and flowers at night. On the other hand there are some which, like the beasts of the forest, hail the setting sun as a signal for activity. This sleep of plants, which without doubt is physiologically the same as animal sleep, does not exist without a reason. The act of sleeping is, in the higher animals, symptomatic of repose in the brain and nervous system, and the fact of plants sleeping is one proof of the existence of a nervous system in the members of the vegetable kingdom. Plants sleep at various hours and not always at night. Light and heat appear to have, in many instances, little to do with plants sleeping, as different species go to sleep at different hours of the day. Thus, the common Morning Glory, *Convolvulus purpureus*, opens at dawn; the Star of Bethlehem, *Ornithogalum umbellatum*, about ten o'clock; the Goat's-beard, *Tragopogon pratensis*, opens at sunrise and closes at mid-day, and for this reason is also known as "Go-to-bed-at-noon." The flowers of the Evening Primrose, *Oenothera Biennis*, open at sun-set, and those of the night-flowering Cereus, *Cereus grandiflorus*, when it is dark. Aquatic flowers open and close with the greatest regularity. The white Water Lily closes its flowers at sunset and sinks below the water for the night; in the morning the petals again expand and float on the surface. The Victoria Regia expands for the first time at about six o'clock in the evening, and

closes in a few hours; it opens again at about the same time the next morning and remains so until the afternoon, when it closes and sinks below the water. This sleep of plants is not, of course, confined to their flowers, as leaves open and shut in the same manner and is so conspicuous a phenomenon that it was commented upon so long ago as the time of Pliny.

Continuous attempts have been made to elucidate the phenomenon of sleep without success. Many theories have been promulgated, but they have fallen short of explaining it. We know that sleep rests the mind more than the body, or to put it in another way, the mere mechanical as apart from the nervous portion of the organism can be rested without sleep. Negatively the effect of sleeplessness proves the value and necessity of sleep. Electric light has been used to stimulate the growth of plants and, coupled with other means of forcing, a continued period of growth secured, thereby obtaining earlier maturity than would have been the case under ordinary circumstances. In most cases plants treated in this way were prevented from sleeping, the result in the case of perennials being to greatly weaken their constitutions, the following year's growth being poor and scanty, and in some cases they were scarcely alive. The carnivorous plants afford further evidence of the existence of consciousness in plants, among which the Venus Fly-trap, *Dionæa muscipula*—which Linnæus called the "miricle of nature"—is the most elaborate; and is the climax of the order *Droseraceæ*. The leaves, about four inches long, consist of a spatulate stalk, which is constructed to the mid-rib at its junction with the broad blade. The halves of the blade are movable on one another along the mid-rib. Round each margin are twenty to thirty long teeth which interlock in rat-trap fashion with those of the opposite side. The center of the leaf bears numerous rose-colored glands, and there are on each half three sensitive hairs. The blades

shut up in from eight to ten seconds when one of the sensitive hairs is touched. When an insect alights, or a piece of raw meat is placed on the leaf, the blades close up and the rose-colored glands pour out a fluid which is practically the same as the gastric juice of the animal stomach in its digestive properties. The matter of the insect body or of the meat is thus absorbed into the substance and tissues of the plant, just as the food eaten by an animal is digested. The animal digestion can only be carried on by the brain force acting by means of a nerve on the gastric glands. We may therefore concede that it is the action of the same power in the plant that produces the same effect. The motor is absent, but the motion is there. Further, in this connection, the idea becomes stronger, from the fact that if grains of sand are placed on the leaf the glands do not give out the digestive fluid.

The *Hedysarum* of Bengal is an example of movement without external cause. This plant gyrates the central leaflet of its pinnule. Its lateral leaflets are, however, the most remarkable, for they have the strange power of jerking up and down. This motion will sometimes stop of its own accord, and then suddenly, without any apparent cause, commence afresh. The leaves cannot be set in motion by a touch, though exposure to cold will stop the movement. If the movement is temporarily stopped by the leaf being held, it will immediately resume action after the restraint is removed, and, as if to make up for lost time, will jerk up and down with increased rapidity.

The power of spontaneous movement is also present in the seed spores of seaweeds and other lowly plants. These spores move about in water with freedom, and the filaments of many of the liverworts exhibit a capacity for extraordinary motion. In the spores of the potato fungus, *Pythoptera infestans*, we have a well-marked instance of the power of movement according to circumstances.

When the spore-cases burst, a multitude of little bodies escape, and if these gain access to water—a drop of dew on the potato leaf, for instance—they develop a couple of curious little tails by means of which they swim about after the manner of tadpoles. The power of locomotion possessed by the antherozoa of mosses, ferns, etc., is again another example of this power of movement. It is not so very long ago since these were classed as animalculæ, and in those days it was not disputed that these so-called little animals moved consciously and intelligently. Then there are those microscopically beautiful unicellular plants, the Desmids and Diatoms which dart about hither and thither in water. A mere cursory observation of their movements leads one to believe them possessed of consciousness. It is not only in the fully developed vegetable organism that we find evidence of the existence of brain-power, but this power begins to display itself with the germination of the seed. In the commencement of plant-life we find, as in the case of grain (to give an easily tested example) that the root or radicle emerges at one end of the seed, and the shoot or plumule at the other. What causes the former to descend and the latter to ascend? If the seed is so placed that the root comes out at the top the result is the same, for the root at once turns round and grows downward and the shoot *vice versa*. This cannot be caused by gravitation, although Darwin once thought so, as the force of gravity would have the same effect on the shoot as on the root. There can be only one answer, that is—the existence of a directing force or brain-power. There is no structure in plants more wonderful in its action than the tip of the root. Darwin wrote: "It is hardly an exaggeration to say that the tip of the radicle, endowed as it is with such diverse kinds of sensitiveness, acts like the brain of animals."

A study of the habits of climbing plants affords further evidence of the existence of nervous energy in them, of

which perhaps the strongest is the sensibility of tendrils. If a pencil or rod be rubbed on the inside of the terminal part of a tendril, it will almost immediately show signs of curvature, and will be fully curved in a couple of minutes. A perfectly smooth body such as a dust-free, gelatine-coated rod will not produce curvature. These tendril-bearing plants may be looked upon as among the highest in the scale of plant organization. A plant of this kind first places its tendrils ready for action, just as a polypus places its tentacula. During several days the tendril searches for something to cling to, revolving the while with a steady motion. On striking a suitable object, it quickly turns round and firmly grasps it. In two or three hours the tendril contracts into a spring and drags up the stem. Movement on the part of this particular tendril now ceases, it having completed its work in an admirable manner.

The effect of light on plants is a striking example of their consciousness, and which is in many ways similar to its effect upon animals. The bending of plants towards light is well-known, but it has been proved that there is no close parallelism between the amount of light which acts on a plant and its degree of curvature. One's own personal experience shows us that the retina after being exposed to a strong light, feels the effect for some time; and in some experiments carried out by Darwin, a plant continued to bend for half an hour towards the side which has been illuminated. Some plants which had been kept in the daylight during the previous day and morning, did not move towards an obscure lateral light as did others which have been kept in complete darkness, thus showing an analogy with the fact that the retina cannot perceive a dim light after having been exposed to a bright one.

One striking element in plant-consciousness, is the localization of sensitiveness, and the power of transmitting an influence from the excited part to another,

which consequently moves. In the case of the *Drosera*, when the tip of a gland is irritated, the basal and not the upper part of the tentacle bends. The sensitive filament of *Dionæa* also transmits the stimulus without itself bending.

The power of movement for a specific purpose, movement, too, which is unaffected, and cannot be caused by, outside stimulus, is strikingly seen in the many examples among plants of conscious sexual intercourse.

This was observed as long ago as the time of Erasmus Darwin, who wrote a poem called "The Love of Plants." The vegetable passion of love is seen in the flower of the *Parnassia* (Grass of Parnassus) in which the males alternately approach and recede from the females. In the *Nigella*, or Love-in-the-Mist, the female flowers grow on longer stalks than the males, and, to use Darwin's words, "in which the tall females bend down to their dwarf husbands." The *Gloriosa superba*, or Creeping Lily, a South African plant, is another well-marked illustration of this power of conscious movement. In this plant, first one set of three stamens come to maturity and then three others, of which Darwin in the above poem wrote:

"Proud *Gloriosa* led three chosen swains,
The blushing captives of her virgin chains,
When time's rude hand a bark of wrinkles spread
Round her weak limbs, and silvered o'er her head;
Three other youths her riper years engage,
The flatter'd victims of her wily age."

It is unnecessary to adduce further illustration in proof of plant consciousness, and of the fact that brain-power can and does exist apart from a visible brain. When we see the irritability of the sensitive plant transmitted from one part to another; exhausted by repeated artificial excitation, and renewed after a period of repose, it is difficult to dissociate it from a conscious organism. Still less can we witness certain organs taking determinate positions and directions; or study the manner in which they are affected by stimulants, narcotics, anes-

thetics, and poisons, and yet declare these phenomena to be brought about by a different power than that which produces similar actions and effects in animals. Vital activity is the rule and inertness the exception in plant-life; and this fact seems to impress upon us the error of that form of argument which would assume the non-existence of the higher traits of life in plants merely because the machinery is invisible.

It has already been mentioned that the lowest forms of both animals and plants are individuals whose bodies are merely single cells, and it is, too, worthy of note, that the earliest embryonic state of all the higher animals is merely that of a single cell, and the highest powers of the microscope are unable to trace any distinction between the embryos of plants and animals, birds and beasts, fish and

fowl, the mimosa and man; all are exactly similar. From an evolutionary point-of-view there is nothing in this latter circumstance so very wonderful after all.

If there were no signs of intelligence in the vegetable kingdom, the cause for wonder would be greater. If thought is the product of evolution, it must have had its beginnings. For anything we know, it may have taken as many thousands of years to evolve the intelligence of the Mimosa as it has that of Man, although, of course, the latter is an incalculable greater distance ahead. As Drummond said: "Mimosa can be defined in terms of man, but man cannot be defined in terms of Mimosa."

ARTHUR SMITH.

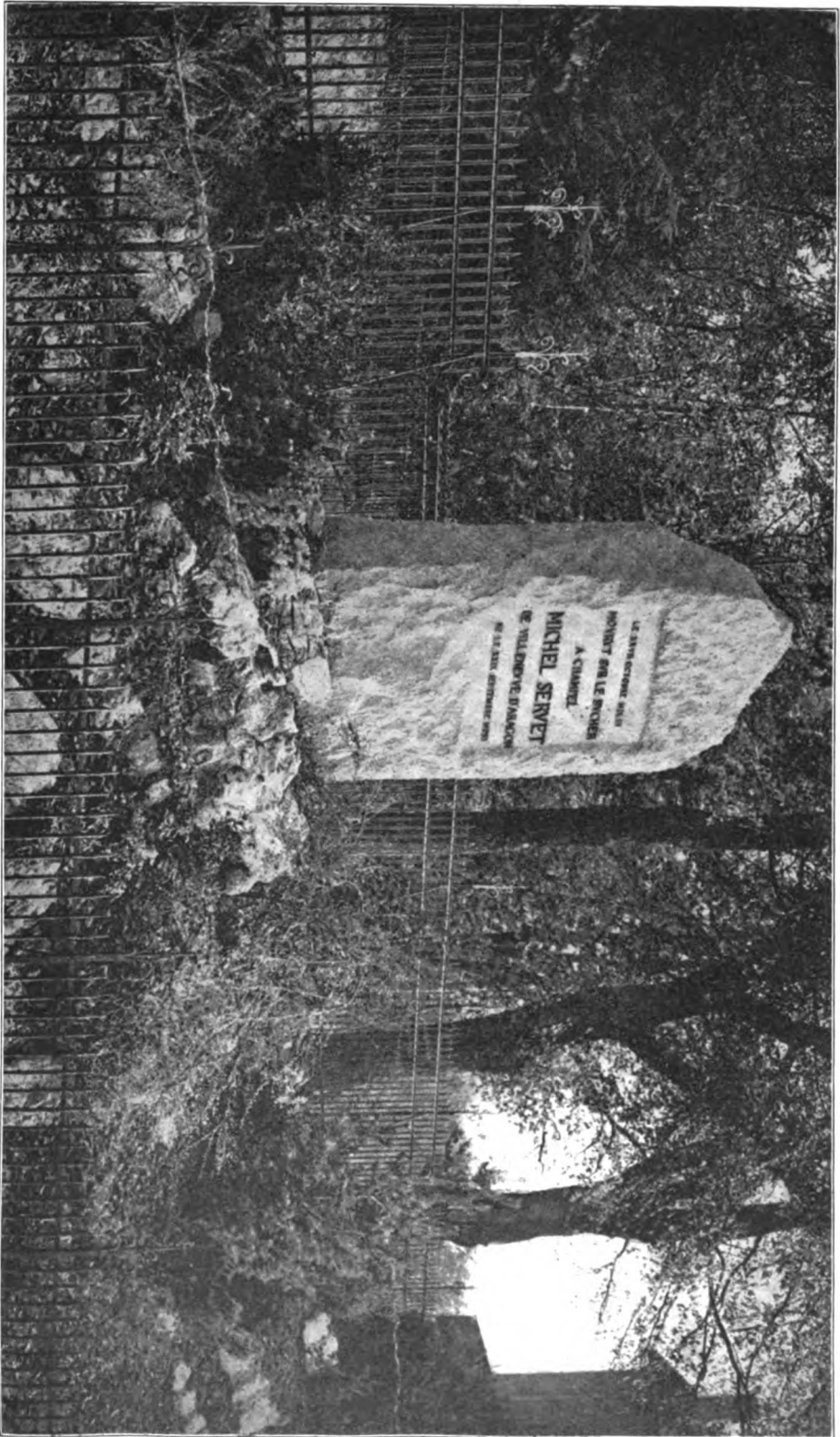
Westbury Station, N. Y.

A MONUMENT TO SERVETUS.

BY REV. TALIAFERRO F. CASKEY.

GENEVA is unique among the cities of the world in having erected in 1903 an expiatory monument to the Spanish physician and theologian whom the Genevese had sent to the stake on the 27th of October, 1553. Up to that date the Papal Church had enjoyed the monopoly of saint-burning. John Huss, Jerome of Prague, Savonarola, Jeanne d'Arc and Giordano Bruno were committed to the flames by Catholics but it was Protestant hands that set up the stake on the Champel, near Geneva, chained Michael Servetus to it, and then applied the torch which consumed the liberal thinker. In strange contradiction to the Evangelical principles and Scriptural spirit upon which the Reformation was founded, the rulers of what has been called the "Protestant Rome" were constrained to adopt the cruel methods of

their ecclesiastical opponents. Their most notable victim was Michel Sevet-y-Reves, of Villanova, a city of Aragon in Spain. He was born on the 29th of September, 1511. He grew up under the shadow of a somber and bigoted creed, but the wind which "bloweth where it listeth" touched the unfolding mind of the Spanish youth to visions of broader truths than the Spanish Inquisition could take in. Servetus studied medicine, but his profound interest was in theology. His liberal views startled the priests. To escape the Inquisition, which they set in motion against him, he fled first to France and then to Geneva. It is chronicled that on Sunday, August 13, 1553, he arrived at Geneva and rested at the Hotel de la Rose. The prettily named hostelry was an ironical symbol of the fate that awaited him. Appar-



EXPIATORY MONUMENT TO SERVETUS, AT GENEVA

THE ARENA

ently he was a physician interested in the discovery of the circulation of the blood, but in reality he was an emancipated thinker bent on a reformation of theology far more complete than it had entered the minds of Luther or Calvin to conceive. It was inevitable that the spiritual dictator of Geneva and the liberal Spaniard should come into collision. Calvin was the man of his age and Servetus was the man of the age to come. For Calvin as for Luther the reformation was accomplished. For Servetus it was yet to take place. Hence he did not hesitate to affirm that the truth which had begun to be declared in the time of Luther would go on and that he thought it would declare itself still further in things which to his mind had not yet fully been revealed. To Puritan and Catholic alike such speech was heresy. It was in vain the liberal Spaniard fled from the Catholic Inquisition in Spain, for he fell into the no less intolerant Protestant inquisition which ruled in Geneva. The autocrat of that inquisition was John Calvin, who had conceived and carried out the establishment of a theocracy which reproduced essentially its Hebrew model. The clergy were God's vice-regents, especially the Consistory in whose hands supreme authority over public and private morals was lodged. At the head of this Consistory stood John Calvin, the *imperium in imperio*, whose word was law. He identified himself with the prophet of old and declared any offense against his person to be blasphemy. Under his strict regime the Consistory had the right to enter private houses and regulate the dishes of the table and the dresses of the family. All dancing, music, theatrical performances and games were prohibited under pain of excommunication. It was enforcement of religion, not at the point of the sword, perhaps, but at the point of a merciless ecclesiastical law. Such being the temper of the times, and especially the temper of Calvin, it is not surprising that the liberal theology of the Spanish refugee soon led to his arrest. He was

charged with the arch-blasphemy of denying the doctrine of the Trinity—not that spiritual mystery which we reverently hold but do not pretend to define, but that metaphysical caricature which Calvin and his contemporaries inherited from the theological past. The result of the trial was a foregone conclusion. The Consistory adjudged Servetus guilty of heresy. This body could only render a spiritual verdict, but it controlled the Counsel of State which promptly sentenced the so-called heretic to the flames. Pere Hyacinthe imagines the scene that followed in these picturesque words:

“On the 27th of October, 1553, on one of those autumnal mornings which are so beautiful in Geneva—I imagine at least that that morning was so beautiful by reason of those contrasts which benevolent nature opposes to the wickedness of man—the funeral procession left the Hotel de Ville, where his sentence had been read to him, on the way to the plateau of Champel where it was to be carried out. . . . Servetus stood amid the faggots, carrying on his head, like a martyr's crown, a wreath of leaves covered with sulphur, his well-beloved book, the ‘Restitution of Christianity,’ hung at his side. With this book, the only fruit of a pure and laborious life, he now stood erect before Death and Eternity.”

At the first touch of the cruel flame he cried in his native tongue “*Misericordia.*” It was the cry of nature, but it died away in the prayer of the soul, “Jesus, Son of God eternal, have pity on me!” Well may Pere Hyacinthe exclaim, “I could wish that this prayer were engraved on the monument we have erected to Servetus.”

“Heaven heard his prayer at the moment when it was pronounced, but the earth has been deaf much longer and it is only to-day after, three centuries and a half that men come together in order to do justice to the martyr to a free conscience and religious progress. The hour

of this great reparation has struck, and Geneva, generous Geneva, still Christian at core, but become liberal, proclaims that it is not possible for her to erect to John Calvin the monument she owes him for so many reasons, until she has first erected to Michael Servetus this other monument which is due to him who does not regret having died, and from him who repents of having killed him—both reconciled at last in the clearer vision and Heavenlier love.”*

The monument does not stand on the top of Champel where he died, but at the foot of the hill in a very small triangular plot of ground between the rue de Rosarie and the chemin de Beau Sejour. A more inconspicuous position could hardly be found in Geneva. It is in a plain neighborhood far away from the modern city with its lake-view, grand hotels, fashionable promenades and alluring shops; and also from the Old City with its steep, narrow alleys, historic houses and memories of an endlessly interesting past reaching back to the days of Cæsar and the Allobroges. One would have supposed that a Protestantism, which had the courage to make such a splendid *amende* to the victim of its fathers, would have placed this monument in one of the modern and much frequented promenades or parks. But not only does this unique memorial stand in an out-of-the-way place; it does not appear in the list of Geneva monuments, or of the sights of the city. There are no photographs of it in the print shops or booksellers' windows, and among the legions of picture post-cards for sale in all sorts of shops the Expiatory Monument does not appear. Few Genevese seem to know of its existence, and of the traveling multitude of sight-seers hardly one sees this striking illustration of the religious spirit of our day. And yet when we realize its significance, Geneva has nothing to show comparable

*From Pere Hyacinth's Oration at the unveiling of the Monument.

to this expiatory stone. The monument is a simple granite rock set up just as it came from the quarry in its rugged, unhewn state. On the front a space of sufficient size has been polished to bear the inscription:

LE XXVII OCTOBRE MDLIII
MOVRVT SVR LE BVCHER
A CHAMPEL
MICHEL SERVET
DE VILLENEUVVE D'ARGON
NE LE XXIX SEPTEMBRE MDXI

On the back of the monument we read:

FILS
RESPECTVEUX ET RECONNAISSANTS
DE CALVIN
NOTRE GRAND REFORMATEVR
MAIS CONDAMNANT VNE ERREVER
QVI FVT CELLE DE SON SIECLE
ET FERMENT ATTACHES
A LA LIBERTE DE CONSCIENCE
SELON LES VRAIS PRINCIPES
DE LA REFORMATION ET DE L'EVANGILE
NOVS AVONS ELEVE
CE MONVMENT EXPIATOIRE
LE XXVII OCTOBRE MCMIII*

This noble acknowledgement and expiation of error having been made, Geneva may now rear the monument to her great Reformer, which has waited so long, and we may with deeper appreciation and profit read again Froude's "Calvinism."

Catholicism justifies to this day the burning of heretics, as witness the recent utterance of Lucca, a Jesuit father. But Protestantism abjures its errors as its spiritual vision becomes purged, and

*On the 27th of October 1553 | died at the stake | on Champel | Michael Servetus | of Villeneuve d'Aragnon | born on the 29th of September 1511.

Sons | respectful and grateful | of Calvin | our great reformer | but condemning an error | which was that of his age | and firmly attached | to the liberty of conscience | according to the true principles | of the reformation and the gospel | have raised | this expiatory monument | on the 27th of October 1903.

builds the tombs of those it has mistakenly martyred. The Consistory of Geneva in 1553 condemned Servetus to the stake, a member of the Consistory to-day most nobly says: "The tomb which we do not refuse to those who leave us, Servetus has never had. We are now going to give it to him on the hill of Champel, on the very spot where his body was given up to the flames and his ashes scattered to the winds, but it will not be the tomb of one condemned to death; it will be the monument of a hero—let me say the words—of a martyr."

Truly the modern spirit has penetrated

the stronghold of Calvinism, and the words of an American poet are truer than when he first penned them:

"While e'er men burnt men for a doubtful point,
As if the mind were quenchable with fire,
And Faith danced round them with her war-paint
on,
Devoutly savage as an Iroquois;
Now Calvin and Servetus at one board
Snuff in grave sympathy a milder roast,
And o'er their claret settle Comte unread.
Fagot and stake were desperately sincere;
Our cooler martyrdoms are done in types,
And flames that shine in controversial eyes
Burn out no brains but his who kindles them,"*

TALIAFERRO F. CASKEY.

Baltimore, Md.

DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM.

BY JAMES MACKAYE,

Author of "The Economy of Happiness."

WE HAVE arrived at a critical stage of democracy in America—a stage at which we can ill afford to make a mistake. There is at the present time but one decided drift to be observed in public policy—the drift toward Socialism. Practical men seek definite policies, and the only definite policies proposed to-day are proposed by men of socialistic leanings. Those who oppose the drift of the times have nothing to suggest in place of the policies they condemn except the time-dishonored panacea of *laissez faire*—inaction.

Under these conditions it becomes necessary if we would make a success of the republic bequeathed to us by our fathers, to examine critically the drift of the time, to discover where it is carrying us, and to determine definitely whether it is tending toward, or away from, true democracy. At present there is much confusion and controversy respecting this point. Some men claim that Socialism is identical with democracy; others claim that it is funda-

mentally opposed to it, and, as usual in such controversy, the contending parties seem more interested in maintaining their position than in discovering the truth. Yet in this contention it is necessary to the well-being, if not to the life, of our country that the truth be discovered, for the issues of our day are the most important that have been raised since the issue of slavery threatened the existence of the nation.

Every issue which divides the opinions of men is in some degree an issue about words—a verbal issue—and many are verbal issues only. The most universal cause of error is to be found in the confusion of words, and such confusion is a potent source of the division of political opinions so apparent to-day. If we would arrive at a clear answer to the question whose answer we seek—the question whether socialism is identical with, or antithetical to, democracy, it is absolutely essential that we first dis-

*James Russell Lowell in "The Cathedral."

tinctly understand just what the word *democracy* stands for, and just what the word *socialism* stands for. We must dismiss all sentiment aroused by these words, as words. We must ignore alike our sympathy for the word *democracy*, and our antipathy to the word *socialism*, and look beneath the word for the meaning without which it is a mere combination of letters or agitation of the air. If we fail to do this the whole discussion will degenerate into mere "sound and fury."

Assuming that the happiness of the individuals composing society is the end which the policies and institutions of men are designed to attain, it is at once obvious that if this end is to be attained at all, it will be by adapting the conduct of men to its attainment. That is, men's conduct must be directed or controlled by some means or other so as to accomplish this end, rather than some different one. Three methods of direction or control are proposable, as follows:

I. Anarchy proposes to vest control of the conduct of each individual composing society in himself alone. It proposes to "go back to nature," do away with governments, and all other artificial agencies of control, and allow each man to pursue his own happiness irrespective of the effect of his acts upon the rest of mankind.

II. Oligarchy proposes to vest control of the conduct of the individuals composing society in a ruling individual, or class, by whose will the policies and institutions of the state are to be determined.

III. Democracy proposes to vest control of the conduct of the individuals composing society in the people as a whole, and permit the will of the people as a whole to determine the policies and institutions of the state.

The theories of anarchy and oligarchy we may dismiss without further notice, since they have little interest for modern men, but the theory of democracy must be examined with some care if we would succeed in clearly revealing its relation to socialism.

The word democracy is derived from two Greek words: *δημος*, the people, and *κρατέω*, to rule, and signifies the rule or control of the people's conduct by themselves, i. e., self-rule or self-government. The question which this derivation inevitably suggests is: Does the self-rule implied in democracy extend to the whole conduct of the individuals composing society, or is it to be restricted to certain classes of their conduct? To answer this question a brief discussion of the principle which justifies, and constitutes the foundation of, the theory of democracy will be necessary and sufficient.

If the people's conduct is to be ruled at all it must be by somebody. Is it better that it should be ruled by the people themselves, or by some individual or class? In other words, is democracy or oligarchy the better theory of control? Let us see.

It is at the outset undeniable that the people's conduct should be controlled in the interest of the people; that is, with a view to promoting their happiness. This much is implied in the assertion that the happiness of the people is the end which their conduct is designed to serve. If so, the policies by which that conduct is controlled should fulfill two conditions: *First, the end aimed at should be the happiness of the people. Second, the means employed should be such as to attain that end.* Thus, those who control the policies of society should, in the first place, have the desire to achieve the happiness of the people, and, in the second place, they should have the *intelligence* required to recognize the means of achieving it.

Now an oligarchy may fulfill the second condition, but history proves that it has seldom, if ever, fulfilled the first. A democracy will certainly fulfill the first condition, and, with adequate education, it will fulfill the second. Hence, a democracy is better adapted to achieve the object of society—the happiness of the people—than an oligarchy, but its success in achieving that object will depend upon

the degree in which the ignorance of the people is replaced by knowledge.

These considerations enable us to answer the question recently propounded, as to whether the rule of the people as a whole over the conduct of individuals should be total or partial; for as the interest of the people in the conduct of any given individual is concerned only with that portion thereof which affects the happiness of the people, it is obviously such portion only which should be controlled by the people. In fact, the fundamental principle of democracy may be embodied in the proposition that *conduct affecting happiness should be controlled by those whose happiness it affects*. This dictum finds exception only in cases in which the persons whose happiness is affected have not sufficient judgment to determine what policies will, and what policies will not, promote their happiness. To attempt to specify the degree of intelligence required by an individual to entitle him to a voice in the government of a democracy would divert us too far from the issue under discussion. Children are the most conspicuous examples of persons from whom a voice in self-government should be thus withheld. Tacitly assuming exceptions of this character then, the fundamental principle of democracy may be expressed so as to apply to any desired aggregate of the human race. For example:

Conduct affecting the happiness of an individual alone should be controlled by that individual alone.

Conduct affecting the happiness of a family alone should be controlled by that family alone.

Conduct affecting the happiness of a city alone should be controlled by that city alone.

Conduct affecting the happiness of a state or nation alone, should be controlled by that state or nation alone.

Or, in general, *conduct affecting the happiness of a people should be controlled by that people*.

Thus, we have developed the funda-

mental principle of democracy, and have shown why it is better than oligarchy. We now know just what democracy signifies, and must next inquire just what is signified by socialism.

The word socialism is derived from two Latin words: *socius*, a companion, and *ismus* (a termination), a condition, and signifies the condition of living in companionship with others. As employed in our language it refers to a theory or theories of control of the conduct of the individuals who compose society, and is to be contrasted with individualism—from *individuus*, indivisible, and *ismus*, a condition, which refers to a contrary theory or theories of control of the conduct of said individuals. It will not be difficult to discover the relation of these contrasted theories.

Pure individualism signifies the control of the conduct of each individual composing society in his own interest alone.

Pure socialism signifies the control of the conduct of each individual composing society in the interest of society alone.

Pure individualism then can only be consistent with democracy when no portion of the conduct of the individuals composing society affects the happiness of other individuals. Pure socialism, on the other hand, can only be consistent with democracy when all portions of the conduct of the individuals composing society affect the happiness of all other individuals.

Under primitive conditions when men lived like animals, each taking care of himself, supplying all his own needs of shelter and subsistence, pure individualism represented democracy. Such a condition is identical with anarchy, and under conditions of complete mutual independence between individuals, anarchy is perfect democracy. With the organization of society, however, men's independence of one another diminishes, and their interdependence increases, and should a social condition of complete interdependence ever be attained, pure socialism would be identical with dem-

ocracy. We are at present, of course, in an intermediate condition. Men are more interdependent than they were, and less interdependent than they will be. Hence, at the present stage of social organization neither pure individualism nor pure socialism is identical with democracy. In fact, the extent to which these two contrasted theories of control should be applied to the conduct of men in order to fulfill the conditions required by democracy will differ at every different stage in the evolution of society. Our problem is to discover to what extent the two theories should be applied at the present stage of that evolution.

As socialism simply implies opposition to individualism, it is clear that control of the conduct of the individual members of society in any artificial manner whatever will involve some kind or degree of socialism. That is, *anarchism is the only alternative of socialism*. All sane men are, in fact, socialists of some sort or another. To discover what variety of socialism is at present identical with democracy, therefore, let us classify, name, and expound the principal varieties of socialism at present proposed or practised. In the following discussion I shall ignore altogether all classes of socialism which are oligarchical by design, and, for the present, shall ignore those classes which contemplate the means of securing the adoption of policies rather than the character of the policies themselves. Postponing consideration of such classes, the principal varieties of socialism proposed or practised in our day may be classified as follows:

- A. Sub-democratic socialism.
 - (1) Natural competition.
 - (2) Artificial competition.
 - (3) Pseudo-democratic socialism.
- B. Democratic socialism.
- C. Super-democratic socialism.
 - (1) Communism.
 - (2) Mechanical socialism.

To solve the problem whose solution we are seeking, I shall discuss each of these classes of socialism separately, so

as clearly to apprehend the relation of each to democracy, and at the same time reveal the justification for the names applied to each respectively.

A. Sub-democratic socialism vests political control of the conduct of the individuals composing society in the people as a whole, endeavoring so far as possible, to leave other classes of conduct to be controlled by such social usages and forces as may spontaneously arise. In the interest of the people as a whole it restrains all violent and forcible competition among individuals for the means of life and happiness. The conduct of individuals as it relates to the injury of the person or appropriation of the property of other individuals is recognized as something which affects the happiness of the people as a whole, and hence as something to be controlled by the people as a whole. That is to say, the theory of individualism applied to such portions of individual conduct is conceded to be undemocratic when men have been organized into communities. Therefore, socialism is adopted in its place, and in the present condition of enlightenment all men, except anarchists, perceive that the theory of socialism applied to such portion of men's conduct is essential to the happiness of society. Sub-democratic socialism is of three classes.

(1) *Natural competition or laissez faire theory*. The practice known as *laissez faire*, or "let alone," the practice of vesting political control in the people, and leaving industrial control to individuals results at first in natural competition. Property being protected by law, gives men an incentive to accumulate wealth without fear of being robbed, and the acquisitive faculty of men being strong, and practically universal, they naturally turn their energies to accumulating property by all means not prohibited by law or custom. The primitive condition of industry in which wealth is produced by the hands alone gradually gives place to more complex conditions

in which machinery is introduced into the productive arts, and the development of a system in which such means of production are owned by one class of men, and used in the creation of wealth by another class, is only a matter of time. Thus has originated the capitalistic system so familiar at the present time, which divides society into two classes, the capitalist, and the wage-earning class, the first owning the capital of the country, the second operating it. Under this system the primitive condition of competition in which each man despoils his neighbor by any means he can, is replaced by a condition in which men must do their despoiling according to fixed rules, and under the limitations imposed by law. For the old "catch as catch can" method of depredation has been substituted the new "catch by the rules of business" method. But though the rules of the game have been revised, the distinctive feature of competition survives. The degrading process of contention between men for the spoils of labor continues. Capitalist contends with capitalist, laborer with laborer, buyer with seller, and employer with employé. An industrial struggle and an antagonism of interest permeates the whole of society.

In this new form of competitive struggle the capitalist has a great advantage over the wage-earner. He plays the game with loaded dice because he controls the means of production. Thus the property of the community accumulates more and more in the hands of the capitalist class. The non-producer is rewarded by wealth, the producer by poverty, the capitalist class is supported by the labor of the wage-earning class, and a chronic and dangerous condition of inequality is produced, in which the industrious are compelled to support the idle. This results, not from the acts of particular individuals, but from the normal and inevitable operation of the capitalistic system. Thus the application of the democratic theory to politics, and the "let alone" theory to industry results

at first in political socialism and industrial individualism, or anarchy.

(2) Artificial competition is the second stage of industrial anarchy—a proposed rather than a realized stage. It results from the suppression through a natural evolutionary process of the first two classes of competition, that between capitalist and capitalist, and that between laborer and laborer. In the distribution of the contentions of competition men are very generous. They would rather have others compete than compete themselves. Hence all classes of the population seek to suppress the competition which they are themselves compelled to meet while leaving unsuppressed the competition which other classes are compelled to meet. This results in the formation of trusts, or private monopolies of capital, on the one hand, and labor-unions, or private monopolies of labor, on the other. Both of them consist in one form of agreement or another between natural competitors to cease competing. Thus out of industrial anarchy develops industrial oligarchy, just as political oligarchy developed out of political anarchy.

The policy of artificial competition, as its name implies, embodies the attempt by society to destroy, by means of legislative enactments, the oligarchy of industry thus arising—to induce competition by artificial means when natural means have failed. It proposes to force men to compete whether they want to or not. Its object is to reverse the economic evolution of society. When society, by a natural process, has evolved industrial oligarchy from industrial anarchy, the advocates of artificial competition propose to force it back again into the stage of industrial anarchy.

This policy was first directed against labor-unions. In England where such forms of monopoly first arose they were for years illegal, and the contest resulting from the attempt to destroy them by law was a long and bitter one. However, the futility of the attempt was at last recognized, and the statutes which out-

lawed labor organizations were repealed. In America, where the capitalistic system has matured rapidly, its natural fruit, private monopoly, ripened early. Pools, the primitive form of the trusts, or more strictly the holding companies, of our day began to multiply in the 80's. Their oligarchical character was obvious, and many state laws were passed against them. In 1890, the Federal government passed the Sherman anti-trust law which provided for artificial competition throughout the nation. It has been as futile in reëstablishing industrial anarchy as were the earlier laws against labor-unions. In the seventeen years since its passage private monopolies have multiplied, expanded, and coalesced as never before in the history of the country. In other words, artificial competition or "trust-busting" remains a mere policy. It has never been put into practice, and there are reasons for believing that it never will be, except locally and temporarily. When, in the evolution of society, anarchy, whether political or industrial, has once disappeared it cannot be permanently reëstablished except by abolishing that rationality among the people which caused its disappearance.

(3) Pseudo-democratic socialism, which we may for brevity call pseudo-socialism, is the third and last stage of sub-democratic socialism. It is attained when the futility, or inexpediency, of attempting to force industry from the stage of private monopoly, or oligarchy, back to the stage of competition, or anarchy, is recognized. Finding it impossible to turn the course of the evolution of industry backward by artificial competition, the socialization of industry is acquiesced in, and the theory of democracy is applied to it in a tentative and incomplete manner. Instead of trying to *destroy* the trusts, the attempt is made to *regulate* them, so as to make them subserve, instead of subvert, the interests of the people. A forward step is thus substituted for a backward one. The policy of pseudo-socialism recognizes the close relation which the

conduct of socialized industry bears to the happiness of the people, but those who advocate it, fettered by the traditions of a more primitive stage in the organization of society, fear to apply the theory of democracy to industry in a consistent manner. Hence they apply it inconsistently, attempting to reconcile oligarchy with democracy by dividing the control of socialized industry between individuals and the public.

We have an excellent example of pseudo-socialism in the policy of railroad-rate regulation with which the present administration has initiated its policy of general government regulation. The officers of the railroads of the country are held responsible for the dividends to be paid to stockholders, and the control of the rates which they are to charge for the services of their roads is taken out of their hands and placed in the control of a governmental commission. This appears, and is, an anomalous situation, but it is not an injurious one, because it is merely a temporary and necessary step in the progress of industry from oligarchy to democracy. Pseudo-socialism contemplates an analogous division of authority between private and public functionaries throughout the whole realm of industry, and, considered as a preparatory step toward consistent democracy, is to be deemed a wise, but purely temporary policy.

I have thus briefly sketched and contrasted the characteristics of the three classes of sub-democratic socialism, *viz.*: natural competition, artificial competition, and pseudo-socialism. In the western world the first stage has passed—never to return. Public interest is at present centered upon the last two, and the leaders of public opinion are engaged in debating whether it is better to destroy private monopoly, or to regulate it—whether artificial competition or pseudo-socialism is the better policy. Though entirely opposed in their modes of dealing with the trust problem these two policies possess one characteristic in common,

namely, that whether they fail or succeed in achieving their *immediate* object—the abolition of industrial oligarchy, they inevitably fail in achieving their *final* object—the happiness of society. If they *fail* to achieve their immediate object—and they are reasonably sure to fail—they leave the people at the mercy of an oligarchy of industry. If the policy of *artificial competition succeeds* in achieving its immediate object it puts society back into a condition of industrial anarchy, with the added burden upon the people of artificially maintaining themselves in that painful and preposterous situation—a situation which I have elsewhere shown to be inconsistent with the happiness of society. If the policy of *pseudo-socialism succeeds* it removes the incentive supplied by competition to improvement in the arts, preserves the antagonism of interest between private monopoly and the people, and converts the government into a gigantic detective bureau, whose mission it is to thwart the perpetual conspiracies of private monopoly against public welfare. Past experience has shown that regulation of monopoly by the government soon becomes regulation of the government by monopoly; but even should the experience of the future contradict that of the past, a people whose government was perpetually confronted with colossal and combined monopolies would always be menaced by an oligarchy, ready at the first opportunity to destroy its liberties.

Government regulation multiplies many times the incentive of the great industrial combinations to obtain possession of the government. If these combinations find it profitable to control the government now when all they usually desire is that it let them alone, how much more profitable will they find it to control the government when it has been converted into an agency for controlling them. To try to take the trusts "out of politics" by vesting control over them in the government is like trying to take burglars out of the business of burglary by persuading

householders to draw all their cash out of the bank and keep it in their houses. In fact, both artificial competition and pseudo-socialism are the merest make-shifts, crude and impractical. They are but the first hasty defenses improvised by a perplexed community which finds itself confronted by a merciless oligarchy of industry. Neither of them is consistent with common sense, and he is but a shallow thinker who concludes that either can ever become the permanent policy of a rational people.

The stage in the evolution of society which follows sub-democratic socialism should be, and we have reason to hope will be, democratic socialism, namely, public monopoly, or the public-ownership of public utilities; but in order that we may more clearly perceive its relation to less beneficent applications of socialism it will be well first to dispose of super-democratic socialism. Having considered the varieties of socialism that are *under-democratic*, let us consider briefly those which are *over-democratic*.

C. Super-democratic socialism embodies the application of the theory of public control to too large a portion of individual conduct, as sub-democratic socialism embodies the application of that theory to too restricted a portion. Neither course is consistent with the fundamental principle of democracy, for that principle requires, not only that such portions of individual conduct as affect the happiness of the people shall be controlled by the people, but also that such portions as do not affect the happiness of the people shall not be controlled by the people, but by those alone whose happiness they affect.

There are many varieties of super-democratic socialism. The control of the state has often been extended to affairs with which it had no proper concern. In the old oligarchies—in which, indeed, any kind of state control was undemocratic—the government undertook to regulate family matters; prescribed what kind of clothes individuals

should wear, how much money they should spend, what they should eat and drink, on what days they should work, and even regulated their private opinions about the relation of men to the state, to God, and to the universe.

The super-democratic theories held to-day by certain persons calling themselves socialists are not as crudely undemocratic as were those embodied in the tyranny of monarchies and the blue laws of theocracies, but they nevertheless seek to extend the control of the state beyond the point fixed by the fundamental principle of democracy. These theories have arisen from the opposition—and the reasonable opposition—of men to the glaring inequalities among individuals under the capitalistic system, and are attempts to abolish such inequality. Because inequality is a conspicuous evil of our time, some men have mistaken it for the only evil, and deem that if they could abolish it there would be little evil left to abolish. Hence they are willing to sacrifice democracy to attain equality. I shall not attempt to discuss all varieties of super-democratic socialism arising from this source, but shall confine attention to two of the most conspicuous classes.

(1) Communism, or communal socialism seeks to attain the equal distribution of worldly possessions among men, deeming that social and legal equality, which under capitalism are as conspicuously absent as equality in the distribution of wealth, will follow as consequences of communism. Hence, they propose that each individual in the community shall share equally in what the community produces, irrespective of what said individual produces himself. The consumption of wealth by each individual will thus be made equal whether the production is equal or not.

That a distribution of wealth at least substantially equal is essential to other kinds of equality there is no reason to doubt, but exact equality, such as is contemplated by communism is not

necessary—indeed, it is not attainable—since the variation in men's financial judgment and habits of thrift would soon bring about inequality, unless the state prescribed, not only how much each individual should consume per decade, or per lifetime, but how much he should consume per day. Indeed, it would have to prescribe, in considerable degree, the manner of consumption—how much should be given away, how much borrowed, how much loaned, and how much saved, since otherwise perfect equality of distribution would soon vanish.

Moreover, there is reason to believe that with human nature as it is, communism would produce the very evils which it seeks to abolish. Under capitalism inequality of production is as deep-seated if not as conspicuous as inequality of consumption. Not only is the consumption of some members of the community far in excess of their share, but it is these very members whose production is far in deficiency of their share. It is the industrious who support the idle. Under communism it is probable that the same thing would occur. The idle and extravagant would be supported by the industrious and thrifty, just as under capitalism, since if each man is to receive the same share, irrespective of his own effort, his incentive to produce is gone. It is easier to "sponge" on the community, just as the idle rich do to-day, whose consumption is similarly independent of their production.

It is true that communists propose other incentives for production in place of the one they withdraw. They propose to substitute social honor and dishonor for the material reward or lack of reward to industry which they displace. They believe that the public approval of the industrious and the public disapproval of the idle would supply the stimulus now supplied by the spur of necessity. Unless the habits of the people suffer a decided change such incentives are not likely to accomplish the end desired. They are applied now, in a measure,

among the wage-earning class, but it cannot be said that they are effective. There is not much incentive in being one of a thousand who are accorded some public approval on account of excess of industry; nor in being one of ten thousand who are accorded some public disapproval on account of deficiency thereof. The desire for a high rate of consumption—*i. e.*, the desire for wealth—has always possessed the great mass of men. It is not peculiar to the capitalistic period, nor a product of the capitalistic system. It existed long before capitalism began to exist, and is as old as, or older than, history.

This desire of each individual for wealth to be consumed by himself rather than by someone else can be eradicated only by replacing his egoism with altruism. This would be an excellent thing to do, but how is it to be done? As many unsuccessful experiments have proved, the theory of communism will not work except among a selected community, of marked unselfishness and exceptional habits of mutual toleration and concession. Indeed, with human nature as it is or is likely to become, both communism and capitalism must and do fail; and for the same reason. They both make it to the self-interest of the individual to exploit the community. Under capitalism we see plainly the results of this incentive in the exploitation of the community by members of the capitalist class; not because their egotism is exceptional—it is not, it is normal—but because their opportunity is exceptional, and almost everyone in the community is seeking a similar opportunity. A result substantially similar may be expected under communism. Assured that his share of the wealth of the world will be the same, irrespective of his own efforts, the normally selfish individual will continually seek opportunities to shirk his share of its work, and like the monopolist of our day, become a parasite on the community; and those who have the ingenuity will we may be

sure be able to discover as many expedients as under capitalism by which to accomplish their end. It is the greed and selfishness of men which cause the conspicuous evils of capitalism, and under communism similar qualities would cause similar evils, because these qualities are not those of a social system but of men themselves. Communism, like capitalism, can only be a success in an unselfish community, and until men become unselfish, a system better adapted to human nature must be devised before they can realize the happiness which they seek, and which it is not only their right but their duty to attain.

(2) Mechanical socialism is of many varieties, and is often combined with communal socialism. By regulating, in a mechanical manner, not only production, but a great variety of the other activities of men, it seeks the equality, material, social and legal, which capitalism so conspicuously lacks. Mechanical socialism is usually but a sort of outgrowth or extension of communal socialism. As that system seeks to prescribe how much a man shall consume and in a measure how much he shall produce, so mechanical socialism seeks to prescribe how and when he shall produce, whom and when he shall marry, how his children shall be reared, how much money or land he shall own, and to regulate in a minute manner other matters of a personal and family character.

Thus it is by some socialists proposed to decide each man's vocation for him by a governmental commission—to ignore his own tastes in the matter and to determine his place in the industrial mechanism by a tribunal presumed to have some test by which to decide what vocation a man is fitted for better than he can decide for himself. Such a matter as this concerns the individual far more than it concerns the state. It is a matter vital to his happiness, and moreover, as a rule a man is a better judge of his own capacities than an aggregation of strangers.

Therefore, each man should select his own vocation.

By others it is proposed to regulate marriage, and the breeding of children by the state. While it is not to be denied that these matters affect fundamentally the happiness of society, it is nevertheless a fact that no practical system which promises better results than the present one has as yet been proposed, and until such a system capable of being applied to or engrafted upon the present social order is suggested it is better to leave things as they are, and not make blind ventures, fitted only to bring the whole subject of improving the race into disrepute. The present system of public education is a practical and highly beneficent application of the democratic principle to the improvement of citizens by training, and in our present stage of development efforts to extend and improve our system of public instruction will be more effective than premature attempts to secure artificial breeding.

Letting this brief outline of super-democratic socialism suffice, let us consider the variety of socialism of most interest and importance at the present day.

B. Democratic socialism embodies the application of the theory of socialism or public control to such conduct as affects the happiness of society as a whole, and of the theory of individualism or private control to such conduct as affects the happiness of the individual alone. The problem before the political engineer then is to distinguish what classes of conduct affect society, and what classes affect the individual in the manner specified, at the *present* stage of social development.

Since the early days of the republic the course of history has radically changed the degree of socialism required by democracy, because it has changed the old condition of mutual independence among the members of the community into one of mutual interdependence. At the time of the Revolution the American com-

munity was an agricultural one, and the people were all farmers, merchants, and artisans, engaged in what has been called "petty industry." Capitalism was in its infancy. Production was individualistic. There was no concentration in the manufacture of commodities, and little division of the people into a capitalist and a wage-earning class. Trusts, labor-unions, strikes, industrial crises, and the whole series of modern capitalistic phenomena were unknown. There was little interdependence among the people. The farmers of that day—and nearly the whole population were farmers—were practically self-sufficient. Most, if not all, the products required for the sustenance and well-being of each family was supplied by the family itself. Not only did it raise its own food and domestic animals, but it spun and wove its own clothing, cut its own fuel in its own wood-lot, erected its own buildings, and even built its own wagons, plows and other farm implements on the farm. A typical farmer of that day could have lived almost as well if the whole world beyond the confines of his farm had sunk beneath the sea.

The change from the production of commodities in the home to their production in the mill or factory took place gradually through a series of intermediate stages, beginning with the small village workshop employing a journeyman or two, and ending with the gigantic industrial plant employing the population of a city. In contrast to the colonial family which supplied most or all of its own necessities and supplied few or none to society, the modern family supplies few or none of its own necessities, but produces some one or part of one of the necessities of society, and by exchange receives from society whatever is necessary for its own consumption,

Now what effect has this change from individualized to socialized production had upon the sources of supply from which the individual family obtains its means of life and well-being? Obvi-

ously they are no longer in its own control, but in the control of those who own the various industries. The change from independence to interdependence has changed *private* utilities into *public* utilities, and placed the control of public necessities in the keeping of a class—the capitalist class—by whose sufferance alone the people are permitted to acquire the means of life and well-being.

The significant bearing of this development of capitalism upon the problem we are seeking to solve may be clearly brought out by considering for a moment the fundamental classification of useful human acts into productive and consumptive ones. If the happiness of men is the object of human effort—the end of human conduct—then only acts which seek happiness are useful. But if happiness is sought it must be either directly or indirectly. Hence all useful acts seek either happiness or the means to happiness. If we call acts which seek happiness directly *consumptive* acts, or *consumption*, and those which seek the means to happiness, thus seeking happiness indirectly, *productive* acts or *production*, we shall have a classification of human acts well adapted to suggest the solution of our problem. I have elsewhere discussed this matter in a stricter and more technical manner, and perhaps can clear the question up in no better way than by the following quotation:

“In production, economy is best attained by restricting the acts of the laborer to specific operations having a definite succession determined, not by his immediate choice, but by the requirements of his task, said acts being performed with relation to the correlated and predetermined acts of others. In consumption, on the other hand, economy is best attained by the absence of restriction to specific acts or operations, permitting these to be determined by the immediate desires or impulses of the moment. In both cases the acts should be governed by or adapted to the end

sought, but the ends of production are *proximate*; those of consumption are *ultimate*. In young or otherwise irresponsible persons consumptive acts may—in fact must—be more or less restricted to prevent harmful reactions upon the individual committing them, but in mature and responsible persons restrictions should in general be imposed upon consumption only to prevent harmful reaction upon others. With these exceptions, the ends of consumption, *i. e.*, egotistic consumption, may best be attained by leaving the individual to follow his own impulses. It would be absurd for example to attempt the production of happiness by prescribing that every one in a community should eat certain kinds of food, keep certain definite hours, read certain books, play certain games, go to see prescribed plays at prescribed periods. Tastes vary too much to make such restrictions economic, though in production analogous rules are necessary. The best judge of the adaptability of productive acts to their end is he who is in the most advantageous position to observe and compare the amount of production resulting from a given amount of labor. This will, in general, be the director or controller of the given productive operations. The best judge of the adaptability of consumptive acts to their end, on the other hand, is, in general, the individual affected by them. Freedom is thus more essential in consumption than in production. What men desire, however, is liberty to consume, or if they desire liberty to produce, it is only because their consumption is dependent upon their production. Liberty to dispense with production is everywhere more desired than liberty to produce, and such liberty can be achieved only by increasing the productive capacity; this in turn requires the division and coöperation—that is, the socialization of labor. Hence, to obtain the maximum amount of real liberty and the best economy in the production of happiness, it is essential to secure socialism in production while

*preserving individualism in consumption."**

In other words, the efficiency of socialism in producing happiness is high when applied to production, but low when applied to consumption; whereas the efficiency of individualism in producing happiness is low when applied to production and high when applied to consumption. As production and consumption are the only two classes of useful acts, the degree in which the two contrasted theories—socialism and individualism—should be applied to the control of human conduct becomes manifest. Thus on purely utilitarian grounds our problem is solved. *Utility* requires that socialism be applied in production, and individualism in consumption. What is vital to our present quest is that in the *present* stage of social progress *democracy* requires it also. The people should organize themselves into a coöperative commonwealth for the purpose of producing the *means* required for their common happiness, but each individual should *employ* those means in the production of his own happiness in the way that suits him best. Men should *produce* to serve the ends of society. They should *consume* to serve their own. In fact, in the present stage of the evolution of society, *both utility and democracy require socialism in production, and individualism in consumption*; and moreover, capitalism has done mankind the immense service of bringing the organization of industry to a point where this requirement may be met. It has already brought about *oligarchial* socialism in production. All that is now required is to convert it into *democratic* socialism.

Few will be inclined to deny that democracy at present requires individualism in consumption, because the mode of applying wealth in producing the happiness of a given individual is something which in general concerns that individual alone; but many may be inclined to deny

that it requires socialism in production. Therefore, it may be well to formulate, in strict logical form, the reasoning which requires it. Thus:

Conduct affecting the happiness of the people should be controlled by the people.

The conduct of public utilities affects the happiness of the people.

Therefore, the conduct of public utilities should be controlled by the people.

This is a syllogism in the mood of *Barbara*. I shall call it the *socialistic syllogism*. To all opponents of the public-ownership of public utilities, and particularly to those who solemnly proclaim that democracy and socialism are essentially antagonistic, I recommend its critical inspection. Whoever disagrees with its conclusion must disagree with at least one of its premises. He who disagrees with its *major* premise must deny the fundamental principle of democracy—he must assert that conduct affecting the happiness of the people should *not* be controlled by the people. He who disagrees with its *minor* premise must deny that the conduct of public utilities affects the happiness of the people. He must assert that the mode of carrying on the railroads, the telegraph and telephone companies, the packing houses, the flour mills, the steel works, and the coal mines is, and should be, a purely private matter, a matter of no consequence to the people, and one with which they are not entitled to interfere. Between these two positions the sub-democratic socialist must take his choice. He must either condemn the fundamental principle of democracy itself, or maintain the absurd proposition that the conduct of the industries upon which the people are dependent for their food, clothing, shelter, and all other utilities is a matter which does not affect their happiness. No sane American can take either of these positions, and therefore, no sane American can oppose democratic socialism when once he understands its relation to the foundation principle of his own system of government; for not only is the public-

**The Economy of Happiness*, p. 346.

ownership of public utilities *consistent* with democracy; it *is* democracy, and its only alternatives are oligarchy or anarchy.

It is a great misfortune that so many leaders of public opinion, blinded by traditional prejudices and the logophobia aroused by the term "socialism," should reject the conclusion of the socialistic syllogism. What is sorely needed in the discussion of this question to-day is less custom and more common sense, fewer precedents and more premises, less rhetoric and more reason. Let the sub-democratic publicists of the day come straight to the point, select which premise of the socialistic syllogism to reject, and lay down in strict logical form the evidence, inductive or deductive, on which their rejection is founded. By so doing they will serve their country and their posterity far better than by a lifetime spent in loose and lurid declamation about the "danger of socialism and anarchy."

I am aware that the advocates of pseudo-democratic socialism, *i. e.*, of the public-regulation instead of the public-ownership of public utilities will claim that their policy recognizes and is directed by the reasoning embodied in the socialistic syllogism. Such a view is a mistaken one. Their policy *recognizes* the reasoning of the socialistic syllogism, but is not *directed* by it. This is why it is *pseudo-democratic*. It is not sufficient that the public should simply *share* in the control of the industries upon which their well-being depends. They should *completely* control them. The public-control of private monopoly—even if successful—is but mitigated oligarchy. Democracy requires public monopoly in place of private, in industry as in politics. If individuals are entitled to share in the control of public *industrial* utilities, they are entitled to share in the control of public *political* utilities. To be consistent the pseudo-socialist should advocate a return to the rule of limited monarchies, like those of Germany,

Austria and Italy, where the right of private individuals to share in the control of the government is recognized. If individuals may rightfully inherit a share in the *industrial* control of a state, they may no less rightfully inherit a share in its *political* control. If we are to tolerate a limited *industrial* oligarchy, why should we not tolerate a limited *political* oligarchy. If we are to recognize *industrial* kings, we might as well recognize *political* kings. Our well-being is as much at the mercy of the first as of the second. It is custom alone which leads the people to make a distinction between their right to rule *politically* and their right to rule *industrially*. Democracy requires that conduct affecting the happiness of the people shall be controlled by the people—not that it shall be *half* controlled. It is not sufficient merely to *mitigate* the subservience of public interest to private caprice—it is necessary to *abolish* it.

Heretofore we have considered socialism as an end. Let us next consider it as a means. All forms of socialism, except the sub-democratic, contemplate the public-ownership of public utilities as an end but the modes proposed of changing from private to public-ownership vary. The only two plans worth discussion are:

- (1) Revolutionary socialism.
- (2) Fabian socialism.

(1) Revolutionary socialism, which embodies the plan favored by the International Socialist Party, of which the Socialist Party of the United States is a branch, proposes to accomplish its object, not by degrees, but abruptly. Its advocates will not compromise, affiliate, or coöperate with any other party or body of men, but devote their efforts to winning converts to their principles, their object being to establish a party strong enough to obtain control of the government. In despotic countries like Russia they propose to accomplish this by force of arms. In democratic countries like the United States they propose to accomplish it by the ballot. Once in control of the gov-

ernment their intention is to immediately establish a coöperative, in place of a competitive, commonwealth, all industries capable of being converted into public monopolies being at once so converted through confiscation of all privately-owned public utilities. Although all members of the Socialist Party are not revolutionary socialists, the policy thus outlined is at present the official policy of the party.

(2) Fabian socialism, though seeking the same end as revolutionary socialism, namely, the substitution of a coöperative for a competitive commonwealth, proposes to advance toward its object by stages, coöperating with any party, and taking advantage of any political movement which will aid it in securing its end. A coöperative commonwealth in its completed form is bound to be complex and, without more experience than is at present accessible, it would be difficult to determine all the essential details of its organization. It would not, of course, be nearly so complex as the present system, but it would involve an organized instead of a disorganized complexity; and the danger in attempting to abruptly establish such a commonwealth is that it might prove a failure through lack of the requisite experience. It is easy to mismanage any enterprise, and the more vital to the interests of mankind an enterprise is, the more important it is that it shall not at its inception be mismanaged, lest men should mistake mere faults of management for faults of principle. Should revolutionary socialists come into control of the government of the United States and fail in their attempt to establish a coöperative commonwealth, as the French revolutionists failed in their abrupt attempt to establish liberty, equality and fraternity, it would be a stupendous calamity for the whole human race—not so much on account of the anarchy and ruin which would ensue—although that would be bad enough—as on account of the disrepute that it would bring upon the ideal of democratic socialism. Men

would be led to believe that the failure of the enterprise was due to the nature of the institutions which it was sought to establish, and would turn to some inferior form of social organization. Nothing is more common to-day than such unwarrantable inferences drawn from special examples of failure, or partial failure, in the public operation of public utilities. Whenever a public utility is mismanaged under public-ownership, or reverts to private-ownership, it is cited by shallow observers as a proof of the superiority of industrial oligarchy. These observers ignore, on the one hand, the vast preponderance of successes over failures, in the long run, under public-ownership, and on the other, the vast preponderance of failures over successes, in the long run, under private-ownership. Should such observers employ the same reasoning when comparing *political* oligarchy with *political* democracy they could easily demonstrate the superiority of the first over the second, for it is not at all difficult to cite many examples of democracies which have failed; but such reasoning can only appear plausible to him who ignores the preponderance of successes under democracy, and the preponderance of failures under oligarchy. Although all reasoning of this kind is superficial, there can be little doubt that the bad failure of a coöperative commonwealth and the misery and chaos resulting therefrom would lead many men, and perhaps a dominant portion, to attribute the failure to the inherent difficulties of the system instead of to the mismanagement naturally resulting from inexperience. Hence, Fabian socialists propose to advance toward the coöperative commonwealth by a series of steps, bringing one after the other of the great national industries under public control, and accelerating the rate of public acquisition as experience reveals the details of organization required in an assemblage of co-operating industries. It would seem that this cautious procedure should commend itself to all democratic socialists

who value the success of their ideal too highly to risk its failure.

Fabian socialists are opportunists who affiliate themselves with all social movements which diminish the powers of oligarchy, and increase the powers of democracy, political and industrial. For this reason they support President Roosevelt's policy of pseudo-socialism, or government regulation of private monopoly, deeming it a step toward the goal they seek. For this reason they advocate the establishment of the initiative and referendum, which will place powers of legislation directly in the hands of the people. And for the same reason they favor the public-ownership of the railroads, the express companies, the telegraph and the telephone lines. There are indeed ample reasons for believing that the time has come to experiment on a cautious scale with the public operation of such great public utilities as coal mining, meat packing and insurance, as a preliminary to converting these industries into public monopolies.

Where the public-ownership of public utilities should end it is premature at this stage of our knowledge to specify, but this much at least may be said—that *whatever industry is capable of private monopoly is capable of public monopoly*, and in the coöperative commonwealth which our children or grandchildren should complete it will probably have been converted into one. Mr. Bryan proposes to inaugurate competition where competition is possible and public-ownership where it is not. The Fabian socialist would reverse this reactionary policy and inaugurate public-ownership where public-ownership is possible and competition where it is not; for public-ownership is as superior to competition as democracy is elsewhere superior to anarchy. As to private monopoly, it is not the part of wisdom, perhaps, to dogmatize on the question of whether industrial democracy is better or worse than industrial oligarchy. It is best in this as in other matters to keep our minds

open and to permit experience to teach us. All we need say at present is that wherever the two have been tried and compared as in Europe and Australasia public has been found superior to private-ownership, as is shown by the fact that no nation which has once experienced the benefit of the former system can be induced to return to the latter. However, when we have given public-ownership as fair and exhaustive a trial as we have given private-ownership, it will be time enough for a final judgment. If then we deem industrial oligarchy better than industrial democracy it will be very easy to return to it. As I have elsewhere indicated, this would be particularly simple if we had first inaugurated the policy of the referendum.

"For example, suppose our people at the present time had the power of direct-legislation, and concluded that the public-ownership of the Post Office was making them ambitionless and dejected. They could easily, by means of the referendum, direct the authorities to transfer the whole system to capitalists. This might be done in any one of a variety of ways. The government might agree to accept the bonds of a syndicate formed to conduct the post-office business of the country, and experience proves that it would probably not be difficult to find a syndicate willing to serve the public in such a capacity. On receipt of properly guaranteed bonds, the post-office property would be turned over to the syndicate, and they would proceed to conduct it in such a manner as would be most profitable to themselves, that is, by instituting the normal process of giving as little to, and getting as much from, the public as possible. In this way perhaps the ambition of the people might be revived, and their dejection turned into hope, and the same course could be pursued with any public utility which the nation might acquire. Thus the people would be fully guaranteed against the dismal and dejected conditions which certain unobservant theorists are

convinced must inhere in freedom from capitalistic control of industry, and could proceed with the successive acquisition of the various utilities now in private hands with full consciousness that the old conditions could be reëstablished in any particular case, should a careful trial show such a course to be desirable."*

As the interdependence among men increases there is little doubt that the degree of socialism required for democracy will increase—that the degree which is democratic at the present time will become sub-democratic, and that degrees which would now be super-democratic will become democratic. These conditions of society we need not attempt to anticipate. If we do our duty in the education of youth we shall have contributed as much to the solution of these problems of posterity as is required of us. We shall have supplied the rising generation with the knowledge—and therefore with the power—required to meet the tasks of their time. Our present duty is to establish socialism in production while preserving individualism in consumption, and thus to restore the old condition of democracy which we lost by the industrial revolution of the nineteenth century. The men who founded our republic did not anticipate that revolution, and hence did not adapt their policies to meet it. The government from whose despotism they had suffered was a centralized government and was controlled by a small class of the community, as is the case in all oligarchies, whatever their nominal form of government. The history of such governments is a history of oppression. With the relation between government and oppression thus revealed by history and by their own experience, our forefathers identified oppression with government, and the absence of oppression with the absence of government. Hence, in establishing their own government they incorporated in its fundamental law—the

constitution—a variety of restrictions upon the powers which that government could exercise. While striving to make it strong as a means of defense they strove to make it weak as a means of internal regulation of the life of the community; their aim being to render it adequate to protect but inadequate to oppress. Thus did the founders of our republic apply the experience of their time to the conditions of their time, and to their wisdom all historians have testified.

Had history no more to teach to-day than in 1789 we could not do better than to follow the example of our forefathers by following their policies, but with the lessons which history has taught since their day we cannot follow their example if we follow their policies, because they profited by the teachings of history and to emulate their example we cannot fail to do likewise. Since the early days of the republic the socialization of production has led to the negation of democracy, but it is not the same kind of negation familiar to the revolutionary leaders. The oppression to which the evolution of industry has led is not an oppression by a *government*, but by *individuals*. Both the old and the new variety of oppression nullify democracy—the first through political, the second through industrial oligarchy. It is just this contingency which the founders of the republic did not foresee and did not provide for. It is just this which makes their doctrines inapplicable, and makes it imperative that a new provision shall be made to meet a new contingency. Our forefathers thought that if they could do away with the oppression of government they could do away with all oppression, but it was here that they made their mistake, and in attempting to escape one evil they fell into another. Assuming that to enfeeble the control of government over the internal regulation of human conduct would paralyze the hand of oppression, they played directly into the hands of oppression and deprived themselves of the very instruments required to combat

**The Politics of Utility*, p. 162.

it. They made excellent provision against foreign oppression but they made none against domestic oppression. They foresaw the peril of a foreign foe. They failed to foresee the peril of the foe at home. Through this oversight it has come about that the constitution is now employed not to protect the people against their oppressors, but to protect their oppressors against them, not to secure the people from the power of tyranny, but to secure tyranny from the power of the people—not to save democracy from despotism, but to save despotism from democracy. In weakening the powers of their own government the people have been only too successful. Thus when the several states tried to keep trusts organized in the state of New Jersey from doing business within their borders, they discovered that it was unconstitutional to do so. When the people of New York state through pressure upon their legislature tried to secure for themselves an eight hour law, they found themselves powerless, balked by their own constitution. When the state of Kansas attempted to establish an oil refinery the courts found that the people of that state in their constitution had given the Standard Oil Company that right, but had denied it to themselves. When an attempt was made to protect the public against the mounting power of plutocracy by means of a national income tax, lo, it turned out to be unconstitutional; and recently leading lawyers of the Senate have informed us that any really effective attempt to take the regulation of railway rates from a self-constituted commission in Wall street and lodge it in a governmentally controlled commission in Washington would in their opinion be unconstitutional.

Thus history has taught us that the absence of government does not imply the absence of oppression, that a people cannot save themselves from themselves by depriving their government of the power to control their destinies. It has taught us that if

the people abrogate their power they do not destroy it—that if they refuse to wield it individuals will arise who will not refuse to wield it—that if they fail to direct their own destinies, they will have their destinies directed for them, and if they find themselves the playthings of tyrants they have their own folly to thank. It has taught us that individuals as well as governments can levy taxation without representation—and that they can and will use the funds so secured to usurp by purchase the powers of government vested theoretically in the people, thereby employing the people's money to pervert their own government. It has taught us that a nation cannot be half democracy and half oligarchy—that if it is *industrially* oligarchical it will become *politically* oligarchical—that it must be a *consistent* democracy or cease to be a democracy at all. If you doubt that this be so, look around you at the spectacle of present capitalistic domination in industry and government, and see what we have come to by assuming that we could throw from us the reins of national control, vainly imagining that no one else would take them up. Assuming that if we vacated the throne of power it would remain vacant, we have awakened to find it usurped by self-constituted sovereigns as independent of and irresponsible to the people as the monarchs of old.

These conditions have arisen, not because we have *too much* democracy but *too little*. To remedy them we must follow the example of the men who founded this Republic. If we do, we shall, like them, refuse to be bound by tradition. Like them we shall adopt new policies to meet new conditions. Like them we shall be radical when radicalism is called for. If we do, we shall reject the counsel of the 'Tories' of our time, who urge us to follow in the footsteps of the fathers, whose policies they would make perpetual, relying on our reverence for the genuine patriotism of those times to blind us to the com-

mercialized patriotism of these. If we would act in the spirit of the revolutionary fathers we shall not slavishly adhere to the particular policies which they formulated to meet the particular conditions which they found. To do so would be, not to follow, but to *repudiate*, their example. Like them we shall face conditions as we find them, refusing to be misled into rejecting the example of independence which they set by those who would have us adopt their *policies* instead of their *spirit*. Their policies were adapted to their conditions, but as

I have had occasion to clearly demonstrate, our conditions are totally different ones, and were Washington and Jefferson, Hamilton and Marshall, alive to-day they would do now as they did in their own times—they would be radicals—and when they found national policies had become destructive of national well-being, they would, in the words of the Declaration of Independence, hold that "it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish" them.

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WORLD-PEACE.

BY REV. H. W. THOMAS, D.D.

CONSCIOUSNESS affirms Self and Other. There is no way to prove that we are, or that the world is. It is primary knowing—knowing that we know. Self and Other are all-inclusive; there can be nothing beyond.

Looking within, the Self says, "I am"; looking out, says, "The Other is." The Self is conditioned in and part of the Other. Life has journeyed over this long way from the amoeba to man, in whose body the physically perfect could be carried no higher. Mind has risen from instinct to the rational and moral; to this free and self-determining Self of each one of all the millions of earth. Man is a microcosm; each one a little world in himself, having his own needs and desires, pleasures and pains, and with these the rational and moral self-determining power to will and do.

These are the conditions for a higher and nobler order of existence and being, of learning, doing and becoming. And here should be accentuated the distinctive fact of the Self as a free personality. The order of the heavens and all material

forces could be established; but the Self must be self-determining, and trusted forth in the process of self-becoming. It was not the plan of the Infinite to create a world of free, perfect beings; to be such they must be self-perfecting, or they would not be free. It is in this order of the natural that the rational in man is called forth; and in the relations of one Self to another are the conditions that make possible the moral. In the converse of words, there should be truth; in the transactional life of labor and business there should be honesty; in the sex relations there should be purity; the life of the Other should be sacred; the high and holy should not be profaned. The moral law is in the nature and necessity of the Divine Order of the Good.

In the nature of the case also, the Self is intended for and must be conditioned in the larger world-life of the institutional. The problem is: how to preserve the essential freedom of the Self, and at the same time secure the advantages of the coöperative life of all.

There have always been the needs of

the body, and the higher longings of the rational and the moral. The first desires and volitions are naturally on the sense side; and here also are the appetites and passions. These have their places and uses. But here also is the danger-side. "From whence come wars and fighting among you? Come they not hence, even of your lusts that war in your members? Ye kill, ye fight and war."

The essential Self is in the rational and moral. The Self must be self-controlling.

The Self that wills to be free must will that others be free. Free-will must will Free-will. In this way only can there be institutionalized freedom and World-Peace. The free people of our country will not oppress those of any other; all will rejoice in the larger life of liberty. The way to peace must be in removing the causes of war.

There has never been a time in the long and warring past when universal peace was possible, and for the reason that the few have always tried to rule the many. But this is contrary to the essential freedom of the Self. Democracy is and must be the only possible form of a government of the Free. The People must rule themselves. Under monarchies and despotisms, the sad centuries have been the scenes of the almost incessant wars of kings and emperors for conquests and the rights of the strongest to rule.

There have always been the geographical facts of continents, oceans, seas and islands; and the biological facts of the different races. In Eastern Asia have been the millions of China and India. The Mongolians have remained a child-like race under the rule of one mind, content to be a part of the earth upon which they live. The Brahmans of India were intellectual, but mystical, caring less for the sense-side of existence and delighting in the abstract, the supernal. The Divine is the all. Pantheists, we call them. But not till the last century was Sanscrit taught in Oxford, and with the knowledge of their language there is

coming to light a vast literature and religion of that land, and the Chinese are feeling the inspiration of the new life of these wonderful years.

But we have to leave the less progressive East, and journey west to the Persian Empire, to find the beginnings of what may be called progressive history in the slow process of the becoming of World-Peace. Persia and the Persian Empire included the lands and peoples of Western Asia; the Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes, Syrians and Phœnicians, Jews and Egyptians. Together, these form the connecting link between Asiatic and European history; and Hegel thinks that the fact that the Persians were worshipers of the Sun—of Light—formed a bond of union between the two continents.

The Mediterranean Sea is the geographic center of universal history. Here the three continents of the Old World meet. Here is Greece, the home of thought; here is Syria, with Jerusalem, the center of Judaism and Christianity. Mecca and Medina on the southwest were the home of the Mohammedan religion. To the west are Delphi and Athens, and farther on is Rome. Alexandria and Carthage are also on the Mediterranean.

The Persian Empire perished. Egypt, Babylon and Nineveh are no more. The Jews live in the light and life of the great truth of the One Living God, and Righteousness as the essential religion. The Greeks live in the immortality of Reason, of Truth; but with all their gladness of life and love of liberty, they were not able to establish a republic. Their idea of the Self was limited. The citizen must give his time to the State, and this made necessary a lower class of laborers and brought in a form of slavery.

With the rise of the Roman Empire, the scene changes. The Roman mind had a genius for government; and with this a sense of the burdens of life. The broken and scattered peoples must be organized. The Self and the Other must

be harmonized in an institutionalized order. This called for the abstract principles of right, of justice, in the authoritative forms of Law; and this was the contribution of the Romans to civilization.

Rome made her conquered provinces colonies; and in this way all the civilized countries of the earth were united in one vast world-empire. Constantine, the converted Emperor, decreed that Christianity should be the only religion, and Theodocius closed the doors of the heathen temples.

But this wonderful world-empire was not an organism, had not grown out of the thought and life of the People, but was a mechanism put together by external authority; and when the barbarian invasion came, it fell to pieces. The Dark Ages came, and the Feudal Ages, with the private wars of the chiefs and the slavery of the people. The Empire of Charlemagne arose, but it too was a creation from without, not a growth from within, and when the strong ruler died, it disappeared.

During all these troubled years, the Church was a conservative power; but it sought to establish a temporal sovereignty, and claimed dominion over England, Ireland and Scotland, and large portions of the Continent. The Emperors owed spiritual allegiance to the Popes, and they in turn needed the support of the Emperors. Bishops, when dependent upon feudal lords, were not always good men. It was a time of much corruption. Even the Papal chair was sold for money, and Emperor Henry III. sought to end the factions by trying to appoint the Popes.

Religion was largely mechanical, objectivized to the senses in the literal flesh and blood of the mass. But there was the deeper cry of souls for a conscious communion with the Divine. The free Self could not submit to a blind, unconditional obedience. The great German life rose up in revolt. The Reformation had to come. Protestantism must have

a political existence; rights of property had to be forcibly regained. Hence the wars of the Commonwealth in England, and the Thirty Years' War in Germany.

In the seventeenth century there were the beginnings of a higher social order, a sense of coming brotherhood. Henry IV. of France sought the federation of Christian Europe. Hugo Grotius sought to humanize the barbarities of war by international law and treaties. George Fox taught that war was essentially un-Christian and made it fundamental in the constitution of the Society of Friends. William Penn tried the experiment of government on peace principles in this country and proposed a plan for the peace of Europe.

Out of all these centuries of war have come the orderly, peaceful nations of the great Europe of to-day. Events do not stand alone in world-progress. The discovery of America, the revival of learning, inventions and discoveries and the larger commercialism are all parts of the great whole of man and his world.

Man is necessarily an institutional being, and his continuous becoming is possible only in a rational progressive and moral order of the Free.

Here has been and is the world-problem of government; here the dividing line between Liberty and Despotism. In the long past the despotic has ruled. Despotic kings and emperors have ruled and fought, not for the morally right, but for the conquests of brute force and the pride and vanity of victory.

Despotism is men on the animal plane of sense-existence. Democracy, the rule of free personalities, calls for the rational and moral power of Being and the equality of the rights of the Self. There is, can be, no such thing as the "Divine right of kings,"—the right of one class to rule another. The rights of the Self are inviolable; the Right *is* the Divine. The wrong of the past has been in denying the essential freedom of man as man, and in the assumed authority of the few. But the free spirit of the Self is coming

to the vision of World-Democracy and universal Peace. The great governments of Europe may carry their old names, but in spirit and the powers of the people, these kingdoms and empires are essentially democratic. Peaceful industries and good-will have very largely supplanted the old destructive feelings of war. Hence the glad and ready response to the Hague Congress; and having the discipline, the restraints and habits of peace, their support will be permanent and logical, as will be that of our own country.

It is another movement for world-empire, not by the conquests of war and the authority of the few, as in the past. It is a movement of the free in all lands for World-Peace under the forms of law. International arbitration is already assured, and that means peace; and it is easily possible and very probable that the Hague will become a World-Congress with legislative powers and a world-supreme court—a legally organized world in which war in any civilized country would be rebellion against the universal order; but each nation would be free to manage its own affairs.

The expenses of governments are necessarily large, but the costs of war almost pass belief. In the ninety years from 1790 to 1880 the wars of Europe and America cost \$15,235,000,000. The loss of lives was 4,470,000. The cost of our late American Civil War, North and South, was eight billion dollars; including pensions since paid, the estimate is thirteen billions. The loss of life was 800,000.

The standing armies of Europe number about 4,000,000. The cost of the army and navy of the United States in 1905 was \$233,832,209. The pension bill was \$141,770,955. The total cost of our government was \$567,411,611, or \$91,889,359 more for war than for education, commerce, invention, life-saving and all the purposes of peace.

And a strange fact is, the nations of the earth are, in a time of peace, making

larger preparations for war than ever before. Militarism is trying to make the armies and navies the measure and standing of national greatness, and readiness to fight the only ground of peace. The fact is that this militarism is itself the greatest danger to the cause that is dearest to thoughtful minds.

But a wonderful change has come in the thinking and feeling of the people in all lands. In this new and higher consciousness, war is seen not alone as wasteful; the enlightened conscience of the people is coming to see and feel that it is morally wrong, and that human legislation cannot make it right for armies to kill on the fields of battle.

Hegel tries to give war an ethical value on the ground of self-sacrifice; but over against this is the fact that war is demoralizing, calls forth the passions of anger and destruction. Compared with these, the ethical values of peace are angelic, and man is rising from the animal, the brutal, to the higher life of the rational and the moral.

War is essentially un-Christian. The Christ correlated the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. The saddest facts of history are that so many of the bitterest wars have been between Christians. But commerce, travel, the press and literature are bringing the nations together in the new relations of acquaintance and friendship and the larger visions of the Divine, of the true and the good. They love the larger world-home and life, with its "International Postal Union" and "Inter-Parliamentary Union," the "International Institute of Agriculture" and the larger possibilities of education, of art and all that is creating the new world-consciousness. The thought of going to war would seem almost impossible. The People are the rulers now. And there is a more thoughtful study of the differences among mankind. The Africans, the Mongolians, are not such by choice; there can be neither praise nor blame in the fact of existence. There is the

one earth upon which all must live; the rights of all must be sacred, and they should dwell together in peace.

Naturally there is loud protest against the great military display at Jamestown; but President Roosevelt may have been wiser than he realized in such an invitation. There will never be another such

display in our world. This will be the last.

We are nearing the great years of World-Peace; the Brotherhood of Man; the Religion of Love.

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WHY I AM A CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST.

BY REV. J. O. BENTALL, PH.D.

MAN IS incurably religious. In order to have his religious craving satisfied he naturally adopts some religious system. As far as he is able he endeavors to find the highest form of religion, and up to this time he has found no religion superior to Christianity.

From my point-of-view, I am a Christian because I find in Christianity the fullest expression of religious faith and practice. I am not saying now that there is nothing good in Mohammedanism, Confucianism, Buddhism or other religions, but all that is good in those systems is embodied in the Christian religion, and most of the evils found in them are absent. I do not say that the Christian religion is perfect nor that it is final, for future generations will probably adopt faiths and beliefs far better than those we now adhere to. But I am living in the present and in order to live best now I try to associate with that which inspires me to reach out for the *summum bonum*. In a word, I am a Christian because Christianity helps to *furnish* me with, and *inspires* me to *strive* for, my ideals.

After all, it is my religion that gives me my ideals. I can reach out for nothing higher than the objects located within the realm of my religious concept.

The reason is this: God, who is yet a

necessary element in religion, is the composite of all that is holy, just, intelligent, loving, true, progressive, creative, mental, material and all other qualities which make up the Absolute. It is in me to desire to be like God. I must therefore aim at those attributes which I conceive to be found in Him.

In dealing directly with God I find no difficulty. Between Him and me there is no disturbing element. In pure thinking and reasoning and in my mental association I have peace with Him. If I were alone on earth I would be able to continue in perfect harmony with this Being whether it be Force, Love, Intelligence, Creative Power or anything else that constitutes my God. I would find no difficulty in loving Him and all the universe which His love has created.

But I am not alone. There are other beings like myself upon the earth. I must sustain a relationship to them as well as a relationship to God. I cannot be in good and regular standing with Him without being in good and regular standing with other beings who like myself are striving to be God-like. In order that I and my fellow-men may have ideals and strive for them, we must live, and to live involves the securing of the means of life. Unless I can secure

those means of life without injuring my fellow men I am not able to maintain the attributes of justice and love which I find in God who is my ideal and whom I strive to be like. But my present environment prohibits me from attaining to my ideals.

There are certain cardinal principles in the Christian religion which I must adhere to in order to be a Christian. One of them is: "Do unto others as you would that others should do unto you." Another is: "Love thy neighbor as thyself." But it is impossible for me to obtain my living and at the same time adhere to these rules. In a society where competition obtains and is accepted as the system under which mankind must live, I cannot secure the means of life without taking something which my neighbor also tries to take and which I get only because I am ahead of him in time, superior to him in strength, above him in intelligence or possess a vantage point given me by some peculiar arrangement to which I was not entitled because of any of my own merits. If I thus take this article which my neighbor also tries to take, I must first prostitute the principle which is the corner stone in my religious structure and set it aside while I appropriate and use this article as my means of life. I could let my neighbor have this article in question, but that would only change the wrong from one person to another.

If I am in business, and my neighbor is also in business, I am compelled to look for the trade which my neighbor also looks for. If I do not succeed in getting that trade I do not love my neighbor. If I succeed in getting it my neighbor does not love me. Under competition my gain becomes my neighbor's loss and if I am to succeed and become prosperous he must of necessity go down and become bankrupt, providing competition has free play. It is only by checking competition that the two of us might possibly go up together and make equal gain.

If my business grows I must engage help, and I do not engage that help for any other purpose than to secure an added income and swell my possessions. It is very clear that the labor I employ must furnish that increase which we generally term profits. Whatever possessions I acquire over and above those for which I have actually expended energy in the form of productive labor, whether mental or physical, I have acquired by means of manipulating some other man's labor. If I have not earned all my possessions someone else has earned that part of them which I have not earned. The laborer who has contributed to my wealth, has done that unwillingly and only because of my advantageous position have I been able to take away from him a part of the product of his labor. But the entire product of his labor is actually his. I have thus not only taken wealth that was not my own, but I have deprived the laborer of that which is actually his.

But what about my ideals as a Christian? Have I not eliminated them from my entire life? Have I not run from them instead of making headway toward them? For my ideals are love, justice, neighborliness, honesty and fairness. I have had to put them all aside.

Under the system of competition it is as impossible to put into practice the principles which are indispensable to the Christian religion as it would be to further a man's happiness by transfixing him with a bayonet. I am therefore helpless as a Christian to carry out my desire, and Christianity, which came and gave me my ideals and opened my eyes and gave me a vision of holiness and love and justice and truth and righteousness, has become only a fiend that haunts me and prods me and tosses me from earth to heaven and from heaven to hell and gives me no rest and no peace and no comfort, only tears and suffering and woe and despair. Without the ideals that Christianity has given me I could go forth into the world and fight my own way and

think little or nothing of my actions though every move I made meant the death and destruction of my fellow men. I am in a lamentable position. That which I would I do not, and that which I would not I do. I begin to cry with the great Apostle, "Who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" And yet I would not be without the inspiration of the ideals which the Christian religion has afforded me. In spite of it all, I would rather suffer with and through those ideals than live like the savage who has them not. So I am a Christian because Christianity has helped to furnish me with my ideals.

Why am I a Socialist? Because Socialism will make it possible for me to attain to my ideals.

I have already pointed out the impossibility of carrying out the principle of the golden rule under competition. Under coöperation, which is Socialism, it not only becomes possible, but it becomes natural to live by that rule.

I am a Socialist because Socialism offers a *modus operandi* by which I may reach out and progress towards my ideals. Socialism is the material side of that of which Christianity is the religious. Socialism is the ferry-boat that carries the slave from the Southern state of bondage across the river into the Northern state of freedom. I begin by turning the search-light of the golden rule upon Socialism. Will it stand the examination? Unless it does, I must throw it aside. I will not be lenient nor tender-hearted in my dealings with Socialism. It must prove up and make good or I must discard it even as I discard capitalism. The golden rule is a good standard by which to measure this system and we will submit it to the test.

Socialism means coöperation. It means that every member of society shall contribute to the welfare and development and enjoyment of society. Whatever I do under Socialism will benefit myself and also my neighbor. I can perform no useful labor without

increasing my own and my neighbor's well-being. My neighbor cannot produce anything useful without benefiting himself and me. But if that be the case I am already doing what I want that my neighbor should do for me and I do this willingly and gladly. My neighbor also does for me that which he has desired that I should do for him and he does it gladly and willingly. I and my neighbor have been desirous of being mutually helpful to one another because we love one another, and under this system of coöperation the doors have at once been swung open and we have been turned into the paradise which offers us the opportunity to enhance the happiness of one another. I have thus been able to take a long stride towards and almost reaching up to that ideal which I was furnished by the Christian religion.

If we go a little further we will find that under Socialism my neighbor cannot prosper at the expense of my well-being nor can I prosper at the expense of his well-being. I can take no advantage of him and he can take no advantage of me. When he labors he labors for himself and me and when I labor, I labor for myself and him. But if we are yoke-fellows and co-laborers, our inter-relationship will tend to become one of affection and love and unless I am by nature depraved I will after a while love that neighbor even as my own self. There is nothing that so binds people together with cords of love as working together for a common goal. That command, therefore, which has been a stumbling block to Christendom and which has been looked upon as impossible of execution becomes not only acceptable and possible to follow out, but it becomes the standard by which all men will delight to live.

The Founder of the Christian religion has made it clear that people were not intended for a world of suffering and hardship and want. I am in agreement with Him in my feeling that people should have life and have it super-

abundantly. Our good God has provided us with a world so full of good things that every member of the human family could enjoy that superabundant life to which he is entitled. That a few men should be allowed to fence in and build a wall around the great store-houses of God's creation and keep the great majority of God's children separated from even the most imperative necessities of life is a crime that even the Man of Calvary has not been able to atone for. Under Socialism all the store-houses of earth and heaven will be opened up to the rightful owners. As long as there is suffering and want there is something wrong with the economic system.

In a body social which has adopted its several institutions it is necessary that those institutions are put upon a secure foundation.

The institution which we call the state or government must necessarily rest upon a moral basis or it cannot endure. The laws of the state must be righteous or the state is at once in jeopardy. This brings us directly into the political arena. Our laws are enacted by our legislatures and our legislators are chosen by the people—more or less. I say more or less because it is a well-known fact that only comparatively few are now running the government. Money has entered in and private interests have taken a hand in the political game until politics have become a huge gambling system.

An individual who desires to protect his interests puts out money in large quantities to secure the election of his tool which is to go to the legislature and in turn make laws that will protect this individual's interests. In the final analysis it is money and not men that make laws and it is for money and not for men that laws are made. It therefore becomes evident that the whole people who are entitled to the protection of law are actually destroyed because of law. Under Socialism this, of course, would be out of the question. No legislature would be asked to pass any measure that would

not be to the advantage and benefit of the entire people. There would be no rich men to buy a legislator and no special interests to lobby for special privileges. The immorality that now exists in state and national legislatures because of the corrupting influences of capitalism could not continue, for the cause of this immorality would be removed.

Another institution without which the human race could not exist is the home. That the results of competition are threatening the overthrow, a dissolution of the moral home and monogamous family is no longer a matter of speculation. The poverty of the poor has reduced the home of the poor to a mere hovel. The disadvantage of bringing up children under those conditions is so great that no one can reasonably expect anything put people deformed and contorted both physically and morally. Child labor which is now allowed to such an alarming extent that even a blind administration like the present one sees its danger, is reducing the vitality of the human species so rapidly that its propagation will in the near future become an impossibility. The immorality of the rich is no less striking than the deterioration of the poor. If the rich could supply the earth with a stock of healthy offspring there might be some hope, but where one would expect the remedy one only finds the curse. The rich are money-maniacs and their offspring are many maniacs. The idleness and luxury found in the rich home together with the continual knowledge that this idleness and luxury have been obtained wrongfully are demoralizing influences which cannot be counterbalanced by education or any other special effort. The overwork of the divorce courts, the over-population of the under-world and the over-crowding of our insane asylums are matters of evidence that, unless there is a speedy remedy, the institution which we call the home must suffer dissolution. Socialism which would give every individual security in obtaining his livelihood and give

him a sufficient amount to maintain a clean, sanitary, comfortable home, which would compel every able-bodied individual to produce his share of the necessities of life, which would save our women and young girls from the fate of the under-world, which would make it possible for every young man to provide for that which he instinctively craves, which would eliminate money influences from marriage contracts, which would make conditions favorable for people who love one another to unite without being turned by temptation of wealth or scared by the corrosion of poverty, which would take children out of the mill and mine and factory and give them a reasonable education, which would establish equity and social peace, is the only hope of salvation for the perpetuation of the family and the establishment of the Christian home. Socialism has been charged with attacking and destroying the family. Unless we have Socialism very soon there will be no family to destroy.

A third institution which might well be mentioned is the church. While the state has suffered under capitalism and while the family is rapidly driven toward destruction under the present system, these two have not suffered to so great an extent as the church. In defending competition which is fundamentally immoral, the church which should be the exponent of the highest ethical principles has put the dagger into her own heart. The teachings of Jesus cannot be preached consistently together with upholding and defending the principles of competition. That the church has suffered because of her complicity in this immoral warfare, is not to be wondered at. She has been fighting with one hand to get people into the kingdom of God and with the other to get the kingdom of competition into the people. Man by nature is too righteous to be dragged along by so inconsistent a leader. Were it not that he is incurably religious which also means that he is incurably righteous he would

not have continued so long in his endeavors to save the church from total annihilation.

The kidnapping of Jesus by capitalism is the greatest crime that has been committed since the Christian era began. A sorrowing world is running around wailing and lamenting and saying: "They have taken away my Master and I know not where they have lain Him." This capture of Jesus of Nazareth, the workman and the teacher, and appropriating Him as its own is the most blasphemous act that capitalism has yet committed. Jesus does not belong to the kingdom of robbery and oppression and can never become a peaceable and docile member of that royal household. Money cannot quiet Him and wealth cannot stop His mouth. The working people of the earth have heard His cry and have set out for His rescue. The price put upon His head is high, for as long as capitalism is able to keep Him and use Him in pulpit and pew for the accumulation of more dollars it will not easily let him go. But the working-class will not let their Comrade languish in the confinement of the enemy. Labor will pay the ransom and redeem the Carpenter of Nazareth from the clutches of the demons of the competitive system. Jesus belongs to labor and the religion of Jesus can find its home only in a system where justice and love are the foundation stones. Socialism will redeem the church and make her the power for good which she was intended to be.

And so in my struggle for justice and in my longing for love, in my striving for brotherhood and in my craving for right, in my hungering for righteousness and in my thirsting for peace, in my labor and suffering for and with my fellow men, I see the hilltop of freedom and the highland of equity, and I hasten on, inspired by the spirit of Christianity and carried forward by the principles of Socialism.

J. O. BENTALL.

Chicago, Ill.

THE EDUCATIONAL VALUE OF A GREAT EXPOSITION.

BY PROF. FRANK WEBSTER SMITH,
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IN REVIEWING the educational value of a world's fair, some general remarks with suggestive comments are in order.

First, *the educational exhibits which make special appeal to the majority are not found in a Palace of Education, but in the Exposition at large.* They are in a peculiar sense the products of education; they proclaim the value and necessity of education, and they are notable witnesses that industrial supremacy and national power are more the result of general popular education than of tariffs and other artificial stimuli. They enforce the American as contrasted with the English practice. The nation is hopelessly placing itself in the rear which does not recognize the principle of untrammelled education. Again these exhibits to which I refer, in palaces of Mines, of Transportation, of Electricity, and all the rest, not only are evidences of education, but are truly educative, because they are based on the concrete and objective, and find in many who pass moments or hours in their company an appreciative intelligence on which to build in true apperceptive fashion. They are capable of stimulating thought indefinitely. Tangible results are sure to follow.

In order best to present the ideas which I wish to impress, it will be well to take a concrete example, such as the exposition held at St. Louis, that being our last great world's fair. This exposition was especially valuable because it *passed the limit for making an exposition educative in the highest sense.* The unities were broken by immensity, so that one was liable to carry away a hazy idea of greatness, and clear and definite ideas only of

certain parts. In other words, the education of expositions had become specialized, and the elective principle was in order for its students. At Chicago, or Buffalo, or Omaha general education along main lines, fairly systematized and articulated, was still obtainable, and besides one could elect and specialize. It is desirable and it is easily possible to combine both kinds of expositional values and to find a size suitable for the purpose. It was easy to see that size, rather than the finer means of educating, was the ruling idea in the St. Louis exposition.

But in some respects the St. Louis exposition merited special attention. Here *for the first time Education was worthily housed. It had a domicile of its own which placed it on a par with other sections of the Exposition.* This was due first, to the effort for largeness; second, and perhaps in equal degree, to the general feeling that education is worthy to be set apart as a world in itself, rather than to be sheltered in a corner of some other world; third, to the growth in organizing power which began at the American exhibit for the Paris Exposition and was continued conspicuously at St. Louis, under the systematic control of Mr. Rogers, whom experience has made an expert, and under the trained skill of the directors of state exhibits.

With these general statements which show something of the relations of the topic in hand I come to a brief review of the exhibits in the Palace of Education. Such exhibits have special and detailed interest of a professional character only for a small minority of exposition visitors, the teachers and other educators, and, it may safely be said, for only a minority

of these. Naturally most teachers "call" at an educational exhibit and get a more or less general idea of what is presented, and perhaps pick up some special point; few, and it may be fairly added, too few, go to study. General interest of another kind is found among pupils who are searching for their own work, with the aid of attendants and of parents who are quite as much interested as the children. Such groups are very human, and are as well worth observing as any feature in an exhibition hall.

In the first place it should be noted that the possession of a home suggested to the several states more elaborate preparations for presenting their exhibits. The home was rather a succession of homes; many were too elaborate and too large to be called booths. Each state had its own distinctive design, dictated in part by location, and disposed various classes of exhibits in orderly and convenient ways. There was no jumble, no indefiniteness. Massachusetts, New York, and St. Louis might be selected as representing richness of setting; ample funds gave them large scope for housing their exhibits. Nebraska illustrated what can be done with small means and artistic direction. Professor Barbour and his assistants made a very attractive exhibit with funds which were almost out of comparison with those of some of their neighbors. But why did about a third of the states hold aloof—states as able financially as some of those which joined in the Exposition? Absence at such a time and from such a company is significant. The preparation of an exhibit is educative for the state itself, driving home facts and principles, and calling attention to triumphs and deficiencies, but, what is of as great or even greater consequence, it is educative for one's neighbors.

The basis of the St. Louis exhibit and most of the details were old. Most of the devices for "exposing" facts, also, were no longer novel. Charts, volumes, swinging frames, with and without pro-

tecting cabinets, and models of handiwork were all there, doubtless increased in efficiency and number, but really presenting nothing new, except the single feature which I have described elsewhere. I can best refer here only to some new devices and methods. That there was distinct improvement is beyond question. In previous American expositions it had been impracticable to present educational operations, whether physical, manual, or intellectual, without having classes present. But here, through machines of the vitascope family, one could see the doing of things, all motions taking place before his eyes. Of course there are many points of method which cannot be presented even now, for only the language of motion can be used. The plan was therefore supplemented by real class work, which may be called a distinguishing feature at the St. Louis exposition, though naturally confined to a few exhibits and chiefly those from the environs of the exposition. In this connection particular attention was given to the education of defectives thus emphasizing the claims of these classes to special provision in public-school organization. Again one found models of buildings illustrating the present status of school architecture, or its evolution. A conspicuous part of Colorado's exhibit was a series of models showing growth from the primitive "dug-out" to the modern city high-school with its classic architecture. Chart devices, while not new, presented material of higher value. They showed that chart-making has raised itself to a science. Modern methods and curricula, anthropological and sociological features, strength and persistence of the educational spirit, and the trend of electives were some of the topics worked out in this class of exhibits. The elective charts prepared by Harvard were especially interesting, showing how modern studies and their applications have advanced compared with the old linguistic group. The general results noted in such chart work

are often not surprising; one could easily guess them. But the nature of the advances and the relations of subjects are shown so strikingly that one not only has ideas vivified, but actually gains new ideas; for charts preclude tameness of presentation, and they offer suggestion and enforce thought in a new way, perhaps in new directions. They thus facilitate study.

Another noticeable feature in exposition methods was an organization among the directors of the various exhibits, in which Mr. Gay, of Massachusetts, was one of the most active agents, if not the prime mover. The directors were organized for active work and met each week, now at one exhibit, now at another, getting the benefits of talks and expositions which enforced some of the features of the different exhibits or some educational topic of general interest. The German Commissioner, who by the way arranged one of the most complete and telling exhibits in the Palace of Education, had a regular lecture room, with appliances, attached to his exhibit. This is a very significant and suggestive movement, and one of large possibilities for usefulness.

In illustrating the educational systems of the different states of our own country various principles were used, the work being arranged now by subjects, now by grades, now by cities, now by schools, and these various grouping-units were used in different combinations. There was thus no uniformity; organizing genius has not shown itself here as yet. Massachusetts, for example, exhibited by subjects, New York by grades, while Pennsylvania had different plans for different sections of her exhibit. Such variety is interesting, but it precludes a uniform basis for comparison. This, however, is a minor matter, provided care is taken to have the work representative, *i. e.*, to keep it free from work that is selective in any objectionable sense, and to give clear statements as to the conditions and antecedents of the work presented. The main question is,

how can a state best instruct and inspire by its exhibit? It is doubtful whether uniformity here is desirable. I incline decidedly to the negative. Comparisons of this sort are misleading, odious in more ways than one, here as elsewhere.

Just here let me call attention to a fact which demands recognition, Methods and aims have been woefully neglected, though they are very easily presented, much more so than other matters to which supreme attention has been given. Great and wide-spread effort has been expended to show us the *what*. The *with* and the *how* have been largely left to shift for themselves. If exhibitors would tell briefly on some of the swinging charts, or on fly-leaves to volumes of written exercises, what they conceive to be the aims of certain work or exercises and the general method of attaining these aims, two important results would ensue. Teachers and superintendents who prepare these exhibits would become more thoughtful and consequently more efficient and resourceful in these deeper things of education and would give more life and force to the formal exercises, so that the latter would take their legitimate position in the educational process. In the second place, such a plan would be stimulating to visiting teachers, and would afford them the briefest and most serviceable means of reaching some of the fundamentals in education as they are interpreted in different parts of the country. Here is opportunity for useful and vital comparisons. I looked into this matter at St. Louis in more than a hundred places, and in many exhibits, and found comparatively few attempts in this direction, and some of these meager and fragmentary. Massachusetts seemed to have been more careful than other states in this particular. School-board reports or those of superintendents, which are included in exhibits, of course deal with these matters and are of great value; but we need more, and in more graphic form. Especially do we need such material from

individual teachers—from the ranks. As matters now stand one must painfully work through volumes of written exercises, and then secure a minimum of the pedagogical material to which I have referred. He may be interested in one feature after another in his special subject or in other subjects, and he may get stimulus or warning as he notes certain plans and methods; but his time could be spent to far better advantage if a systematic attempt were made to direct him quickly to views as to methods and aims as conceived in many schools. We ought also to give more attention to general aims and methods. Emphasis should be placed especially on these, as they give meaning and direction to that which is to rule in special studies and situations.

Another feature which is closely related to the same general topic should be added. A notable service could be rendered if the result of expert study of the psychology of childhood and adolescence could be tabulated and presented on large charts. Graphics would be as telling here as in any department of school work, would aid in breaking the general sameness of graphic representations at our American expositions, and would give new view-points. Truth gets dull when looked at in the same direction too long. These charts ought to be helpful in two ways: 1. They would be exceedingly suggestive to public school teachers and others who deal with children and youth, for the subjects which they represent touch school work and general educational work in many ways and at many places, and are of vital concern. A knowledge of the psychology in question and still more a sympathetic knowledge of one's own pupils are among the first requisites for good teaching. 2. They will relieve some misconceptions as to "child-study" which have been due to the rawness and fragmentary character of some of the early work in this direction and have been fostered by those who have little sympathy with the movement

and like to "play to the galleries" in educational meetings. For many reasons then we have here a promising field for exposition exploitation.

Just outside the territory occupied by the exhibits of our states was a space, all too small, devoted to a department of our educational system which has lately been coming into great prominence and will attain far greater prominence in the future—the department of scientific agriculture as developed by our agricultural colleges and experiment stations. It called attention, not by placards and charts, tables and publications, though these have played a part, but in real objective fashion, which made the exhibit at once more interesting and more impressive. A whole volume is suggested by this one department. Such results as it showed, taken with "rural free delivery," and with other improvements which annihilate the isolation of rural communities, bid fair to revolutionize country life. They are giving to agriculture its true status and supporting its legitimate claims on the attention of those industrially inclined and others. Idyls of country life are waiting to be written. Such conditions will eventually have marked effect on the distribution of population.

About a fourth of the space in the Palace of Education was occupied by the exhibits to which I have made special reference. A portion of the center of the building was taken by some of our leading universities, which had striking exhibits appropriately enclosed and attractively arranged. A favorite plan, in those exhibits which I looked into with some attention, seemed to be, to show the scope of the university and to illustrate some prominent feature of its work which lent itself to impressive presentation. But the publications of the university were most in evidence. I cannot help feeling that as a rule university exhibits fell behind those of the states in general force and in the mastery of detail, but they were dignified to the core. It

remains to give adequate development to this side of exposition education.

Much of the remaining space was taken by foreign countries. I have already spoken of Germany's superb exhibit, which, all in all, probably surpassed those of other foreign nations, owing as much perhaps to the plan of arrangement and the skill in executing it, and to Herr Bahlsten's ability and courtesy in explaining, as to the actual amount of material gathered, extensive as this was. France had an extensive and telling exhibit also, which excelled in technical work, but the exhibit fell behind that of Germany. England made a conspicuous showing but did not equal these other states in fulness, particularly in showing the scope and aims of popular education.

Comparisons of school systems are both interesting and profitable. They give a fresh view of our educational system by contrast and they intensify great principles by showing their application under new conditions. Even common elements have a new look and disclose more of their meaning when seen under different circumstances. Take, for instance, some of the contrasts between the German and American systems which offer a good field for a comparative study. The German boy makes early choice of course and career, when conditions for wise choice cannot be present, and his choice is practically final. The American boy can make his final choice late. The German boy early finds himself separated from others as to both class and occupation. There are certain schools for the people, those who are to graduate early and take up the ordinary work of the nation, others for those who are to have technical education or to enter commercial life, and still others for those who are to enter the university. The American boy finds few fences and these few comparatively insignificant. This principle, if unchecked, makes for industrial and national solidarity. The German boy again finds higher education chary of its

privileges. For the average boy this goal is early shut from view. Our American system holds the university or technical college before the view all along the school course and urges the boy on. As long as we remain true to our traditions artificial class distinctions cannot gain any strong foothold.

Secondary education especially may be made the central point of an instructive comparison. England's secondary instruction is rather unorganized, and is even divided in organization. What is of more significance, it supplies meager opportunities for popular secondary education, and the people use but sparingly those which are offered. Germany on the other hand has a highly developed secondary school system and reaches a larger part of the population, but not without tuition fees. Both countries may be contrasted with America whose system offers universal secondary education which is free both as to fees and as to movement between schools. Such freedom, extending even to the university, is a condition and guaranty of stability and progress.

Consideration of such results of comparative study makes us feel that our own system, in its main features, is the one best adapted to us, whether judged philosophically or practically. It is one of the most legitimate functions of an exposition to suggest and aid comparison.

So much for a brief review of the educational exhibits at St. Louis. One of the old educational worthies would be amazed to see the many-sidedness of our present-day education and the advancing opportunities for all-round development—facts whose significance we as yet hardly appreciate and whose relations we hardly grasp. But the greatest educators of the past would, after all, think it very natural, for they stood for progress and foreshadowed most of what we are to-day realizing. Comenius, Pestalozzi, and many a less-known worthy of other times would see, not

innovation, but consecutiveness. In the broadening of the curriculum and the shifting of the incidence of educational effort one may catch glimpses of the newest humanism. This broadening conception, this constant application of education to life, though as yet far from complete, is one of the most suggestive thoughts stimulated by a modern educational exhibit.

The exhibit was decidedly successful, as to completeness, organization, suggestiveness and attractiveness, and as a record of results. The organization of the mechanics of exposition education and of some of the other features which

have been named has now reached a reasonable limit. It remains for future exhibits to organize some of the features which I have noted as requiring more recognition—what I may call the spiritual forces of education, and to advance ideals in other directions as well. We need to study afresh the purpose and scope of educational exhibits and to realize still more of their possibilities.

After all, the greatest educational gain from an exposition is the impress it leaves of the striking relations of education to all the details of national life.

FRANK WEBSTER SMITH.

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MONGOLIAN IMMIGRATION AND THE BRITISH COLONIES.

BY C. B. GALBREATH.

FOR SOME time the attitude of the Californians toward Mongolian immigration has been the subject of much unfriendly comment. The campaign of adverse criticism and denunciation, which has at last found such full and frank support in the President's message, may easily have led many to conclude that our fellow-citizens on the Pacific coast are of baser metal than ourselves and other portions of the Anglo-Saxon world; and while it is not stated as true, the inference drawn is that they are the first to discriminate against the yellow race.

What are the facts? The casual reader of British colonial history will find that measures restricting Chinese immigration were enacted by certain of the Australian states long before the agitation began in California. As early as 1855 an act was passed by the State of Victoria, imposing a tax of ten pounds on each immigrant and limiting the number that could be brought to one-tenth of the tonnage of the vessel on which they

were transported. In recent years Chinese immigration has been prohibited in Australia, New Zealand and Canada by the imposition of a tax of one hundred pounds on each Chinaman landing in these colonies.

It is said that this law is more thoroughly effective in Canada than our own Exclusion Act, recently mollified somewhat through the Chinese boycott. John Chinaman has no navy to speak of and his big army is still in the making, but for all that he has discovered that he possesses a powerful weapon in the boycott which reaches a vulnerable and extremely tender spot in the pockets of our commercial barons.

Restrictive legislation, along the lines indicated, practically came to an end in the year 1896, except in Canada, partly, as we are told, because the exclusion laws were satisfactorily effective and partly because "other Asiatics began to enter the colonies in sufficient numbers to excite dislike and uneasiness." From

this date forward, legislation and agitation have been directed against "the other Asiatics" as well as the Chinese.

In 1897 the Natal Restriction Act was passed. Its object was "to check the flow of coolies from British India." It accomplishes this by excluding the following classes without reference to nationality: (a) Any person who when asked fails to write in some European language an application for admission to the colonies; (b) A pauper or person likely to become a public charge; (c) An idiot or lunatic; (d) Any person suffering from a loathsome and dangerous disease; (e) Any one who has within two years before arriving been convicted of a serious non-political offense.

The act imposes on masters of vessels a penalty of one hundred pounds for each immigrant brought into the country.

It will be noted that the first clause is the only one specially designed to apply to all orientals without specifically naming them. The weak point in the law was the use of the same form for all applications, which made it possible for uneducated orientals to fill perfunctorily the blanks in the application. The fear that this would be done led some of the Australian states and New Zealand to strengthen the Natal Act by providing for changes in the form of application, the writing of fifty words in English and "a writingtest in any European language."

The advent of the Federal Government in Australia made it possible to pass legislation of a more general character. The question of immigration was considered soon after the organization of the first Parliament. A bill was passed modeled after the Natal Act, but requiring a test of fifty words written in any European language required by the customs officials. Among the excluded classes, in the language of the act, is "any person who when asked to do so by an officer fails to write out at dictation and sign in the presence of the officer a passage of fifty words in length in any European language directed by the officer." A

special clause prohibits, under heavy penalties, the introduction of contract labor.

An increase of Japanese immigration was noticed at the ports of British Columbia about the year 1897, and steps were taken by the local government to devise restrictive measures. The number of arrivals increased from 691 in 1897, to 9,033 in 1899. In the meantime an act had been passed by the Parliament of British Columbia prohibiting the employment of Japanese on certain works and designed to check further immigration. The measure was forwarded to the British government and Joseph Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the Colonies, refused the royal assent in a diplomatic communication containing the following significant and suggestive language:

"Her Majesty's Government fully appreciate the motives which have induced the Government and legislature of British Columbia to pass the legislation under consideration, and recognize the importance of guarding against the possibility of the white labour in the province being swamped by the wholesale immigration of persons of Asiatic origin. They desire also to acknowledge the friendly spirit in which the representations they have felt compelled to make have been received by the Government of British Columbia, and regret that after carefully considering the minute of the Executive Council they feel unable to withdraw the objections they have urged to the legislation in question.

"There is no difference between Her Majesty's Government and the Government of British Columbia as regards the object aimed at by these laws, namely, to ensure that the Pacific province of the Dominion shall be occupied by a large and thoroughly British population rather than by one in which the number of aliens largely predominates, and many of the distinctive features of a settled British community are lacking.

"The ground of the objection enter-

tained by Her Majesty's Government is that the method employed by the British Columbia Legislature for securing this object, while admittedly only partial and ineffective, is such as to give legitimate offense to a power with which Her Majesty is, and earnestly desires to remain on friendly terms. It is not the practical exclusion of Japanese to which the Government of the Mikado objects but their exclusion nominatim, which specifically stamps the whole nation as undesirable persons.

"The exclusion of Japanese subjects either from the province or from employment on public or quasi-public works in the province by the operation of an educational test, such as is embodied in the Natal Immigration Law, is not a measure to which the government of Japan can take exception."

In all his dispatches on the delicate question Mr. Chamberlain was most adroit, avoiding antagonisms, secretly expressing sympathy with the colonies, suggesting restriction on the basis of the Natal Act and at the same time safeguarding the national pride of Her Majesty's ally in the orient who was even then preparing for the big event that is now a matter of history. Hats off to the diplomacy of Mother England! With one hand she deftly turned back the tide of Mongolian immigration from her colonies and with the other patted her ally on the shoulder and inspired him suddenly to smite at a most vulnerable point, Russia, her traditional foe, whom she has feared secretly and hated right royally. Without the firing of a gun she saw the army of her enemy overwhelmed and his fleet destroyed.

Promptly after the veto of the British Columbian Act the British government entered into negotiations with Japan and through an "understanding" secured what the colonists had sought in legislation. The desired restriction came by way of Tokio.

Under date of August 2, 1900, the

Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, Viscount Aoki—mark the name—sent a dispatch to the governors of the prefectures of Japan directing that until further notice the emigration of Japanese laborers to the Dominion of Canada be prohibited.

A commission, appointed by the Canadian Government to investigate the entire subject of Chinese and Japanese immigration, in 1902 submitted an exhaustive report covering 430 printed pages. In conclusion the commissioners say, among other things, in regard to Japanese immigration:

"Your commissioners fully appreciate the action taken by the Government of Japan on August 2, 1900, whereby the Governors of the Prefectures of Japan were instructed to prohibit entirely for the time being the immigration of Japanese laborers for the Dominion of Canada. . . . Nothing further is needed to settle this most difficult question upon a firm basis than the assurance that the action already taken by the Government of Japan will not be revoked. . . . Should, however, a change of policy be adopted in this regard by the Japanese Government whereby Japanese laborers may again be permitted to emigrate to Canada, the welfare of the Province of British Columbia imperatively demands that effective measures be adopted to take the place of the inhibition now imposed by the Japanese Government."

In this connection it may be pertinent to observe that with our complex dual system of government, according to a recent writer, a "conglomerate of sovereignties that insists upon calling itself sovereign," we are not the only nation that finds inherent difficulties in discharging its obligations to other powers and constituent states or colonies. England has certainly experienced like difficulties which she has approached in a conciliatory spirit with an eye single to the welfare of her most distant subjects.

There has been no disposition to enforce the imperial will against her colonies in the interest of any foreign power. There has been no threat to use the army and the navy to impose upon them an unwelcome race. If, as claimed, our present attitude is "incongruous" or "ludicrous," it may be due to our amateur methods rather than to our peculiar system of government.

The results of the recent experiment with Chinese labor under British regulation in South Africa ought to be a subject of serious consideration to the most enthusiastic advocate of Mongolian immigration. The moral chaos brought about by the employment of Chinese coolies in the mines of the Transvaal, was the occasion of an investigation by the British government and the report was of such a character that it was declared to be unprintable. "The repatriation of the coolies will soon begin and go on continuously until they are all sent back."

In conclusion, it is evident that the opposition of our fellow-citizens on the Pacific coast to the coming of the Chinese and the Japanese is simply in a modified form what has occurred wherever and whenever the Mongolian has been brought into actual contact with the Anglo-Saxon. The question of race superiority may be waived; the question of race difference, in spite of the theories of sentimental dreamers will remain. Our brethren beyond the Rocky Mountains, in blood and spirit, are thoroughly American.

They are doing what we would do under like circumstances. It will be most fortunate if the widespread interest aroused by the protest of the Japanese government shall lead to results already foreshadowed in dispatches from Washington,—a permanent "understanding" that, without offending the pride of the Japanese, will effectually turn back the tide of their immigration from our shores. Fortunately the distinguished Japanese statesman, Viscount Aoki, is now in Washington. Perhaps he may render a service as satisfactory to Californians as his former act was pleasing to British Columbians.

Learned and cultured representatives of the orient, after they have ceased to be marvels and curiosities, will doubtless continue to be welcome in our midst. The scholarly Kawakami, in a recent issue of *The Independent* assures us that "the Japanese are good enough to mix with the Americans." On the subject of "mixing," which he seems to view with oriental delight, he will find some sage advice, from one of the greatest Anglo-Saxon friends of his race, Herbert Spencer, whose letter on this subject has recently been published in this country.* In spite of the theories of savants, yellow and white, however, the fact is gradually becoming patent that the masses of the United States and Japan will be much better off with the Pacific Ocean between them.

C. B. GALBREATH.

Columbus, O.

CHILD LABOR: A RATIONAL STATEMENT.

BY E. E. PRATT.

THERE are two million white children in the United States working in mines, mills, factories, stores, saloons, in every branch of trade, threading the streets through long hours of the

days and nights, and living under conditions that are foul, unsanitary, and degrading, in a bondage more bitter,

*In the appendix to Hearn's *Japan: An Interpretation*.

and fraught with far more baleful influences in the life of the nation than any black bondage that ever existed."

This is one of the opening sentences of an article on child labor, which appeared in *THE ARENA* for the month of December. They are singularly characteristic of the attitude which many reformers are taking toward child labor; they are typical of the exaggerations, which are excused oftentimes on the grounds of an appeal to public opinion. It is hard to believe that a wholesome and effective public opinion can be stirred by such means, and even if it could be, that such means would be justifiable. However any thinking individual who has even casually looked into the situation, will only be repulsed by such exaggerations and misleading statements; it is the purpose of the present writer, then, to refute these fallacies, and set forth accurately some facts concerning child labor in this country, to excuse nothing, to recognize abuses as existent, but to define as definitely as the best statistics and common sense at his command will allow. The article above referred to is typical of a certain class of articles, and for that reason only, will be largely used in refutation, together with certain statements of other writers, which are illustrative of the false statistics and hysterical modes of treatment of the child labor problem.

By the word child is usually understood, and most writers agree, to mean any person up to and including fifteen years of age. Our discussion will have to do, then, with that part of our population under sixteen years of age only.

Then as to the limitations and inaccuracies often urged against the census of 1900, as foundations for extremely large estimates of children engaged in gainful occupations. First as to limitations; it has been said that a large number of children younger than ten years (which is the lower age limit of the census) are at work and therefore not reported.

That this statement is true cannot be doubted but that the number is *very* large cannot be taken as actually correct.

Year of Age.	Percentage.	Year of Age.	Percentage.
Total.	100.	Total.	100.
15.....	31.6	12.....	12.7
14.....	23.2	11.....	9.1
13.....	15.3	10.....	8.1

Certainly the age of children employed does not stop abruptly at 10 years, nor is it reasonable to suppose that the decline noted here in the percentages of those employed will suddenly reverse itself under 10 years and increase; and further it is reasonable to suppose on account of the very physical disability of an average child of less than eight years of age, that there are none so employed; granting of course, isolated cases which would not figure in statistics and are in point of fact almost nil. Granting that the ages of 8 and 9 are employed, we cannot well assume more than 6 per cent. and 7 per cent. respectively of the total for each age, and at most an additional 15 per cent. for all ages under 10 years of age. Then we have the following:

Children from 10-15 employed at gainful occupations.....	1,750,178
Children up to 10 employed at gainful occupations (estimated).....	262,526

Total children at work 2,012,704

This number, then, based upon the census returns would indicate approximately, but with entire sufficiency, the number of children employed at the time the census was taken.

As to the entire untrustworthiness of the census urged by some, let it suffice to say that of all the sources of our information it is the most reliable. However, in dealing with any statistics the necessary deficiencies and inaccuracies must be kept in mind, but at the same time that such statistics are the best figures that can be obtained, and come much nearer the truth than an estimate by any one man, however well qualified he may be.

Referring again to the above quoted

statement, a large proportion of working children are negroes, in fact almost one-half.

Children employed at gainful occupations	2,012,542
Percentage of negroes	49.3
Negro children employed	991,183
White children employed	1,021,359

Further, the article quoted speaks of the following occupations only, "mines, mills, factories, stores, saloons, in every branch of trade." By this classification it seems clear that all agricultural pursuits, professional service, and domestic and personal service, are not taken into account by the author and that she refers simply to those children engaged in trade, transportation, manufactures, and mechanical pursuits. We have the following table:

CHILDREN DISTRIBUTED IN CLASSES OF OCCUPATIONS.

	Corrected for Ages 10-15.	Ages Below 10.
All Occupations	1,750,178	2,012,704
Agricultural Pursuits	1,061,971	1,221,266
Professional Service	2,945	3,386
Domestic and Personal Service	279,031	320,885
Totals	1,343,947	1,545,537
Trade and Transportation	122,362	140,717
Manufacturing and Mechanical	233,869	326,450
Totals	406,231	467,167

Further we have:

Children employed in occupations named	467,167
Percentage of negroes employed in same	5
White children employed in same	443,809

The original statement then dwindles away to less than 450,000, which even at this figure is a large estimate. Such statements as this one, then, can only be characterized as the grossest exaggeration.

The writer does not wish to be understood as attacking this one article only, other writers are equally, if not more culpable. Some of the statements made by Edwin Markham in the *Cosmopolitan* might be cited with profit.

In the September issue of that magazine he says: "Seventeen hundred thousand children at work! . . . Picture the long procession of them, all held from

green fields, barred from school, shut out of home, dragged from play and rest, and set tramping in grim forced march, in the mills and mines and shops and offices of this our land." In the October issue he has enlarged the situation to the following: "Two and a half million children under 15 years of age are now at long, exhaustive work in offices, shops, mills and mines" (note the occupations named and see table above), "of our model republic."

Evidently the evil grows with the telling of it. But as to the alleged facts in these statements the writer has already shown them to be utterly false. That there are seventeen hundred thousand children "all held from the green fields," is utterly fallacious; for of that number, which is evidently taken from the census, over a million are finding their daily vocations in those same green fields, in those happy pursuits of agriculture of which the great poets have sung with such ardor. Seventeen hundred thousand children "barred from school," yet only a little over 500,000 children are illiterate.

If Mr. Markham has any facts with which to prove these statements let him, in the interests of his issue produce them. If he knows where children are employed the 14 and 16-hour day of which he tells let him name the places. If there are reasons that lead him to reckon an increase of 50,000 children in Southern cotton mills during the last three years let him state them. Let him show on what statistics he bases his statements that one-fourth of the wage-earners in the South are children. Let him point out the mills that employ children, "some of whom are only 5 and 6 years of age." On what finally does Mr. Markham base his statement that "Six times as many children are working as were working twenty years ago."

During the past seven years there has been a vast amount of agitation on the subject of child labor, which in turn has stirred up and produced legislation restricting the labor of children of certain

ages, the lower age limit has been constantly rising in the laws of the different states. This is a point seemingly disregarded by many writers, who while urging stricter laws, and the raising of the age limit of employment, deny the efficiency of such legislation by declaring that the numbers of children employed is constantly increasing. The most recent writers and the most sensational types have been putting the emphasis of their attacks upon the very young children against whom they urge that laws be passed, and against whom many of the states have already passed laws.

The present writer, for one, is unwilling to admit that these laws are entirely inefficient, that they have failed utterly in their announced intentions, namely, of restricting child labor. While he is perfectly willing to admit that the demand for child labor is increasing, the present writer maintains that this increased demand is occasioned as much by the limitations which have been put upon the supply of such labor by the laws of our several states, if not more so, than by the natural growth of our industrial system, and the much vaunted greed and heartlessness of our employers. The present writer is further unwilling to admit that the vast amount of agitation on the subject has gone for naught, which that person must certainly admit, who contends that child labor has increased during the past seven years, and that the employment of the very young and small children has been on the increase. There have been a great many laws passed in this period against the employment of children, in fact, out of 48 states and territories together with the District of Columbia, 37 have passed some law on the subject of child labor since the census of 1900 was taken. The very excellent and by all means the most complete laws of the country, and those constantly held up as models, have been enacted in Massachusetts, New York, and Illinois, since 1900. To-day every state and territory, except three, these being Nevada, New

Mexico and Arizona, have laws restricting the labor of children. It is hardly reasonable to suppose, nor is it true, that in the face of these new regulations some of them strict, although some of them are not, that child labor has been increasing at a higher rate than before. It is said with some truth that these laws are not strictly enforced. Again it must not be assumed that with all the agitation on the subject that enforcement has been relaxed. On the contrary, factory inspection and enforcement of labor laws have become constantly stricter with each succeeding year. And yet in the face of such restrictions some writers have the temerity to say that child labor has increased, but the thoughtful reader awaits their proof.

Many of the attacks against child labor have been directed against the South. This has probably been occasioned by the larger proportion of children to total working population, which exists in the South. A statement such as follows is scarcely warranted: "While the proportion of child labor over adult labor is large in the South, in the aggregate it is greater in the North."

The following table will speak for itself:

Persons over 16, working in the South . . .	6,574,245
Children working in the South	1,045,377
Children working in the North	673,852
Children working in the West	30,949

To really arrive at a true view of the situation the industrial distribution of working children in the North and South must be compared; which gives us the following:

	INDUSTRIAL DISTRIBUTION OF WORKING CHILDREN.			
	North.		South.	
	White.	Negro.	White.	Negro.
1 Agriculture	219,021	2,907	368,789	458,885
2 Domestic and Personal Service	132,384	7,296	43,782	86,783
3 Trade and Transportation . . .	92,529	1,358	17,110	6,760
4 Manufacturing and Mechanical	214,059	1,172	54,704	7,849
Totals	657,993	12,733	484,390	560,277
3 and 4	306,588		71,814	

(15 per cent. for ages up to 10 may be added at the pleasure of the reader.)

The writer would not for a moment shut the negro child out of our figures on any prejudicial grounds, but we rule him out of the problem so far as he is considered in the same class with the white child, because his problem is not the same. The negro reaches the age of puberty and also maturity much earlier than the white child. Thus the negro child of 12 or even 10 is the equal of his white neighbor of 14 or 15 years in all physical attainments. It is thus entirely unscientific to present his cause in the same category with the white child. However, not only can it be said of the negro child that its physical development takes place prior to that of the white child, but a physiological point which has been entirely overlooked by writers on this subject is that the child of the South develops earlier than those in Northern climes. The physical development of the Southern child is especially precocious. This may, and without doubt influences, the causes of the proportionally larger number of children employed in the South than in the North, as is shown by the following table, and would certainly act as a palliative for such abuses as may exist.

NORTH.		
Men.....	15,915,178	80 per cent.
Women.....	3,242,968	16.5 per cent.
Children.....	704,801	3.5 per cent.
SOUTH.		
Men.....	8,574,247	71.3 per cent.
Women.....	1,590,662	17.4 per cent.
Children.....	1,045,377	11.3 per cent.

We come now to a question of vital importance in the problem of child labor, a discrimination which has almost been passed over wholly by writers on the subject. It will be noted from the foregoing tables that in the South agricultural pursuits predominate among those children employed at gainful occupations; that the number employed in trade and transportation, manufacturing and mechanical pursuits is very much less than in the North. Further it should be noted that the majority of the laboring children in the South and especially in the agri-

cultural pursuits and domestic and personal service are negroes, which we have ruled out of our inquiry in this immediate connection as presenting in no wise an analogous problem. The percentages of negro children employed in trade, transportation, manufactures, and mechanical pursuits are large. There being but 484,390 white children employed in the South to 657,993 in the North; in the special pursuits mentioned there are but 71,814 white children employed in the South as against 306,588 in the North.

It should be perfectly evident to an observer or thinker that agriculture does not present the same problem of child labor that does factory and mill work. That in our discussions they should be kept separate follows directly. Many of our foremost social reformers have advocated the country as the place to raise children; that much must be conceded by any student of the relative merits of the city and the country for the child. That the child has in every way superior advantages if working on the soil, is hardly a debatable question. The facts are, however, that most if not all of the white children returned as farm laborers, work as such but a portion of the year, during the busy season of the year, during the harvesting and planting, and the remainder of their time attend the country school. The negro children in the South probably work harder and longer, and get less schooling, but this is not the fault of any system of child labor, but because of inadequate school facilities for those who would willingly attend.

The exaggeration of conditions in the South has been distinctly added to by Mrs. Van Vorst, who after visiting a few mills, and describing those which are admittedly, even by Mrs. Van Vorst herself, to be the worst environed, has set that type as typical rather than the exceptional, which is really the case. In truth, it may be noted, that the worst pictures in her book, *The Woman Who Toils*, are drawn not from the conditions of labor within the mill but of its environ-

ment, of the conditions of living, then, rather than conditions of work; induced, perhaps, by the congested laborers, but not at all by child laborers, an important but entirely different question of social welfare.

One of Mrs. Van Vorst's statements cannot go unchallenged here. She says, "to-day, as for years past, Southern cotton mills are employing the labor of children under tender age, employing an army of them to the number of 20,000 under twelve." Such statements, together with phrases of how "babies can be employed successfully for 13 hours out of 24, with men and women," and how "infants feed mechanism," have distorted and enlarged the real evils, and yet this author has been quoted as an authority in the United States Senate, in a speech which has been scattered broadcast over the country. The facts are that in 1900, the 17 states ranked as Southern, had a working population of children as follows:

Age.	Number.
10.....	2,685
11.....	3,475
12.....	4,620
10-12	10,770
15 per cent additional for ages up to 10....	12,306

It seems scarcely possible that the census was so grossly inaccurate or that the number should have so quickly doubled itself.

The Southern cotton mill, however, is not the terrible den that it is depicted to be. They are, as a rule, large and commodious brick structures; well lighted, as the character of the work demands; fairly well ventilated; the work, though confining, is not of a physically exhausting kind; the children's tasks in the mills are especially light. Exceptional cases of very small children employed in the mills may possibly exist, but it is hard to believe that a manager would consider his capital yielding a normal return if his machines were operated by tots of 5 and 6, who must stand on boxes to reach the looms. The writer has visited many Southern cotton mills, but has never seen

a small child working a loom. They are usually employed as spinners, or doffers, or sweepers, or some small work of assisting their elders. And those children have never even *appeared* as young or as badly off as they are usually pictured.

The emphasis in almost all discussions of the subject before us is placed upon the children who work in mills, mines, and factories. Almost nothing is said of that great number employed in agriculture; the emphasis is always placed on the babies, infants, children of "only three, four, and up to eight years of age." Then with the background of terrible conditions of work before the reader, great numbers are flashed on the canvas of the mind, the figures of child laborers are declared to be two million white children, or two and a half million child slaves. The effect produced is the joining of these two pictures and the unsuspecting naturally think that there are millions of babies of less than eight years of age at work under these terrible conditions. The facts are quite the reverse. Of all the children in the United States, less than 200,000 work in mills, mines, and factories, allowing the additional 15 per cent. for those children below census age; at least half of these are over twelve years of age and are, therefore, not the victims usually depicted. While at least half of those remaining are in places of work which are at least sanitary, and in many cases as well ventilated and as wholesome places as the homes from which the children come. In many factories conditions are infinitely better than the average homes of the workmen who are employed there. Therefore, there are few out of all the much decried and bewritten children of tender years laboring in immeasurably unsanitary and unwholesome conditions, who are recorded in the millions by those popular writers on child labor; the number dwindles away to less than 50,000.

In all the United States, exclusive of agriculture, less than 12,000 children of ten years of age are at work. The most

of these probably for but a part of their time. At about twelve years, however, in the poorer families the question of the children going to work comes up. The child often wishes to go to work and to leave school; this feeling predominates among all classes and reveals a defect in our school system. Often the parent forces the boy or girl to remain at school, oftentimes they allow them to go to work to aid the family income. The average boy of 12 can earn from \$3 to \$4 per week, which means a great addition to the family income, being in the most cases sufficient to pay rental. That the majority of those children who go to work at early ages, go into slavery, that they work long hours in terrible conditions, *I deny*. It would be exceedingly interesting if writers would support their statements with citations of facts. Let them state where it is that "babies can be employed successfully 18 hours out of 24 at all machines." If such cases actually exist let them be pointed out, exactly so that the skeptic may go and see. Of the establishments reported in the Report of the Department of Labor in 1904, on Hours and Wages of Labor, the average hours per week in cotton mills was 60, an average of 10 hours per day, the mill working longest time ran but 66 hours per week, or 11 hours per day on the average.

In New Orleans where laws and their enforcement are lax, the cotton mills, which are among the largest in the South, operate but 60 hours per week, being 10½ hours per day and a cessation of work at 4 P. M. on Saturdays. Other industries run about the same length of time. Wages for children vary from \$2.50 per week to about \$4.00 per week, with more receiving a wage near the upper amount

than the lower. In certain settlement work in which the writer is engaged he has had an opportunity to watch some of "these youthful slaves, their senses dulled, their steps slow and languid, their faces haggard," and in the evenings at the settlement gymnasium, and at the Sunday ball game, the boys who have worked in the cotton mills 10½ hours a day or their 60 hours per week are just as bright and just as active, and are the equals in the sports of any of the boys who have spent their time in school.

The writer's position on the subject of child labor must not be misunderstood. He does not, for a moment, advocate child labor in any form, or under any conditions whatever, but he does wish to array himself against those popular writers who have been and are grossly exaggerating the child labor situation. He protests against any false position, any exaggeration of the problem. If there are 50,000 children in this country who are suffering as it has been said that two millions are, how much easier the problem, if it becomes merely a vile ornament of our industrial structure, rather than a supporting column the loss of which means destruction. And how much more hopeful ought we to be if the laws already enacted are really doing some of the things they were intended to do rather than finding that they had done nothing and that abuses were going on unrestrained under laws intended to check them. How much brighter the whole situation looks when we find that the black incidents cited are abnormal and exceptional.

My appeal is to reason and for a rational treatment of the child labor problem.

E. E. PRATT.

New Orleans, La.

THE "DEFEAT" OF MUNICIPAL-OWNERSHIP IN LONDON.

BY FRANK F. STONE.

THOUGH the subsidized press dispatches (emanating from trust-controlled "news" bureaus at Washington) which have done duty all over the United States as "news" on the above subject, can deceive only the ignorant or the careless reader, yet we have to remember how multitudinous is that element in society. Indeed it is from that element chiefly, in London itself, that the trust partisans have drawn the vote that has temporarily eclipsed the progressives in the London County Council at Spring Gardens.

By an unstinted output of money, the financial interests that seek to capture (for private profit) control of the almost incalculably valuable electric-light and power supply of London; by means of money poured out like water from the enormous (though secret) sums necessary to influence certain dailies supposed to be loyal to the project, down to the *four shillings a head* offered more or less openly to unemployed men to "demonstrate" in a "moderate" procession to Trafalgar Square, the anti-progressive or trust interests have deluged London, not only through the newspapers, but in millions of pamphlets and tracts, with reckless and audacious charges against the Progressive or municipal-ownership party, of enormously raising the rates through losses by mismanagement and the undertaking of functions which would better be left to private enterprise.

That these falsehoods and calumnies have been again and again exposed and disproved makes no difference. It is "one down, t' other come on" with the trust party. "There's plenty of money" to pay for the invention and circulation of another falsehood as soon as one is

disproved. And they never retract or apologize, nor even notice a refutation. Thus when Mr. Barnes and Alderman Alliston, both important members of the Moderate party were forced in the council meetings to correct reckless statements made in the Moderate party organs—statements which these gentlemen felt it incumbent on them to disown and deprecate as mere "election cries"—their party organs omitted this part of their speeches as reported.

"*There's plenty of money; we'll pay four shillings for every man in the procession, and you can charge what you like for your services*"—that is what Mr. Cameron, a trust agent connected with the London *Evening News*, told Jack Williams, the Socialist Labor leader, when trying to enlist the latter's services to bring a contingent of unemployed to "demonstrate" against the Progressives. Williams replied that he could "not belong to his class" and published the *Evening News* telegrams in the Progressive press.

All sorts of mare's nests were discovered and published under scare headlines by the trust papers. "Blind by order of the L. C. C." was the glaring caption to a sensational and widely circulated screed about a badly lighted school—which turned out after all to be *outside the L. C. C. area and jurisdiction*. Did the Moderate papers apologize or own their error? No, they simply dropped the matter and proceeded with a new cry, to the effect that the L. C. C., having engaged in the brick-making industry, was wasting the citizens' money in making bricks that were "unfit for use." "Bricks Scandal," "London County Council Wastrels," and such like headlines in the papers, not

to mention leaflets literally by the millions, flooded London for days. A letter from an "expert" named Roberts, condemning the L. C. C. bricks, and a "faked" photograph of "bad" bricks made great play in the Moderate organs. On investigation the facts were shown to be as follows: The L. C. C. had acquired a piece of land at Norbury, a London suburb, on which was a vast deposit of clay that would have to be removed. Seeing that there was an old brick-making plant on the place, the council decided that instead of carting away the clay, they would save the rate-payers' money by making the clay into bricks. On the raising of the Moderate hue and cry, an inquiry was held which demonstrated that of eleven million bricks made, three per cent. only were faulty—a quite normal percentage where bricks are made by the old method. Incidentally Roberts, the "expert," was shown to have a jail record—and a recent one—as a fraudulent bankrupt.

Again, did the trust papers own their error or even notice the disproof? Certainly not. They simply dropped this cry and started another to be in its turn exploded and dropped, but never apologized for. Indeed, though the trust agents no longer like even to hear the word "bricks" in London, they have revived the story for American consumption.

Now the truth about the rise in the rates, over which the Moderate or trust party affected to be so much concerned, is that they had only risen one farthing (half a cent) in the pound during the past three years, at the beginning of which the Progressives received their last mandate, and only two pence in ten years.

And now that their outcry has prevailed and they are "in," the Moderate party, through its organs, is already "hedging" on its promises of reduced rates. As one Moderate daily puts it, with humorous effrontery, "It is doubtful if there will be any reduction in rates. London cannot

be governed according to the standard of its most parsimonious citizen." The cohort of trust partisans, led by the enormously wealthy landlord Duke of Norfolk (who himself robs the community vastly by rate-evasion), having poured out the torrents of commiseration on the poor rate-payer, and promised him relief if he would but vote the Moderates in; having by all this dunning of the apathetic because ignorant and easy-going non-voter of other years, succeeded in stabbing him into going to the poll for once and voting for the party that promised him reduced rates, now coldly tells him he must not expect the promised boon. It was only their "fun" to get the Progressives out. That it was the ordinary non-voter who caused the election of the trust party, the increased Progressive vote is sufficient testimony.

A notable instance of dishonest criticism of the Progressives was furnished in the London Municipal Steamboat matter. Among the loudest-mouthed Moderates who are condemning that undertaking because it has not "paid" are several who, when interrogated before the preliminary commission of inquiry, supported the plan as "eminently commendable," while admitting that it could not be expected to pay for a few years to come.

The popular writer, George R. Sims, in his paper, *The Referee*, also undertook to champion the trust party in opposition to the "socialistic" Progressive; and like the rest of the trust champions, he never retracted. His facts and figures were disproved over and over again. He merely went on from one misstatement to another equally baseless. A referee is supposed to see fair play, but this "Referee" is not above joining in the scrimmage and kicking the player of one side below the belt. One of his most glaringly absurd assertions was to the effect that the London Municipal authorities had "piled up such a monument of indebtedness that the debt charged equaled the sum raised in rates."

For this to be true would mean that the council was providing its current expenditure for the government of London out of its tramway and other undertakings, which would indeed be a proof of Progressive financial genius, were it true.

Chief among the official and financial sources of the crusade of falsehood concerning the Progressives' administration of the London County Council is that organization which calls itself the London Municipal Society, of which the Duke of Norfolk is president. His Grace is the man who, since his property round about the Thames Embankment reverted to him with all its improvements, after an eighty years' lease, has released these houses, which others built, on short leases, charging enormously higher rents and a heavy premium for renewal each time. On increase of value made largely by his tenants' business, which they cannot take elsewhere, this landlord (who pities the poor rate-payer) raises rents by the two and three hundred per cent. at a bound. Yet he contributed not one penny to the cost of the Embankment which helped him to treble his rents. Ground landlords, like this Duke of Norfolk, and financiers of the stripe of Mr. Harry Marks, M.P., with his unsavory Ray Mines record,—such are the men who have pooled their interests in a campaign of misrepresentation against the Progressive party, because that party stands for taxation of ground rents, and also proposed to balk these trust cormorants in their design upon the people's electric power supply.

The cry now raised on this side of the Atlantic over the result of the London

election, of "failure," of "defeat," of municipal-ownership in London, is not merely misleading; it is a deliberate falsehood. The Moderates did not fight the election on a municipal-ownership issue at all. Their own chief spokesman on the council admitted in set terms that the tramway undertaking was a success on which there could be no reversal of policy. But on money from the trust interests who are after the electric power monopoly, they raised a sudden and deafening outcry of mismanagement and heavy rates. They raised sufficient din to frighten the unthinking into fearing their pockets were in danger. Many a voter who went Moderate will see ere long, if he does not already, that he had been duped.

As to whether municipal-ownership pays—take the London County Council returns on its northern and southern systems of trams for the past seven and a quarter and nine and three-quarters years respectively. After setting aside charges for interest and repayment of capital, and a sum for renewals, reserve, etc., the profits amount to over one million, six hundred thousand dollars; and this while paying its employes better and working them less hours than did the private companies. When London owns the remainder of its tram system, the profits will be so much the larger.

No, municipal-ownership in London is *not* a "failure," and has not been "defeated," even though the trusts have succeeded in temporarily hoodwinking the less alert among London's voting citizenship.

FRANK F. STONE.

Los Angeles, Calif.

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

BRAND WHITLOCK: MAYOR, NOVELIST, DEMOCRAT.

On The Ramparts of Progress.

IN RECENT years the cause of genuine democracy—of just and free popular government—has lost many distinguished leaders who have fought nobly on the firing line of progress, reckless of self and overmastered by the spirit of justice,—the ideal of the Golden Rule. James G. Clark, the poet of freedom, Henry Demarest Lloyd, the pilgrim messenger of progressive democracy, Samuel M. Jones, the Golden Rule mayor of Toledo, and Ernest H. Crosby, the prophet of justice and apostle of peace, are but a few strong spirits that no longer respond to the roll-call of democracy's leaders on this side of the Great Divide.

But as one by one these men have fallen in the front of the fray, with armor on and hands upraised in defense of the weak and the wronged, other younger men have moved forward and taken their places. This sublime spectacle is the pledge of democracy's ultimate inevitable victory; and among these true leaders who belong to civilization's advance guard as truly as did Franklin, Jefferson and Washington in the earlier day, one of the strongest and finest of the young men is Brand Whitlock, successor to Samuel M. Jones as chief executive of Toledo, Ohio, and he has nobly exemplified the spirit that dominated his predecessor.

Mr. Whitlock, whose distinctly great American novel, *The Turn of The Balance*, is the subject of our book study this month, was born in Urbana, Ohio, in 1869. His father, the Rev. Elias D. Whitlock, D.D., was a clergyman of power and conviction, and it is highly probable that some of the sturdy moral idealism that is so marked a characteristic of the young Mayor of Toledo was imbibed in the home of his father. The lad finally decided to become a lawyer, though he had a strong taste for writing. Indeed, law and literature each beckoned him so irresistibly that while adopting the former for his regular profession, he devoted his leisure to literary pursuits. He was admitted to the bar in

1894, and in recent years he has written three novels which have enjoyed considerable popularity. They were pleasing stories, indicating some degree of imaginative power on the part of the author, as well as close observation of human life, and were written in an easy, graceful style. Still, they gave small promise of any great achievement in romance like *The Turn of The Balance*, and we imagine that they were written before the young man was spiritually awakened, or at least before the graver problems of life were borne in upon his consciousness with overmastering power.

The Turn of The Balance is the child of a brain aglow with deep sympathy for earth's unfortunates; a brain illumined by the divine light of justice and awakened to the august message of democracy to the children of men in the present crucial hour in our history. It is a novel from the heart and the head, gloomy, tragic and depressing as are the great truths it impresses, yet instinct with moral idealism that makes for a nobler and better civilization. It reflects the spiritual attitude of Mayor Whitlock at the present time and reveals how compellingly the gospel of the Golden Rule has permeated the thought-world of the author.

But better than anything that can be written about Mr. Whitlock's aims, ideas and works, are his own utterances as given in a recent strikingly interesting paper contributed to the Sunday magazine published as a supplement for certain leading American dailies by the Associated Sunday Magazine, Inc., and entitled "The Mayoralty as a Career." In it Mr. Whitlock voices his ideals of municipal government in describing the conditions of the present and in dwelling on the imperative choice that confronts every American statesman of the day,—aye, every citizen who would meet the measure of democracy's demand. It is a very revealing picture of his conception of the duty imposed on the conscience of the awakened patriot who is called by the people to a position of trust; while his own life since the mantle of grave responsibility has fallen upon him shows how he has made his

choice and how faithfully he is striving to reflect the higher moral law which in essay and novel he so graphically and earnestly portrays.

Mr. Whitlock on The City of To-day and of To-morrow.

In describing the city of to-day and the city under an awakened and spiritually quickened civic spirit, the young statesman first paints a picture all too familiar to each of us, and then in antithesis he shows what the city of to-morrow can,—nay, more, what it will be. He shows how Mayor Tom L. Johnson has splendidly blazed the way for the democratic municipality of the future, and that in the same manner his own predecessor, Golden Rule Jones of Toledo, wrought for a juster and more truly democratic order. These men were not masters of the cities. They were too democratic even to seek to or be willing to rule in a feudal sense. On the other hand, they have been true leaders of the awakened civic spirit who have battled for the emancipation of the cities from the spoilers. These "two greatest people's mayors in the history of American municipalities" have been the exponents of "the aspirations of the people," "their representative, their incarnation, their avatar." The works they have done warrant the belief that "their splendid dreams will come true, that their ideals will be realized, and make the American cities the triumph and glory and proof of democracy." "The city they long ago saw in visions will surely come to pass."

The young mayor holds, with Hon. Frederic C. Howe of Cleveland, that the city is the hope of democracy, and with DeTocqueville and all the more thoughtful friends of free institutions who have studied deeply on civic problems, that the shortcomings and evil conditions of the present are due to the lack of democracy instead of being inherent in democracy. They are due to the usurpation by classes and privileged interests of the right functions of a democratic republican order.

"The recent awakening of democracy, the recent discovery that what American cities need is not less democracy but more democracy, is the significant fact of the time, and out of it democracy is to justify itself and the dream of Walt. Whitman come true:

"I will make inseparable cities with their arms about each other's necks."

Very vivid is Mayor Whitlock's picture of the city of to-day,—*"a chaotic huddle of hideous buildings,"* a great feverish mart where men swarm and struggle, brag, bluster and battle for personal advantage; a place of turmoil, strife and unhealthy excitement, with two extremes:

"At one end inordinate wealth, and the marble magnificence of the boulevard and avenue, at the other the inordinate poverty and squalor of slums and tenderloin; between them the chaffering and anarchy that causes both, and, so far as the spiritual life, the real life, is concerned, little to choose between them. The vital connection between these two extremes is generally lost sight of."

In the place of this anarchy the practical idealists, the true constructive statesmen, like Mayor Johnson and Mayor Jones, have beheld the city of the future—the truest and most perfect embodiment of the democratic ideal; a place in which to live, in which men, women and children can grow God-ward in peace, security and happiness; a place filled with beautiful parks, comfort stations, bath-houses, swimming-pools, skating-rinks, free schools for science and galleries rich in art, with popular music freely given in the parks and in halls for the education and enjoyment of the people,—in a word, a center where a wise, systematic, whole-hearted program shall be carried forward with an eye single to the development, the general uplift and the happiness, not of an ever-narrowing group of privileged ones, but of all the people. They beheld the city free from the corruption-breeding cesspools that have spread the contagion of graft and dishonesty throughout municipal government,—the privately-owned public utilities; and in the place of the masters and supporters of the machine bosses and the grafting rings they saw the city conducting for the benefit and enrichment of all her children all "those vast enterprises in which the people have common interest—street-cars, lights and power plants, water-works, etc." Furthermore, these prophets of twentieth century democracy who were practical idealists also saw cities, under the guidance of wise and just statesmanship and an awakened civic spirit, becoming marvels of beauty; and what was infinitely more important, they saw "that a city could have this harmony in all its affairs so that taxes could

be equalized, so that there should be not alone a material, physical harmony, but a spiritual harmony as well, and a city raised that should have no slums and tenderloins, that the many should not have to go with too little in order that the few could have too much; so that, in a word, each person in the city could have at least the chance to lead a good, useful, beautiful life and develop and realize his own personality and individuality,—men shook their heads even more stupidly, indeed, angrily. This was because they were without faith, because they had no imagination and little principle left, because their city life had become almost a city death. In the impotent effort to reduce their infidelity and lack of faith to argument, or protest, they would talk of ‘anarchy.’”

The faithless ones, the exploiting oppressors and their echoes and tools, not content with shouting “anarchy” as loudly as the Tories of 1776 shouted “treason” when Jefferson, Franklin, Hancock and Adams uttered the new gospel of democracy, united with the cry of “anarchy” the shout of “socialism,” though they had never read the great works of Karl Marx and little understood his philosophical theories of government; and they added the word “paternalism,” as if we were living in a land where officials were rulers instead of representatives. They persistently cried “paternalism” as if the people were too ignorant to differentiate between a democracy and an autocracy; as if the people did not know that in an American municipality there is “no *pater*, no father,” that “there is nothing above them,” that “they are supreme, sovereign. They are the city, and when they undertake these enterprises there is no paternalism about it,—no one is doing these things for them; they are doing them for themselves.”

The Present Duty of The American Citizen.

In speaking of the duty of the American citizen at the present, Mr. Whitlock’s words are worthy of special consideration. He who studies present conditions conscientiously and intelligently, that he may truly serve democracy and worthily discharge the responsibilities of a citizen of a democratic republic, will soon clearly see that “two utterly irreconcilable forces are at variance with each other,—the private interest against the public interest, the greed of the few against the right—no, not of the many, but of the whole,—in a word, Special Privilege against the people.”

The representatives of special privilege

have succeeded in procuring grants, franchises and special favors by which they have acquired monopoly rights for street-railways, lighting plants, telephones and kindred public utilities which occupy the streets and highways and upon which the people are largely dependent. The monopoly right enables the beneficiaries of privilege to levy unjust and exorbitant taxes or tariffs on the people, with the result that the few acquire great wealth at the expense of all the people and the morality of the city and her children. Because the people have to have these things, special privilege can levy what taxes it chooses, and experience has proved that whenever a class has power, it becomes oppressive, and nowhere has this been more glaringly apparent than in the extortions of the special privileged classes in this republic.

To further their essentially selfish interests, “private, and morally debasing, Special Privilege goes into politics, constructs political machines, and maintains bosses, promotes the fortunes of political parties, and keeps the public dividend; and out of the proceeds of these privileges it leads lives of luxurious indolence and wanton conspicuous waste. To maintain itself in such life, it stops at nothing: it corrupts legislatures and executives, sees to it that there are elected to the bench judges whose opinions, consciously or unconsciously, and often more innocently than corruptly, coincide with its opinions; and so the laws which grant it these privileges are construed and interpreted in its favor, that is, in the private, instead of the public interest. Identified with Special Privilege will be found organized respectability, and following it a host of parasites who live off it, just as it lives off the people, but are tolerated by it because it recognizes their value, in some measure, in helping it to keep on living off the people: that is, certain newspapers and their reporters, editors, lawyers and orators, spellbinders, sometimes fashionable preachers. Then come a whole retinue of persons who imitate the individual beneficiaries of Special Privilege.

“A formidable, fashionable array, and quite easily identified in any city! It is easy enough to see them and point them out, once the eyes are open—but first the eyes must be open. And yet, as the open, honest eye begins to note spiritual significances, it will behold certain relationships between the mansions and the slums, between plethora and paucity

and discern the incongruity and incompatibility of these great social antitheses. It will discern too a great law silently and inexorably at work, balancing these inequalities, decreeing that so long as Special Privilege denies the joy of living to the many it denies life to itself, that all is not happiness in the palace, that there is a suffering that comes from too much, as there is a suffering that comes from too little. And he who looks with such eyes—washed perhaps by tears—will soon bridge the wide gulf between these classes, will see that there is no hope in war and hatred between them; but that this chasm must be arched by sympathy and love, that neither can rise at the expense of the other, but that they must rise together, in the new consciousness of human unity; that all that is necessary is for those who are on top to be deprived of their advantage over the rest, and to live lives on equal terms with the rest, that all may grow together.

"But he who looks about him with these open eyes must do something else,—he must reach a decision, he must make a choice, he must elect with which of these two he will cast his lot. He can attach himself to Special Privilege, he can conform, either by openly avowing its cause, or drift along with it in a coward's silent acquiescence. By so doing he may purchase physical comfort, but at the cost of spiritual development; he may perhaps gain the whole world, but he must lose his own soul. He may be sure of a full stomach, but he runs the risk of having an empty heart. Or, he may cast in his lot with the people,—he will be sure of a full heart, but he will run the risk of an empty stomach."

The Practical Idealist Who is a True Leader of Civilization.

Mr. Whitlock is a practical idealist, and the practical idealist is the man who most effectively helps civilization upward and onward. Never was it so important as at the present time to emphasize this vital fact, and never were practical idealists so needed as to-day, in the midst of a materialistic commercial age which has striven to place the egoistic ideal and the money measure of success in the place of the ideal of right, justice and brotherhood, when, with hypocritical cant, with high-sounding but empty phrases and with eyes turned heavenward, the pillars of society have ruthlessly ridden down their weaker brothers and rifled their pockets of millions to make a few

millionaires. It has been the custom of the egoists and self-worshipping enemies of social righteousness and civilization to discredit every man with a vision, to sneer down all practical idealists who place the eternal moral verities above the thought of self or the acquisition of personal power or wealth. "They are but visionaries; they are impractical dreamers,"—such has been the cry of late, as it was the cry when Jesus walked the sand-sown highways of Palestine and taught the Golden Rule, and when Paul preached on Mars' Hill or pleaded in Rome for the outblossoming in life of that love which suffereth long and is kind, which envieth not, is not puffed up, and thinketh no evil. The fact that all the so-called "practical" men, all the materialistic egoists of the age of Jesus and Paul, have long since been forgotten, while the life and words of the Nazarene and the great prophet to the Gentiles are among the most potent influences in civilization to-day, is ignored by the so-called "safe and sane" self-seeking materialists. As it has been in all past times, so it is to-day. Civilization waits on the practical idealist.

Mr. Whitlock's career as mayor of Toledo furnishes an illustration in point. He is denounced by the self-seeking grafters and the privileged interests as a dangerous and impractical visionary. He is sneered at by the extreme radicals as one who holds too confidently to general ideals that, however noble, are vague—too vague, indeed, to be a guide for daily action. But Mr. Whitlock knows that the same criticisms were made against his predecessor; yet as a matter of fact no mayor was more practical or voiced more perfectly the teachings of the Nazarene than did Mr. Jones. And he is following in the footsteps of the Golden Rule chief executive. Is he practical or a visionary? He is one of the most practical men of the day, using the word in a high rather than a sordid sense. One recent episode in his career will well illustrate how he is practically putting into operation the ideals of social justice as chief magistrate of his city. It is given in a recent article by George J. King of Toledo University in the following words:

"Six months ago in Toledo 275 machinists employed at a large manufacturing plant went on strike. A fierce labor battle ensued; arrests were made on both sides, strike breakers and guards and 'Pinkertons' were imported

by the employers; the plant was picketed by the union, hatred was rife, thousands on thousands of dollars were wasted. An agreement was finally reached, only to be broken by the employers, and then the whole plant struck. Over 1,200 workers were idle and furious. Mammoth street parades and mass meetings of union men took place.

"The city was stirred to its depths—especially its financial depths. Business men met in solemn conclave and advocated force: 'Crush the strike'—the State troops if necessary. Bankers joined in this chorus, and advised withdrawing credit from union men. An effort was even made to muzzle the press, and some business men were asked to withdraw their advertising from any paper printing strike news. Every impractical thing possible to think of was suggested by these practical men.

But what had the Mayor been doing all these months?

He had been advocating arbitration of the trouble in a spirit of toleration, love and goodwill. Which was to the business men—another dream. He had been refusing to use the police in the interests of the employers. 'This city is not in the strike-breaking business,' he said to a protesting delegation of employers. 'I will maintain order but I will not take sides, and I warn you if you import any Pinkertons into Toledo I will have them arrested,' and he did. He appealed to the manhood of the union men to avoid violence, and his trust maintained order more potently than a thousand bayonets. Which trust was scoffed

at by the employers as rank anarchy.

"And now, finally, when all the 'safe and sane' were in despair, this dreamer suddenly selected the one right man to help him—a business man with a soul—and these two went to the managers, went to the union men, got them together, appealed to them as men—not as business machines—acted as arbitrators, and in four days the strike was settled, and 1,200 men were at work again.

"There it is in the concrete: The law of love, the law of simple justice—to treat men as you would be treated—to know that hatred breeds hatred—that force is a hurry-up call for more force; a demonstration that the Golden Rule is a workable thing everywhere and all the time; in strikes as well as in Sunday Schools, in business as in the Bible."

A statesman who thus clearly understands the fundamental principles of democratic government, who thus plainly sees the evils that are seeking to destroy popular rule in the interests of privileged classes, and in so doing are corrupting and debasing public and private morals, and who also has the moral courage to stand for justice, morality and the fundamental demands of progressive democracy,—a statesman, in a word, who is a spiritually awakened thinker, a practical idealist, under the domination of the Golden Rule, is the kind of leader the forces of democracy are calling for to-day. He is the leader who voices the message of progress and the dawn, and such a leader is Brand Whitlock.

SOME FACTS ABOUT DIRECT-LEGISLATION THROUGH THE INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.

The Oregon Constitutional Amendment.

WE SO frequently receive requests for detailed statements in regard to the Oregon Direct-Legislation Constitutional Amendment that we have decided to publish the amendment in full. It is something that all friends of the initiative and referendum should preserve for easy reference, as the amendment on the whole is admirable. It was endorsed by all parties before it was submitted to the people. It was carried by

a vote of 62,024 in favor of the amendment, and only 5,668 votes were cast against it. Its constitutionality was upheld by the Supreme Court of the state in an able and exhaustive decision. The amendment as adopted is as follows:

"Section I. of Article IV. of the Constitution of the State of Oregon, shall be, and hereby is, amended to read as follows:

"Section 1. The legislative authority of

the State shall be vested in a legislative assembly consisting of Senate and House of Representatives, but the people reserve to themselves power to propose laws and amendments to the Constitution, and to enact or reject the same at the polls, independent of the legislative assembly, and also reserve power at their own option to approve or reject at the polls any act of the legislative assembly. The first power reserved by the people is the initiative, and not more than 8 per cent. of the legal voters shall be required to propose any measure by such petition, and every such petition shall include the full text of the measure so proposed. Initiative petitions shall be filed with the Secretary of State not less than four months before the election at which they are to be voted upon. The second power is the referendum, and it may be ordered except as to laws necessary for the immediate preservation of the public peace, health or safety, either by petition signed by 5 per cent. of the legal voters, or by the legislative assembly, as other bills are enacted. Referendum petitions shall be filed with the Secretary of State not more than ninety days after the final adjournment of the session of the legislative assembly which passed the bill on which the referendum is demanded. The veto power of the Governor shall not extend to measures referred to the people. All elections on measures referred to the people of the State shall be had at the biennial regular general elections, except when the legislative assembly shall order a special election. Any measure referred to the people shall take effect and become the law when it is approved by the majority of the votes cast thereon, and not otherwise. The style of all bills shall be 'Be it enacted by the people of the State of Oregon.' This section shall not be construed to deprive any member of the legislative assembly of the right to introduce any measure. The whole number of votes cast for Justice of the Supreme Court at the regular election last preceding the filing of any petition for the initiative or for the referendum shall be the basis on which the number of legal voters necessary to sign such petition shall be counted. Petitions and orders for the initiative and for the referendum shall be filed with the Secretary of State, and in submitting the same to the people he and all other officers shall be guided by the general laws and the act submitting this amendment until legislation shall be especially provided therefor."

A Brief and Lucid Explanation of The Initiative and Referendum, With Reasons For Their Adoption.

The friends of direct-legislation in Delaware during the recent campaign which resulted in an overwhelming victory in favor of the advisory initiative and referendum, circulated leaflets containing the facts given below, which proved extremely efficacious, as they presented salient points so tersely and clearly that all voters were able to understand just what the initiative and referendum is, why it is called for and what its introduction has achieved where it has been adopted.

"The Initiative.—If the Legislature omit the passage of a needed law a petition may be circulated to secure its enactment, to be signed by five per cent. of the voters (which in Delaware means about 2,100) to the effect that the measure be submitted to a vote by the people. If favored by a majority it becomes a law. Experience shows that the initiative is rarely used, as the Legislature generally acts on suggestion, if they think that it is such that the people would vote yes.

"The Referendum.—Under the referendum each law which passes the Legislature shall not take effect for a certain time. If during this time five per cent. of the voters petition for a referendum vote the law goes to a vote by the people. If voted against by a majority it becomes void.

"At the coming election each voter will have the first opportunity he has ever had to vote directly on public policy.

"Besides the regular ballot there will be a separate ballot for the principle of the Initiative and Referendum.

"The Initiative and Referendum gives the people a voice in their own affairs without interfering with our present system of representative government.

"It is the most perfect carrying out of the principle enunciated by Abraham Lincoln of government of the people, by the people, for the people.

"People all over the world are beginning to awaken to the fact that law-making controls money-making.

"Remember that this is a practical question of dollars and cents. If the people do not look after the law-making they must pay the expenses of bad government, under which fewer and fewer people can make a good living.

"Either look after the law-making or pay more to live."

Another leaflet that is admirable for general distribution has been recently issued by the New York Referendum League. It is entitled "The Initiative and Referendum: What It Is and What It Will Do," and reads as follows:

"WHAT IT IS:

"The Initiative. The power of the people to directly secure legislation. A certain percentage of the voters, can, by petition, compel the submitting of any new or pending legislation to all voters.

"The Referendum. The power of the people to ratify or reject legislation at the polls. Upon demand of a certain number of voters in the district or political divisions affected, any measure passed by the law-making body must be submitted to a direct vote of the whole people.

"WHAT IT WILL DO:

(The following claims are based upon twenty years' experience in Switzerland, four years in South Dakota and Oregon and in many municipalities.)

"It Will:

"Render resort to itself seldom, and possibly, never necessary.

"Because, questionable legislation is less likely to be attempted or hazarded.

"Reduce public abuses to a minimum.

"Because, its mere existence, and not necessarily its existence, will act as a deterrent.

"Simplify laws, rendering them less likely to be misunderstood.

"Because, legislators will use the simplest language possible, lest their measures be referred and vetoed.

"Encounter no sound or tenable objection.

"Because it has, in experience, stood every test.

"Obviate the necessity for 'THIRD PARTY,' or independent movements.

"Because it can better promote measures and effect reforms.

"Open the shortest road to desirable reforms.

"Because local option, by its means, is easily secured.

"Abolish profligacy, public plundering, and politics as a business.

"Because the people can employ preventive means.

"Suppress corruption and vicious lobbying.

"Because bribe-givers will not take the chances involved.

"End machine politics and boss rule.

"Because legislators will be directly responsible to the people.

"Enlist the support of patriotic and good men of all parties.

"Because 'Government of the people, by the people and for the people' is what all such men desire.

"Promote the study of public questions.

"Because voters will feel that they are directly concerned in law-making.

"Elevate the tone of legislative bodies.

"Because high minded men will displace the sordid grafters.

"Finally, make the United States, in every sense, the most splendid country in the world.

"Because it will correct the evils which prevent an ideal civilization.

Leaflets containing facts similar to the above should be freely distributed in every campaign for the people's rule.

Some Distinguished Opinions in Favor of The Initiative and Referendum.

It is sometimes asked whether prominent thinkers favor direct-legislation. In reply we would say that it would require more space than an issue of *THE ARENA* to give the arguments for direct-legislation that have been advanced by many of our greatest and ablest economists, statesmen and publicists. Below we give a few brief excerpts from characteristic utterances:

WILLIAM J. BRYAN.

"I believe in the principle involved in the Initiative and Referendum and have no doubt that it is a growing reform. No one who trusts the people can object to the submission of a question to them when a reasonable number of people ask for it. The recent election returns indicate that it is stronger than any party, for it has been adopted several times by more votes than either party polled." (Extract from a letter, Dec. 27, 1906.)

HON. JOHN WANAMAKER.

"I heartily approve of giving the people a veto on corrupt legislation. The movement to secure for the people a more direct and

immediate control over legislation shall have my support. I trust it will receive the thoughtful attention of all who would improve our political and industrial conditions."

PROFESSOR FRANK PARSONS.

"Direct-legislation is essential to self-government in complex communities—a necessary element in true democracy. It and it only can destroy the private monopoly of legislative power and establish public-ownership of the government. The fundamental questions are: 'Shall the people rule or be ruled? Shall they own the government, or be owned by it? Shall they control legislation, or merely select persons to control it? Shall the laws passed and put in force be what the people want, or what the politicians and monopolists want?' The referendum answers these questions in favor of the people, and it is the only thing that can answer them that way. . . . It will perfect the representative system by eliminating serious misrepresentation."

NEWELL DWIGHT HILLIS, D.D.

"I am a firm believer in the initiative and referendum and I will help this reform in every way I can."

CHARLES N. HERREID,

Republican Governor of South Dakota.

"Since the referendum has been a part of our Constitution, we have no charter-mongers or railroad speculators, no wildcat schemes submitted to our legislature. And hence there is no necessity for recourse to the referendum."

Our readers will remember the strong plea in favor of direct-legislation made by Governor Folk in his recent message to the Legislature of Missouri, and which we reproduced in our March issue.

These typical opinions are sufficient to indicate the attitude of eminent statesmen, economists and publicists who are in no way interested in maintaining boss rule, partisan machine government and the furtherance of the interests of privileged classes.

THE PEACE CONGRESS AT NEW YORK.

The Most Commanding Peace Assembly That America Has Witnessed.

THE WEEK commencing Sunday, April 14th, witnessed the assembling of one of the most important and significant congresses that has ever gathered in the New World. Here were many of the most illustrious genuine friends of international arbitration and world peace from the Old World and the New, and there were present not a few spokesmen of those who wish to pose as advocates of peace but who at heart are believers in "the big stick" and war. These latter indulged in the same vicious and sophistical pleas that the advocates of evil ever advance when they wish to escape the censure of the truly enlightened and civilized and yet desire to justify that which is essentially savage and degrading. But this forced seeming approval of the great civilization-wide peace movement is one of the most significant illustrations of the power of this movement throughout the world. The congress brought together men of many lands and races and representatives

of almost all occidental beliefs and ideals. Many of the addresses were as practical as they were noble, while some, of course, were as halting and short-sighted as the idealless imaginations of the materialists who uttered them. But the general spirit and temper of the assembly was in favor of a vigorous step by step program, with international arbitration and the reduction of armaments as the ideal toward which to strive.

Resolutions Adopted.

The resolutions adopted by the congress which refer to the great movement were admirable, and though by many they will be considered as asking for too little, we incline to believe the "make haste slowly" program is the wisest at the present stage of this world movement, which must depend for its success on the compulsion of an educated international conscience. Any extreme demands at this stage would be doomed to defeat and would tend to set back the movement; but if anything like the program outlined in the follow-

ing resolutions should be carried out at The Hague gathering, a very great and substantial advance will be registered. Indeed, it is hardly to be hoped that the plea for limiting armaments will go further than being seriously and ably presented before the international bar of reason and conscience. The resolutions adopted are as follows:

"Resolved, by the National Arbitration and Peace Congress, held in New York city, April 14 to 17, 1907:

"That the government of the United States be requested, through its representative to the second Hague Conference, to urge upon that body the formation of a more permanent and more comprehensive international union for the purpose of insuring the efficient coöperation of the nations in the development and application of international law and the maintenance of the peace of the world;

"That to this end it is the judgment of this conference that the governments should providethat the Hague conference shall hereafter be a permanent institution, with representatives from all the nations, meeting periodically for the regular and systematic consideration of the international problems constantly arising in the intercourse of the nations;

"That a general treaty of arbitration for ratification by all the nations should be drafted by the coming conference, providing for the reference to The Hague court of international disputes which may hereafter arise which cannot be adjusted by diplomacy;

"That the congress records its indorsement of the resolution adopted by the Inter-Parliamentary Union at its conference in London last July, that in case of disputes arising between nations which it may not be possible to embrace within the terms of an arbitration convention, the disputing parties, before resorting to force shall always invoke the services of an international commission of inquiry or the mediation of one or more friendly powers;

"That our government be requested to urge upon the coming Hague conference the adoption of the proposition, long advocated by our country to extend to private property at sea the same immunity from capture in war as now shelters private property on land;

"That the time has arrived for decided action toward the limitation of the burdens of armament, which have enormously increased since 1899, and the government of the United States is respectfully requested

and urged to instruct its delegates to the coming Hague conference to support with the full weight of our national influence the proposition of the British government, as announced by the prime minister, to have, if possible, the subject of armaments considered by the conference."

There are also the three following specific things which the International Peace Conference hopes to see brought up for consideration at The Hague:

"1. In case of the failure of arbitration between nations, a period of 30 days shall be allowed for use of the peace-making provisions of the convention; and if any power refuses to agree to this, that nation shall be declared to be an offender against international law, an enemy of the human race, to which none of the signatory powers of the new convention shall loan a single penny to carry on a war so begun; and that all goods of such an offender shall become, *ipso facto*, contraband of war and liable to be seized as such.

"2. That the signatory powers of the convention at The Hague agree to finance an earnest effort looking forward to international peace by agreeing (say) to contribute one cent for every \$10 hitherto appropriated for purposes of armaments and army and navy expenses and supplies. The money thus raised to be expended in efforts to make both parties to an international argument better acquainted with the points of view, the rights and contentions of the other, and, if necessary, to financing respective commissions from either country to visit the other and present their respective sides of the case.

"3. A 'peace jury' (say) of 12 representative citizens—nine men and three women—chosen by voice of their nation to visit The Hague during the session of the conference there and, through a spokesman chosen from their number, place before the international delegates the hopes, the wishes and the desires of the people whom they represent. Not to interfere with the rights and privileges of the international delegates appointed from their respective countries, but to back them up in their contentions, and, incidently, to see that said delegates faithfully carry out the views and wishes of the great bulk of the nation whose mouthpieces they are temporarily."

The congress was a splendid success and cannot fail to make for civilization. Mr.

Carnegie's reply to objections, in summing up some of the results of the congress, was most admirable and pregnant with telling points which answered the objections of Mr. Roosevelt and some pretended friends of peace who are ever crying for an increase in armaments. Mr. Carnegie said:

"Our Peace Conference has brought three objections clearly before us:

"First—Nations cannot submit all questions to arbitration.

"Answer—Six of them have recently done so by treaty—Denmark and the Netherlands, Chile and Argentina, Norway and Sweden. . . . So much for the claims that nations cannot submit all questions. They have done it.

"Second—Justice is higher than peace.

"Answer—The first principle of natural justice forbids men to be judges when they are parties to the issue. All law rests upon this throughout the civilized world. Were a judge known to sit upon a case in which he was secretly interested, he would be dishonored and expelled from his high office.

"If an individual refused to submit his dispute with a neighbor to disinterested parties (arbiters or judges) and insisted upon being his own judge, he would violate the first principle of justice. If he resorted to force in defense of his right to judge, he would be dishonored as a breaker of the law.

"Thus Peace with Justice is secured through arbitration, either by Court or by Tribunal, never by one of the parties sitting as judge in his own cause.

"Nations being only aggregates of individuals, they will not reach Justice in their judgments until the same rule holds good, *viz.*, that they, like individuals, shall not sit as judges in their own causes. What is unjust for individuals is unjust for nations. Justice is Justice, unchangeable, and should hold universal sway over all men and over all nations.

"Third—It is neither peace nor justice, but righteousness that exalteth a nation.

"Answer—Righteousness is simply doing what is right. What is just is always right; what is unjust, always wrong. It being the first principle of justice that men shall not be judges in their own causes, to refuse to submit to judge or arbitrate is unjust, hence not right, for the essence of righteousness is justice. Therefore men who place justice or righteousness above peace practically proclaim, as it appears to me, that they will commit injustice and discard righteousness by constituting themselves sole judges of their own cause in violation of law, justice and right.

"Civilized man has reached the conclusion that he meets the claims of Justice and of Right only by upholding the present reign of law. Our pressing duty is to extend its benignant reign to combinations of men called Nations. What is right for each individual must be right for the nation. This union of Law and Justice, insuring 'peace and goodwill' through disinterested tribunals, is 'righteousness which exalteth a nation.' The demand that interested parties shall sit in judgment is the 'wickedness that degrades a nation.'"

THE OPPOSITION OF THE BOSS AND THE CORPORATE AGENCIES TO POPULAR GOVERNMENT IN MASSACHUSETTS.

The Real Rulers of The Commonwealth.

ON PREVIOUS occasions we have called the attention of our readers to the baleful mastership of the Lodge-Crane political machine over its puppets in the legislature of Massachusetts, and how that machine, by its sympathetic response to the demands of great corporate interests, thwarts the public weal in the most shameful manner. Especially marked has been the sinister and evil

influence in its subtle attack on the very genius of democratic republican government. It has striven in every way possible to make the puppets of the Lodge-Crane corporation machine the masters of the people instead of the agents of the electorate. When rich corporation interests have run counter to the interests and presumed wishes of the commonwealth, the puppets of the machine and its master spirits have time and again cast their

influence, not in favor of the people, but against them.

Now these political misrepresentatives would not have dared to vote or act as they did, were it not that they knew the machine to be the real master of Massachusetts; that it holds the power of political life and death, which theoretically is lodged with the people; and that the will of the corporations is more potent than the wish of the electorate with the political bosses who are the real governors of the state.

Two instances of this character will serve to illustrate the fact.

Typical Illustrations Showing How The People's Welfare is Subordinated to Corporate Interests.

When the great paper manufacturer of Massachusetts, whose spell over the Massachusetts press has often occasioned wonder on the part of the casual observer, was governor of the state, the Boston and Albany lease was desired on the part of the New York Central Railroad. There was a widespread feeling, and, as future events have amply demonstrated, a well-grounded fear, that the interests of Massachusetts and the accommodation of the traveling public along the line of the road in question were not being properly safeguarded; and one Boston paper made a strenuous protest, demanding that the governor should follow the example which his public-spirited predecessor, Governor Wolcott, had set, and let the interested voters express their wish on the question. It was pointed out that when the Boston Elevated Railroad wanted to relay the tracks on Tremont street, the machine-made legislature was as complaisant as usual to the great corporation's demand, and the press was equally solicitous that the people of Boston should not have the chance to thwart the desires of the street-railway corporation. But Governor Wolcott refused to sign the bill granting the relaying of the tracks, without the referendum clause was attached, and the citizens of Boston thus had the opportunity to register a majority of more than 26,000 votes against the proposal which the legislature and the Boston daily press strove to force upon them in the interests of the Boston Elevated Railway Company.

When the proposed lease of the Boston and Albany Railroad came up, the *Boston Traveler*, after exposing the objectionable and

dangerous features of the proposed lease, and the need of better terms and guarantees, insisted that Governor Crane should do as Governor Wolcott had done, and refuse to sign the measure for the lease unless a referendum clause was attached giving the citizens of Massachusetts a chance to vote on the acceptance or rejection of the proposed law. Had the measure been really in the interests of the people instead of palpably in the interests of the railroad corporation, there would have been little or no doubt but what the measure would have been ratified. Indeed, there is little reason to doubt but what the terms which the railroad offered would have been far more favorable to the state, had there been any danger of the people being allowed to vote on the question. But this reasonable, just, unobjectionable and purely democratic demand was, it is needless to say, highly objectionable to the New York Central Railroad Company, and Governor Crane refused to demand the referendum. Consequently the lease such as the foreign railway corporation desired was granted, and the shameful and inadequate service that has followed has shown the fearful cost to the people of this refusal on the part of the Governor to allow them to protect their interests against corporate greed. This refusal on the part of Governor Crane to be loyal to the fundamental principles of popular government, this placing of the interests of a great and wealthy foreign corporation before the probable wishes of the voters of the state, is as typical as it is a striking example of how the politicians whom the corporation press extoll as "safe and sane" men, sacrifice the interests of those whose servants they theoretically are and strike at popular government in its vital organs.

An equally typical instance of how the Lodge-Crane corporation machine refused to permit the people even the opportunity of expressing their wishes on a question involving the financial interests of every household, is found in the refusal by the legislature of the widely expressed wish and demand that the people be allowed to vote on the question of adopting an amendment that would permit any city or town, when its citizens desired to do so, to establish a municipal coal yard, and thus protect the people from the extortions so brazenly practiced by the coal club of Massachusetts. During the great coal strike the people of this common-

wealth were the victims of two bands of plunderers—the coal trust and the coal club, or combination of home dealers, with the result that they had to pay from \$10 to \$18 a ton for their coal—more, as was clearly shown by the investigation, than a reasonable advance on the extortion charged by the coal trust. To provide against such criminal exactions as were practiced, it was proposed that municipal coal yards be established, so that a suffering people could gain relief from the irresponsible tax-gatherers and extortioners. But then it was found that the cities could not give relief without a constitutional amendment, and a movement was at once started to have such an amendment submitted to the electorate. The legislature granted a hearing, and such was the representative character of the petitioners throughout the state that there could be no doubt of the general wish on the part of the citizens. Moreover, it will be noted that the request was for the submission of the question to the people. If the people did not desire to have this permission given to towns and cities, all they would have to do was to vote, No, and then, in the case of its adoption, should a portion of the people of any city or town desire a municipal yard, it would still have to be voted upon and accepted by the majority of the electorate of the municipality before such an order could be established.

The passage of the proposed amendment could and would have served a very valuable purpose to the pockets of the millions of Massachusetts, even if no town had installed a municipal yard, for it would have given every community a weapon by which the people could have protected themselves from the extortions of the tax-farming coal monopolists. Therefore the coal club, or the home monopoly, fought it, and therefore the Lodge Republican machine was against it, and the real masters of the legislature had their way. The legislature refused to let the people even vote on the question whether or not they wished to be placed in a position where they could protect themselves from the extortions of one of the most soulless and greedy monopolies that had ever cursed the state. This illustration, very typical in character, shows how undemocratic and reactionary has been the government of Massachusetts since the machine, responsive to bosses Lodge and Crane and the corporations, has been the real master of the state.

This war against popular government and the attempt to establish the idea of the master-ship of the boss and the tools of the machine in the legislature in the place of the idea of officers being the agents of the people; this systematic war to establish a condition as inimical to the fundamentals of a democratic republic as it is in harmony with the theories of class-rule, against which the epoch of democracy was a civilization-wide protest, has been led by Senator Lodge. He has opposed the legitimate efforts of the people to protect themselves from being robbed, oppressed and exploited by the privileged interests. Moreover, he, no less than the corporations and the masters of the machine has openly and brazenly struck at the vitals of free government in the recent determined attempt to prevent the passage of even a public-opinion bill. No New England statesman of modern times has had the hardihood to attack the constitutional provisions vital to free government, which were adopted by the fathers of this great commonwealth, as has Senator Lodge.

The framers of the constitution of Massachusetts were sincere friends of popular government. They were statesmen in the true sense of the word. They placed the interests of the people before the interests of any privileged class. Men like John Hancock, Samuel Adams, James Sullivan and James Otis, recognized and insisted on recognizing that the people were the masters and that it was right and proper that they, or any other of the popular representatives, should understand that they were merely the agents of the people who were to receive their instructions from the people. Yet in the beginning of the twentieth century the boss of Massachusetts comes to the legislature and insists that the voters of Massachusetts shall not even be permitted the poor privilege of petitioning the legislature to pass measures which are desired by the electorate. We say the poor privilege, because the public-opinion bill does not make it mandatory, as it should do, upon the legislators to obey the will of the people. Boss Lodge, who is perfectly in accord with the desires of the great corporations and privileged interests, actively and openly, with the cunning, the alarmist cries and the sophistry of the special-pleader, strove to prevent the people from having the opportunity to express their wishes on four vital questions at each general election.

The action of Senator Lodge has called forth an admirable and illuminating editorial in the *Boston American*, which so clearly uncovers the motives of the bosses everywhere that we reproduce it for the use of friends of free institutions in the great conflict that is on between republican government and class-rule:

"United States Senator Lodge honored the Massachusetts State House with his presence last week. It was said that he went there to whip the Republican Senators and Representatives into line to kill the Public-Opinion bill.

"In other words, Lodge, the boss, was exerting his power to prevent the people of the state from having a chance to express their opinions by ballot on public questions.

"Lodge, like all other bosses, fears the voice of the people.

"He believes that the Public-Opinion bill is a step toward the old conditions in Massachusetts when the voters had the power not only to express their opinions by ballot, but also to instruct their representatives how to vote.

"In those days, there were no bosses like Lodge.

"In those days the people ruled.

"Those were the days shortly after the Declaration of Independence was signed, when men like John Hancock, Sam. Adams, James Sullivan, James Otis, Thomas Cushing and Caleb Davis were representatives of the people and received instructions from the people.

"No wonder Lodge fights to prevent the voice of the people from being heard again.

"He knows that if the voters had the power to express their opinions by ballot now they would vote in favor of the election of United States Senators by the people.

"He knows, too, that if Senators were elected by the people, instead of by a corporation-guided and boss-ruled Legislature, he, Lodge, could not go back to Washington.

Harvey N. Shepard on The Public Opinion Bill.

In Massachusetts there have been a number of public-spirited men who have resented and fought against all forms of despotism, oppression, corruption and injustice. In recent years this class has resolutely refused to bow the knee to boss-rule or corporation greed, and in every battle between the people and

reactionary class interests these men have ranged themselves on the side of popular government. This fact has been encouragingly evidenced in the case of the public-opinion bill. Among the admirable protests against the reactionary campaign of misrepresentation is the following letter, published in the *Boston Herald*, from Harvey N. Shepard, a prominent citizen of the commonwealth:

"The bitterness of the opposition to the public-opinion bill and the gross misrepresentation of its provisions may well cause us to ask if we really believe in a government by the people. This bill simply provides that upon the petition of 5,000 voters the people may express their opinion by ballot at a regular state election upon not over four questions of public policy. That is all. It is not the enactment of a law by ballot, it is merely to learn, for the consideration of the Legislature, what the people think upon a measure of public interest.

"The Legislature is under no obligation to follow this expression, and is at entire liberty to give to it only such weight as it deserves. If only a few of the people favor a measure or take enough interest to vote upon it, then no one could urge in favor of it that the people really want it; but if the vote be large then the members of the Legislature have learned, what every fair and candid man who believes in our institutions must wish to learn, namely, what the people want. And yet this bill is denounced as revolutionary and destructive of our institutions, and its advocates are called demagogues and Socialists.

"Our commonwealth rests upon the principle that all authority and power abide in the people. In early days, when the people were few in number and compact in residence, they came together and enacted their own laws, as they do to-day in our town meetings. When, because of number and widely scattered habitations, this became impracticable, they chose their representatives to enact laws. Nevertheless, the men who are chosen remain the agents and servants of the people. And, as their agents, it is right and proper that their principals should express their wishes, and a loyal agent ought always to wish to know what these are.

"Sometimes, as in city elections, we express our opinion upon a matter of public policy, as for instance, whether licenses shall be

given for the sale of liquors. This bill is merely an extension in the same direction, so that we may express an opinion upon a few other measures of public policy.

"If there be any demagogism or socialism in this, then popular government itself is demagogism and socialism. Our fathers, who founded our institutions and framed the Constitution under which we live surely may be supposed to know whether the principle embodied in this bill is subversive of representative government. They established this government, and, in the very charter, declared the right of the people to instruct their representatives. For several years after the adoption of the Constitution, and for more than a century before it, the people of Boston instructed their representatives. The men who did this were Samuel Adams, James Bowdoin, James Sullivan, Governors of the Commonwealth; Rufus King, John Hancock, president of the convention which framed our constitution, and John Adams, President of the United States.

"Who will dare to say that these men were demagogues and subverters of representative government?

"Article 19 of the bill of rights of our Constitution declares the right of the people to instruct their representatives. When it was adopted it was possible for the people to meet together and give such instructions. Such a course now is impossible; and this bill substitutes a possible method for one which our growth in population has made impossible. Wherein then is it subversive of representative government? A bill which seeks to ascertain the will of the people cannot be subversive of any representative government which pretends to represent the will of the people. It must be some other kind of representative government, representative not of the people, but of some self-assumed superior class.

"If a man does not believe in a government by the people, if the principles of the Declaration of Independence and of the Constitution of our commonwealth are false, then such a man is consistent in his opposition to this bill. It is because we do believe in popular government, and not in despotism, and do believe in the wisdom and integrity of the people, that we ask for this bill. And it is because of their abiding faith in the people that men like President Eliot, for instance, one of the many eminent vice-presidents of the Public Opinion League, give to it their support."

At the present writing the fate of the bill is in doubt, and in Massachusetts usually the boss and the corporations have a way of killing even the most simple measures, if those measures promise to give the people more power in directing their government and in protecting themselves against the outrageous extortions of the irresponsible tax-farming corporations. But whether Boss Lodge and the corporations triumph this year or not, the movement for direct-legislation is going forward in Massachusetts as elsewhere. It is bound to triumph as it has triumphed in Oregon, in Nevada, in South Dakota, in Montana, and as it will shortly triumph in Maine, Missouri and Oklahoma. In the first two states the recent legislatures have voted to submit constitutional amendments. In Oklahoma the constitution framers have embedded direct-legislation in the constitution of the new state.

The people are at last awakening to the supreme peril that confronts free government through the steady and determined aggressions of arrogant and corrupt corporations and privileged classes that, not content with systematic evasion of law and corruption of the streams of political life in all branches of government, are now seeking to subvert popular rule and deny to the people mastership of their own agents and servants.

LEADING CITIZENS OF MASSACHUSETTS DENOUNCE MACHINE RULE AND THE SECRET INFLUENCES THAT CONTROL AND DEBAUCH THE PEOPLE'S REPRESENTATIVES.

An Historic Meeting in an Historic Hall.

A FITTING answer to the machinations of Mr. Lodge, his machine and the secret interests that seek privileges in order to exploit the people, was given in Faneuil Hall, Massachusetts' famous Cradle of Liberty, on April 25th, at a noon-day mass-meeting to protest against the reactionary machine and corporation assault on free institutions. The various distinguished speakers riddled the flimsy and amazing sophistry of the unrepublican opposition. Over the heads of the score or more of prominent thinkers who occupied the platform were several large placards, one containing a list of the years, over fifty in all, when the people had instructed their representatives. Another contained Section 9 of the Massachusetts Bill of Rights, which the peoples' representatives adopted by a vote of over 250 to 1, and which sets forth as a fundamental fact that "the people have the right to give instruction to their representatives." Another placard bore a quotation from Boston's instruction in 1783 to the representatives who drafted the Constitution in 1784, which declared it to be "our inalienable right to communicate to you our sentiments, and when we shall judge it necessary or convenient, to give you our instructions on any special matter." The chairman of the committee who drafted this report was Samuel Adams, and among the leading members of the committee were some of the foremost statesmen of the Massachusetts of the day.

The meeting was opened by the Hon. Robert Treat Paine, Jr., president of the Public-Opinion League, with a telling speech that rang true at every point. The most distinguished of the speakers was President Charles Eliot of Harvard University.

President Eliot's Masterly Address.

Seldom has Faneuil Hall rung with the popular applause elicited by an abler or more scholarly address than was delivered by the President of Harvard University. We have in several instances had occasion to criticise

President Eliot's views on social and economic problems, and we have felt at times that the subtle spell of a reactionary pseudo-conservatism was being thrown over the head of our great university. It was with especial pleasure, therefore, that we listened to his ringing words in behalf of popular government and his strong and incisive characterization of the sinister secret influences that pervade American politics, and the degrading despotism of the political machine.

We are all familiar with the sneering manner in which the bosses, whether municipal or state, from the great Tweed down to the present time, characterize the men of conscience and high ideals who oppose corrupt practices and methods which are inimical and destructive to free government. We know full well what to expect when a boss comes face to face with the arguments of a great educator, reformer or thinker under the compulsion of moral idealism. He will seek to discredit his critic by characterizing him as academic, as a visionary, as an impractical dreamer or a dangerous radical who is assailing the "safe and sane" methods that prevail; and he will tell you that the boss is a practical man, or he may say something like the following: "You and I understand each other. We are both 'practical men.'"

President Eliot, with a genial smile very pleasing to see, opened his remarks by frankly admitting that he was an academician, a man who held theories; but he explained that in this instance his theories were based on a half-century of close observation.

"This is a practical question and I am not what would be considered perhaps a practical man. I am an out and out academic person; and the word academic is a word of reproach with men of politics and industries. But an academician or a scientist may hold theories; and the theory which I hold is a good theory, based on careful observation of American political life for the past fifty years, and on a pretty good memory of the facts thus observed. . . . I am sure that in principle this is a

bill to bring about an open public interest in legislation."

With the clear vision and the precision of a skilled surgeon who knows the nature of a disease and with unerring skill cuts down to the eating sore and reveals the poison that is draining the vitality of its victim, President Eliot laid bare the taproot of present political corruption and in so doing revealed the real reason why the political boss, and the secret interests or corrupt powers that are poisoning our political life are opposing the attempt of the people to regain their control of government and compel their representatives to be faithful to them instead of betrayers of their trust in the interests of corporate demands.

The Formidable Development of The Money Power in American Politics.

"Now what," asked President Eliot, "has been the crying evil in American politics in the past forty years? It has been secret influence. That is the great crying evil concerning legislative and administrative bodies.

"We sometimes think that we have a great security for the expression of public opinion through the public press. Does that work freely to-day? We all of us know that the public press is subject to innumerable bad secret influences. How about our legislative bodies? Do we not all know what the money power over legislators is and how it is exercised?

"In secret, by the personal efforts of interested men to procure legislation which will subserve their interests or to prevent legislation which they believe will damage their interests.

"The development of the money power in this country has been tremendous, within my clear remembrance. How about working committees of our public bodies? Committee work is open to an unusual public influence of opinion through hearings. It is all the time subject to private secret influences of interested bodies, highly organized, more and more highly organized as we go on, bringing secret pressure to bear on the committees themselves, electing members of legislatures through secret influences, organizing legislatures and committees of legislatures, that they may serve the private influences involved.

"These things are perfectly well known. Every intelligent American citizen knows how these private secret influences are brought to bear on American legislators. They tell us that the present bill degrades senators and representatives, because it looks forward to

the expression of thousands and perhaps millions of voters giving voice at the general election to their views on public matters. Is that the way in which American legislators are degraded these days?

"No. They never are, and never have been. Where American legislators are degraded in these days is by submission to machines.

The Blight of The Political Machine.

"They tell us that the present bill degrades our representatives and senators because it gives their constituents a right and an opportunity to give voice to their opinions on election day.

"Gentlemen, they are degraded already by their submission to a machine. A political machine is a private organization for the benefit of a body of men or of an individual. It gets money, a deal of money, for secret uses and dispenses it secretly. Now what has been the great crying evil in American political life in the past 40 years? It has been secret influence—that influence that has been used darkly concerning important legislation and great problems.

"We all know that the public press is subject to secret evil influences. Do we not all know how the money power is exercised in the legislature by men determined to foster their own interests by the use of this money, or to retard or prevent legislation inimical to those selfish interests?

"The development of the money power in this country has been most formidable. Not only in the legislature itself, but in the committee rooms, where important measures are first considered, is this money power secretly at work. These things are perfectly well-known to every intelligent American citizen."

True Conservatism Defined.

President Eliot is the last man in America who can be called a radical or a revolutionary, and for this reason it was especially fortunate that he devoted some time to the cry of the boss and the agents and tools of the secret interests, that the Public-Opinion bill was a radical and revolutionary measure. He said that true conservatism had already been splendidly defined in the Bible.

"There is an excellent definition, of true conservatism, the best I have ever been able to find, in the epistles of St. Paul. This definition is: 'Prove all things; hold fast to that which is good.' That is just it—hold

fast to things that are good; but to hold fast to the machines, as to old junk, to hold fast to the obsolete methods of government, is not true conservatism."

A Plea For Democracy.

President Eliot next handled in an admirable manner the alarmist cry raised by the unscrupulous political bosses and the corrupt privileged interests that seek special privileges, that the Public-Opinion bill is revolutionary. On this point he said:

"And now fellow-citizens, we hear a great and familiar cry—'this is a revolutionary measure, this is a radical measure, this is a socialistic, an anarchistic measure. Let the conservative people of the Commonwealth beware!'

"That, fellow-citizens, is the most fundamental of all doubts concerning the working of a democracy. Has America been revolutionary in times past? Is not a free democracy the most conservative government in the world?

"Because it is builded first on public justice, then on public freedom, then on the diffusion of opportunity and all other evidences of public well-being. That is the reason why a free government is the most conservative government in the world.

"Which is the most conservative, Russia or the United States? Which is the most socialistic, anarchistic—Russia or the United States? Which was the most conservative, the French monarchy or the French revolution? Verily it was the revolution which was the most conservative of great public interests."

Edwin D. Mead's Plea For Direct Legislation.

Among the other able speeches delivered from the platform of Faneuil Hall at this meeting the two that call for special notice were delivered by Edwin D. Mead, the well-known author and publicist, and Representative Luce, the able young Republican leader in the Massachusetts House. Representative Luce has championed the Public-Opinion bill and measured swords with Boss Lodge. His address at Faneuil Hall was especially able and statesmanlike. From it we are led to believe that he aspires to reflect the rising tide of genuine democracy and we shall not be surprised if he becomes at no distant day a power in the national capital, for the forces of popular government are bound from now

on to become more potent and commanding in city, state and nation.

Space renders it impossible for us to notice his speech at length, and, indeed, to do more than quote a few pregnant paragraphs from Mr. Mead's exceptionally masterly discussion. The latter gentleman in his address said:

"Are you afraid of direct-legislation? Then you are afraid of democracy. If we believe in democracy, then we ought to welcome everything that enlists and trains the people, that throws responsibility upon them and makes them active and not passive. . . . Ultimate democracy will be vastly more like primitive democracy, like the Swiss commune and the New England town meeting, than any intervening form. Representative government is a bridge from one to the other. More and more, as democracies grow wise, will they delegate detailed activity to men peculiarly fit for it, and give them larger power, with no need of farther security for its proper exercise than the next election. But more and more on questions of public policy will democracies speak directly. That they have not been able to do so in large ways is simply because the conveniences for it have not until now existed. No theory of democracy is so vicious as the theory that the people generally are foolish and incompetent, and that their legislature is boiled-down wisdom and ought to be kept as free as possible from popular influence. The history of democracy shows that legislatures never have so strong and truly independent men as when the people behind are active and aroused, vigorously declaring their convictions and desires to their representatives.

"Direct-legislation is going to increase steadily and rapidly.

"The time will come when all the people of this republic, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, will vote at morning on a single great question of public policy—not mixed up, as now, with half a dozen other questions—and know at evening the result. The gain will be immense. It would have been an immense gain if, in the last half dozen years, we could have had the clear, authoritative verdict of our whole people on the Philippine issue, or the big navy issue, or the tariff issue—which we never yet have had because these have always been smothered in other issues."

REV. R. J. CAMPBELL ON THE CHURCH AND SOCIALISM.

THE HIBBERT JOURNAL for April opens with one of the most profoundly thoughtful and significant religious discussions that has appeared in years. It is from the pen of Rev. R. J. Campbell, A.M., the pastor of the City Temple of London and one of the master spirits of the New Theology movement that has been so deeply stirring the free evangelical churches of Great Britain during recent months.

In this discussion the brilliant young clergyman explains what is aimed at by those who head the New Theology movement and who are striving to reawaken the old moral or spiritual enthusiasm that made the primitive church irresistible,—“a movement which depends upon no one personality and no one church,” but is rather “a spiritual quickening, a renewal of life and energy with the various Christian communions and even beyond them.” This movement is striving to unify and harmonize warring forces that have at heart truth, justice and righteousness. Its one great word, says our author, “is unity, the unity of the individual with the race, and of the race with God.” And it welcomes science as an aid and ally instead of striving to discredit its discoveries and revelations.

“Religion is the soul’s response to the universe, and science is only the mind trying to understand the universe. . . . A theology in conflict with the scientific method is therefore, in the nature of things an inadequate expression of religious experience, and even a clog upon it. The rehabilitation of religious faith which is now upon us involves a recognition of the sacredness of science.”

On nothing is the New Theology movement more insistent than on its demand that the social idealism of Jesus shall again be exalted to a foremost place as a vital, living, moving factor in religious life and experience. It demands that the doctrine of human brotherhood shall be accepted, acted upon and lived up to. Under this division of the discussion Mr. Campbell’s words are as bold and thoughtful as they are strikingly exceptional, when we consider that the author is one of the most

popular Non-conformist evangelical clergymen of London.

“It is an extraordinary thing,” observes Mr. Campbell, “that socialism should ever, in any of its manifestations, have become materialistic, and the fact that it should have done so is an indictment of the churches. Whence springs the deep-seated hostility of so many of the representatives of labor to the churches? It can only be from the fact that organized religion has, in the immediate past, lost sight of its own fundamental, the divineness of man. Practical materialism in the churches has led to theoretical materialism in the masses. If the *ecclesia* of Jesus had all along been proclaiming, both by precept and example, the ideal of universal brotherhood and the possibility of realizing the kingdom of God on earth, the unprivileged could never have looked for any other leader. But suspicion and mistrust have been born of the unfaithfulness of Christians to their own first principle. . . . The obvious, glaring thing in the world of human affairs to-day is that the Church has been trying too long to save men from suffering in a world to come, and has been only partially concerned about the root-causes of suffering in this. . . . The man at the bottom of the social ladder sees this with the clearness born of adversity, and hates what he thinks to be the insincerity of organized religion. Then, too, the fact is beyond dispute that the movement toward social emancipation is now international, and recognizes itself to be such. It is far ahead of the churches in this respect; in fact, it is the true church, the organization which is doing the work the churches ought to be doing, realizing the kingdom of God. The socialist workman in Philadelphia feels himself nearer to the workman in Berlin than he does to the plutocrat in the next block. Here is the greatest and most promising of the forces making for universal peace. What are we to call it? If this movement be not guided by the spirit of Christ, there is no other movement that is. The professed materialism of so many of its adherents is only incidental, and due to the moral apathy of the churches more than to any other cause whatsoever.

But it cannot continue. No movement so intrinsically spiritual can continue without recognizing itself for what it really is. The touch of religious faith would make it irresistible.

"The vast international labor movement is an expression of it, and once that movement becomes aflame with religious zeal, all the forces of harm and hate will go down before it. . . . The one thing we have to get men to see is that to know God, and to be happy here or in a world to come, they must be unselfish, and that no other kind of worship and no other kind of creed are worth taking into account. Set the world on fire with this kind of faith in God, and we have saved it; it is the only reason for which churches exist, or ought to exist.

"We want this ancient ideal preached as a new evangel. We must show the masses that we are in earnest, and to do so we must let other objects sink into the background: 'Seek first the kingdom of God.' We must be simple and sincere if we would really help those who are simple and sincere. When we use the word sin, let us show that we mean selfishness; and when we proclaim a gospel for sin, let us begin by being unselfish ourselves. Where is the good of talking to men about sin while we have plenty and they are starving? The real sin consists in doing nothing to alter such a state of things. When the man with a burdened conscience comes to us for relief, let us tell him that we bear all the burden together, and that until he becomes a Christ, all the love in the universe will come to his help and share his struggle. His burden is ours—the burden of the Christ incarnate for the redemption of the world. There is no want within the range of human experience which this gospel will not meet. It is the proclamation of our oneness with God. Never since the nascent days of the Christian evangel has that gospel been preached with fervor and clearness by an undivided church.

"If the Church will unite to preach it now, the future is glorious. It can be preached under any or all of the existing ecclesiastical forms, but it must be preached; the world

is waiting for it. The unprivileged masses of every nation in Christendom are yearning for it and ready to respond to it. They do not know—how could they know?—that the Church originally came into being for this end and no other; so in their hunger for a purer, nobler social order they have turned away from the Church, and many of them are making the mistake of thinking that they can live by bread alone. Let the prophets come forward and tell them the truth, the truth that the hither and the yonder are one, and that man is worth the saving here because he has an immortal destiny, and must begin somewhere if he is to reach the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ in 'the one far-off divine event to which the whole creation moves.'"

Here is an inspiring message from a leading minister of a great evangelical metropolitan pulpit. It is true that Mr. Campbell's orthodoxy has been called in question. It is true also that the orthodoxy of many others of the present who are not content with crying "Lord! Lord!" but who are most faithfully doing the work enjoined by the Nazarene is being called in question. But so it has ever been. The prophets are slain, but their messages become the marching orders for the sons of God; and to-day the awakening of the social conscience is not confined to any church or body of men. It is in evidence on every hand. The battle for economic emancipation, for social righteousness, pure government and justice will be waged with increasing bitterness between the forces of darkness, reaction, creedalism, dogmatic theology, privilege and egoism on the one hand, and the cohorts of light, brotherhood, freedom, fraternity and justice on the other. But the spirit of the Nazarene is abroad in the church and in the world. The ideal of the Golden Rule is being pitted against the ideal of the rule of gold. It is idealism *versus* materialism, unselfishness or altruism against egoism or the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh and the pride of life. Yes, the battle will be fierce and determined, but none can doubt the ultimate issue. Democracy is leagued with the dawn. She is attended by freedom, justice and fraternity. The future belongs to her.

OKLAHOMA'S NEW CONSTITUTION: A MONUMENT TO PROGRESSIVE AND CONSCIENTIOUS STATESMANSHIP.

THE MEN who have framed the constitution of Oklahoma deserve to stand side by side with the illustrious statesmen who toiled so faithfully in the infant days of our nation to meet the exigencies of their time and safeguard the interests of all the people, and with the enlightened statesmen of modern New Zealand who have placed that wonderful little commonwealth in the van of the democratic states of the world,—the noblest exponent of just and popular government.

The first state constitution to be framed in the Republic since the dawn of the twentieth century is fittingly the nearest a model constitution of that of any state in the New World. Among its leading provisions are the following:

Direct-legislation through the initiative and referendum, by constitutional provisions framed by sincere friends of a democratic republic.

Nomination of all state, county, district and township officers by primaries.

Prohibition of succession in state offices.

Prohibition of railway corporations from owning any productive agency of a natural commodity.

Prohibition of corporations from owning more land than is absolutely necessary in the operation of their business.

Prohibition of the issuance of watered stock; books of corporations made subject to inspection at all times.

Prohibition of the employment of children under fifteen years of age in factories and mines.

Elective state corporation commission.

Two-cent passenger fares.

Labor and arbitration commission.

Agricultural commission.

Oil, gas and mines commission.

Submission of the prohibition question to the people of the whole state.

The appointment of a commission to negotiate purchase of the segregated mineral lands in Indian Territory, valued at many millions of dollars.

In commenting on this constitution in *The*

Commoner, the well-known editor, Mr. Will. M. Maupin, observes:

"Just and righteous things which the people of older states have fought in vain for years to secure through the operation of legislation, are given the people of this great new state by the constitution which they themselves have written. It is a people's constitution in fact as well as in name. It took Massachusetts, New York, Illinois and other states a third of a century to secure adequate legislation against child labor, but Oklahoma's constitution prohibits it ever entering the state. Workingmen in older states fought and plead for years for laws safeguarding them and abrogating the old English rule of fellow-servants. They will not have to make that fight in Oklahoma, for the constitution fixes it forever unless changed by a majority vote, and employer's liability is the fundamental law of the new state.

"The eight-hour day in state, county and municipal work is provided for, and the legislature is empowered to provide a state printing plant which will relieve the people from the exactions of the school text-book trust and a printing combine that has long looted the territorial treasury. The employment of children under 15 years of age in factories or underground mines is prohibited.

"Oklahoma joins the sisterhood of states with the best constitution ever drafted by the people of any state. And no other territory was ever better fitted for statehood. The citizenship of Oklahoma combines within itself the best blood and brain and brawn of all the states—a typical Americanism that is better than Anglo-Saxon, Norman, Celt, or Dane—men who have nerved themselves to dare and do, and in the doing have established a commonwealth the like of which the world never saw at a similar age."

We have in the last few years had many letters from Oklahoma asking for informa-

tion and facts in regard to direct-legislation and many other questions that intimately relate to popular rule and justice for all the people, which indicated the deep interest which the readers of *THE ARENA* in the territory that was soon to be a state were taking in the grave work that their representatives would soon be called upon to perform; and

it is with keen pleasure that we note this youngest of the members of the sisterhood of states meeting the changed conditions and new dangers that have arisen since the feudalism of privileged wealth has gained mastery of political bosses and machines, in a manner worthy of a twentieth century democratic state.

THE FINE RECORD OF THE MUNICIPAL STREET RAILWAYS OF LIVERPOOL FOR THE LAST YEAR.

WE HAVE recently received the annual report of the street-car service of Liverpool, by which it is shown that last year the municipal street-car service yielded a gross profit of £192,337, or about \$961,685. Of this amount £109,580, or about \$547,900, was applied for interest and sinking funds, leaving a balance of £82,756, or about \$431,780, that was applied as follows: reserve, renewal and depreciation, £55,171, or about \$272,855; and the balance of £27,585, or about \$137,925, was applied to reduction of taxes.*

The average fare paid was 1.108 pence. The average length of the penny stage was 2 miles, 699 yards.

Of course from the view-point of the Morgans, the Ryans, the Belmonts and the hosts of apologists and attorneys for corporation exploitation of the people by privately-owned public utilities, this record will be regarded as a failure. It does not provide for a large stream of profits being diverted into the pockets of a few dangerously rich men. But to the thoughtful, level-headed, common-sense citi-

zen, it will appear a splendid record and will furnish another object lesson showing the practicality of popular-ownership of public utilities. Here it is seen that after the city had set aside money for the sinking fund account, for the reserve fund and for depreciation, it was able to turn \$137,925 over for the relief of taxes. Nor is this all. The riot of graft and corruption that has marked American municipalities since great corporations, organized to acquire those golcondas of the civilized state, the public utilities, such as the street-cars, electric lights, gas and telephones, and that has been proven in every investigation and exposure of modern municipal corruption in American cities, has been due principally to the debasing influence of public-service companies seeking monopoly rights to exploit and plunder the people. Private-ownership of natural monopolies is the tap-root of political corruption and moral degradation in city, state and nation, as it is the backbone and chief reliance of the corrupt bosses and the "practical" men—the venal masters of the political machines.

A VINDICATION OF MUNICIPAL-OWNERSHIP BY THE INVESTIGATIONS OF A GREAT LONDON CONSERVATIVE DAILY.

THE *LONDON Daily Telegraph*, a well-known journal which has no leanings in favor of public-ownership, appreciating the genuine interest in the question of the success or failure of municipal-ownership throughout Great Britain, recently commissioned its cor-

*We have used only the pounds in the report, ignoring shillings and pence.

respondents in eighty British municipalities to report the profit or loss of public utilities operated by the municipalities. On April 1st the paper published the seventy-five reports that had been returned. It is significant that a city like Birmingham, where municipal-ownership had been scarcely less successful than in Glasgow, should be omitted from the

report. But the returns must have proved as disappointing to the editors as they are gratifying to the friends of public-ownership. Had the *Telegraph* been an American daily whose stock was heavily owned by stockholders in privately owned public utilities, it is not probable that the report would ever have seen the light of print, for it showed that of thirty municipal gas plants reported on, all are being operated either at a profit or without loss. Of fifty-six electric-light plants, thirty-nine are showing a clear profit. Of thirty-five street-car lines, twenty-four are being run at a profit. Of thirty-three municipal water-works, twenty-eight are run at a profit.

It should be remembered that these figures come from an authority unfavorable to public-ownership, and furthermore we should bear in mind that in many instances towns have

installed public plants where no private company would undertake the business, knowing that for some years it would be impossible to look for large returns. But the citizens, desiring the utilities, voted for the municipal plants, feeling that the convenience and benefit would greatly overmatch the loss that might be sustained for a few years, and also realizing the fact that a public utility grows more and more valuable as population increases, so that a plant that is operated at a small profit, or at a loss, for a time, will ultimately become a veritable gold mine to the municipality owning it. Still further, the publicly owned and operated natural monopolies frequently secure for the citizens greatly reduced rates and incomparably better service than that which they supplant, and in these ways vastly over-balance any possible loss.

THE CHICAGO ELECTION.

IT HAS on many occasions afforded us genuine pleasure to call the attention of our readers to the fine work for genuine democracy and just and pure government which has been carried forward by Mr. Louis F. Post in his admirable paper, *The Public*—a paper which in our judgment is the best editorial sheet published in America. In its issue of April 20th Mr. Post has an editorial analysis and a historical sketch of the Chicago election contest which impresses us as being not only by far the finest thing that has been written on the subject, but as being one of the very best editorials that has appeared in any journal in months.

The gifted editor does not see in the reverse any indication of a reactionary rising tide, and his conclusions are legitimate and true. But one thing must not be lost sight of by the friends of progress. Now as never before the great grafting influences everywhere, the bosses, the machines and the criminal rich or the representatives of predatory wealth, are alarmed and aroused. From now on we must expect that the wealth of corrupt influences seeking monopoly privileges for the purpose of exploiting and oppressing the people will flow like water in all great contests, as it flowed in Chicago; while the grafting element and the beneficiaries of special privi-

lege who pose as pillars of society will join hands with the corrupt cohorts from the social cellar, as they did in Chicago. And the friends of pure government, of just conditions and of democracy must not only expect but be prepared to meet this formidable array, reinforced by the money-controlled press, in forthcoming contests. From now on, wherever a Dunne, a Johnson, a LaFollette, a Folk or a Bryan appears, we shall find far more than empty denunciations and braggart words. The plutocracy knows these men to be genuinely sincere. It knows that they cannot be bought, cannot be cajoled, flattered, bullied or frightened from their allegiance to the cause of the people. It knows that these men are not compromisers, when compromise means surrender of the cause of justice to predatory wealth. It knows that they are not Tafts or Roots or Cortelyous or Shaws, nor are they men who would select such men as the above for political bed-fellows and confidential companions. They are not men who would ask a Harriman to come down and discuss a message with them. The opposition to all such men is unanimous and whole-hearted in so far as the grafting element and the predatory rich are concerned. In this respect it is far different from the opposition accorded Mr. Roosevelt, where one wing of

the plutocracy opposes him while another is staunchly with him.

In closing his editorial survey Mr. Post says:

"In this campaign, then, Mayor Dunne was confronted with overwhelming odds. The traction companies were against him. All the financial interests of Chicago were against him. The great financial interests of New York that reap profits from the exploitation of Chicago, were against him. His immediate predecessor as mayor, who was also his competitor at the Democratic primaries, was against him. The 'goo-goes' and the 'gray wolves' were against him. An enormous corruption fund furnished by the traction interests, which had millions at stake, was at the disposal of his enemies in both parties for use against him. The lawyer whom he trusted to carry out the purpose of 'the Werno letter' was against him. The entire press of the city, except the Hearst papers, all of them at bottom under the control of predatory interests and some of them beneficiaries of public plunder, were in league against him. The Hearst papers were not for him until too late to aid him. Every plutocratic vote was a vote for his adversary. Every philistine vote was a vote for his adversary. Every venal vote was a vote for his adversary.

"Yet Mayor Dunne, in the face of these enormous odds, was defeated by only 12,991 plurality in a total vote of \$35,000. He received 45 per cent. of the total vote; his adversary received less than 49 per cent.—a difference of hardly $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

"Small as this difference was, it was enough to elect Busse and defeat Dunne. But in the great conflict now developing between an aggressive plutocracy and an awakening democracy, the event of a contest such as that at Chicago is of less importance than are its indications of the drift of public sentiment. By this test there is in the Chicago vote nothing discouraging to the friends of progressive democracy.

"If the *omnium-gatherum* of venality in rags and venality in swallowtails, of degraded poor and ignorant rich, of saloon 'heelers' and club politicians, of dainty reformers and slum coteries, of grafting newspapers and

pharisee pulpiteers, of all the high cohorts and all the low camp-followers of privilege, acting in unison with a political machine enmasked in the splendid traditions of the party of Abraham Lincoln and oiled freely with the spoils of county, state and national politics—if such an aggregation could not in such circumstances command more than 49 per cent. of the total vote of Chicago, while Mayor Dunne with a disorganized party and neither money nor newspaper support could under the same circumstances command more than 45 per cent., the evidence of virility in progressive democracy is full of hope. For Chicago itself, for every other municipality in which privilege and democracy are in battle array, and for the nation at large whose political issues are taking on the same shape, the result in Chicago is indicative of an advance of progressive democracy in the public mind.

"This encouragement may be found also in the vote on the traction ordinances. Not only were the same agglomerate elements of privilege that opposed Dunne united in support of those ordinances, but the ordinances were advocated as municipal-ownership measures. Voters who lacked the sense of humor to see the absurdity of a campaign by traction corporations for traction corporations and at the expense of traction corporations in behalf of municipal-ownership, were led by the newspaper combine, by Mayor Dunne's own traction counsel, and by much of the ordinance literature, to suppose that they were voting for municipal-ownership in voting for these ordinances. In such circumstances a majority of only 33,000 for the ordinances out of a total vote of nearly 300,000 is not indicative of a public sentiment against public-ownership.

"What municipal-ownership has lost in Chicago is legal power; for these ordinances make municipal-ownership almost impossible, however strong municipal-ownership sentiment may be. So much then is indeed lost, just as there is a practical loss in the defeat of Dunne. But in the one case as in the other there is no evidence of popular reaction. Privilege may have gained a tactical advantage, but progressive democracy has lost none of its impetus."

PROFESSOR FRANK PARSONS' SERIOUS ILLNESS AND CONVALESCENCE.

FOR MORE than three months a shadow has rested over the office of THE ARENA, cast by the very critical illness of Professor Frank Parsons, whose life for some time trembled in the balance, and even the skilful surgeons in charge more than once despaired of his recovery. Now, however, thanks largely to the healthy condition of his blood due to a strictly temperate life, he is convalescing, and all friends of true democracy and just government will, we are sure, share our relief and thankfulness at the promised restoration to health.

We believe that there is not another man among the earnest, single-hearted scholars who are devoting their lives to the cause of just and free government, whose loss would mean so much to fundamental democracy in the present political and economic crisis, as that of Professor Frank Parsons. His long experience gained during the years he served as a member of the faculty of the Law Department of Boston University, and as a legal text-book writer, admirably fitted him to do his great work for rational democratic progress in a masterly manner. He had learned to look on all sides of a mooted question, to reason broadly and to maintain a judicial attitude. His innate love of fairness and justice was no less marked than his passionate desire to know the truth, that he might judge righteously. He has apprehended as have few of our leaders the vital importance of direct-legislation for the preservation of free and just government. The research required for the preparation of his important work, *The City for the People*, showed him what similar investigation has shown all fair-minded students who have delved deeply into the subject,—that the great tap-root of modern municipal corruption is to be found in the public-service corporations seeking enormously valuable franchises and other privileges which ought by rights to be always owned and operated by the people and for the benefit of all the people. He saw that it was idle to hope to break the power of corrupt political bosses, rings and machines so long as they had behind them the rich public-

service companies whose master spirits were identified with other leading commercial enterprises in the community and who posed as the ultra-respectable pillars of society. The great campaign-contributing corporations made the machine invincible and in effect destroyed free government. He saw that only through such wise, sane and eminently practical provisions as had early marked the New England town government, and which has been perfected, extended and modified so as to meet the requirements of the present-day municipality, the state and the nation, by the Swiss people in their legislation known as the initiative and referendum, could the power of triumphant corruption be destroyed and a pure, just and truly democratic government be restored. In the second place, so long as natural monopolies remained in the hands of the few, offering the lure of immense wealth—wealth that would naturally increase with every successive year, or as the community increased in population and wealth, all the resources and ingenuity which cunning lawyers and controlled officials could exert would be employed to defeat the ends of good government and to exploit the people for the interests of the few. Hence, next to direct-legislation or the establishment of a truly democratic government, through measures adapted to meet the present emergency, it was important that the community or the people take over the natural monopolies or public utilities.

His exhaustive and painstaking research connected with the preparation of his fascinating *Story of New Zealand* showed him the wonderfully beneficent results following the workings of a government that placed the rights and interests of all the people above class concern or privileged interests,—a government that had the ideal of justice ever before it as a guiding star; and it also showed him the splendid victory attainable when the spirit of genuine democracy was the keynote of public service. The results which he found had followed the introduction and the carrying forward of a sane and wise democratic program of progress confirmed his wholesome

optimism, giving him courage to enter with enthusiasm upon the great work that had to be done before our nation could be wrested from the domination of privileged greed.

He visited Europe on two occasions, spending many months in the Old World—months of careful and painstaking investigation. The railways and public utilities and the great voluntary coöperative work of the Old World enlisted his time and attention. He has, we believe, made a far more careful personal study of the railway systems of the various European countries than any other American, and he went into this work thoroughly prepared, having studied the railroad problem in this country for several years, during which time he had travelled throughout the Republic from ocean to ocean and had interviewed scores upon scores of leading railroad officials, managers and men intimately acquainted with the railway service in all its different phases. His great books, the fruit of four years of onerous labor, *The Railways, the Trusts and the People* and *The Heart of the Railroad Problem*, are master works, without peers in the railway literature of the New World.

His study of municipal-ownership has made him preëminent as an authority on this great

question; while the victories won by voluntary coöperation in Great Britain, Denmark, Switzerland, Italy, Belgium, France and other European lands early led him to take a prominent part in important attempts to further coöperative enterprises in the New World. He has long been intimately associated with this work in America.

Among all the rare spirits whom it has been our fortune to know and to work with during the past eighteen years, we know of no life more absolutely unselfish, more whole-souled in its devotion to the cause of just government and the rights of man, more loyal to the high demands of moral idealism, or more insensible to any and all the wiles and lures that tempt men to betray a trust or be recreant to duty, than Professor Frank Parsons. Far above and beyond the feelings of personal friendship or editorial association rises the value of this life to the Republic. His loss would have been irreparable in the present crisis in our history. Knowing the man and his service to the cause of human progress as we do, our readers can understand something of the joy we experience in his promise of health, which we trust will enable him to yet devote many useful years to the cause of the people and the interests of democracy.

PUBLIC-OWNERSHIP NEWS.

BY RALPH ALBERTSON,

Secretary of The National Public-Ownership League.

Houston, Texas.

A WRITER in a recent issue of the *Outlook*, describing the new system of government in Houston, gives as one of the best evidences of its superiority over the old system the achievements of the municipal water-works. When governed by a corrupt city council, the people had voted 3 to 1 against municipal-ownership, but when the commission system and the referendum were adopted the citizens gained confidence in their government and reversed the former vote 4 to 1. The city took charge of the plant in October. The old company's service had not been satisfactory. Since it was cheaper to pump from the Bayou than from

the artesian wells that were supposed to furnish the supply, a considerable percentage of Bayou water was mixed with the pure water from the wells. Moreover, the fire pressure was often inadequate. The city at once cut off the Bayou water, and began the installation of duplicate machinery. The average water pressure was increased about nine pounds, and adequate fire pressure was obtained. While wages of employes were increased slightly—about \$3,600 a year—the salaries of the company's officials were dispensed with to the amount of \$9,000 annually. The city is burning less coal than the old company, and the total expense of operating the more efficient plant is about \$400 less than it was under private management.

Lincoln, Nebraska.

LINCOLN owns and operates its water-works and electric-light plant, and furnishes water at prices that are but half of what are charged in any other western city that is dependent as Lincoln is, upon wells. Mayor Brown says that the city will make approximately \$93,500 this year out of its water-works. The lighting plant which has been running but a little over a year has proved its superiority to the old private system. For many years the city paid a private company per month for arc lamps for street lighting prices ranging from \$10 down to \$7.45 for all-night lights and \$5.45 for midnight lights, moonlight schedule, operating at that time 180 lamps. Then the city adopted gas lights until September 1, 1905, when its municipal plant was installed at a cost of \$86,690. Its lights are all-night lights every night, and of a candle-power admittedly much superior to those furnished under private-ownership, and the average cost is \$4.26 per light per month.

Needham, Massachusetts.

BY AN almost unanimous vote one of the hottest town meetings ever held in Needham turned down the proposition to sell the town's electric-light distributing plant to the Edison Electric Illuminating Company of Boston, and authorized the moderator to appoint a committee of five citizens to report upon the advisability of the town building a generating plant and doing both street and commercial lighting.

At present the town owns the distributing plant, and the power is bought from the Edison Company, the latter also doing the commercial lighting. The street-lighting contract does not expire until October, 1908, but the company, following up its policy of obtaining a monopoly of the lighting business of eastern Massachusetts, has for some time been endeavoring to secure absolute control of the system in this town.

Although the Edison company had the chairman of the Board of Aldermen on its side engineering the effort to sell out the town's plant, the corporation attorneys could not swing the town meeting. They met overwhelming defeat.

Mr. Bundy's Questionnaire.

MR. JOHN BUNDY of Syracuse, N. Y., has recently made an investigation among the

cities owning lighting plants, and reported the results of his inquiries to the Syracuse Lighting Commission. Inquiries were sent out to 132 cities and replies received from 101. Ninety-four cities claimed to furnish light at lower rates than public-service corporations. Seven cities reported plants abandoned. Of sixty-three cities reported in newspapers or other publications to be unsuccessful, thirty-four replied to the charge, seven admitted failure, ten stated that municipal-ownership had not been tried, and seventeen claimed that they were operating successfully.

Mr. Bundy furnishes figures to show that the city of Syracuse could build a power station and furnish light and power at lower prices than are now charged and make a good profit, and in figuring the cost of conducting the business he makes allowance of \$170,000 per year, as the excess of the cost of management by the city over what a public-service corporation would pay.

Calgary, Canada.

PUBLIC-OWNERSHIP of public utilities is a thoroughly established policy in the cities of this territory and Calgary is about to lead the way in the matter of establishing her own street-railway system. The Public Works Committee has reported in favor of expending \$250,000 on the street-railway system and the city council has decided that the building and administration of the system shall be placed in the hands of competent commissioners.

Inflated Capital of Private Companies.

WILLIAM D. MARKS, the gas expert of Buffalo, N. Y., has recently reported to the State Gas and Electrical Commission that while the Buffalo gas companies are capitalized at \$15,000,000 their property is worth less than \$2,000,000. He puts the cost of gas at 51 cents. Professor Bemis at the same time stated that if the companies were capitalized at \$2,246,000 they could sell gas at 80 cents, allow 5 cents for depreciation and make a profit of 6 per cent. As it is now, 52 cents per 1,000 cubic feet are used to pay capital charges.

The Philadelphia Gas Commission says that the United Gas Improvement Company has wrongfully charged up from \$4,000,000 to

\$10,000,000 on improvements which is really a repairs account; the city could take back its plant and during the 20 years the lease has still to run sell gas at 75 cents and clear fifty million dollars.

New Municipal Water-Works.

MANY OF our readers say that they hope we will give the news of the growth of municipal-ownership of water-works, and notwithstanding what we said on the subject last month, it may be well that at least some of the notable cases be included in our reports.

During the past month Galena, Illinois, has won, after a three years' fight, the possession of the water-works which will hereafter be the property of the city. The price is \$82,000. The service rendered by the private company has been very poor and the city will at once give a largely increased fire protection and extend the service into an increased number of households.

At Franklin, New Hampshire, the vote taken by the town meeting for the purchase of the franchise and plant of the Franklin Water Company was passed by a unanimous vote. The price will be \$170,000. Permission must be secured from the legislature. The city plans to introduce a system of artesian wells to replace the bad supply furnished by the private company.

At Live Oak, Florida, the fight for city-ownership of water-works was referred to a Board of Arbitration. Their report on the valuation of the plant owned by the private party has been voted on and will be adopted.

The following towns have taken steps towards securing possession of water-works during the month: Roseville, California; Selma and Tallahassee, Florida; Cochran, Commerce, Madison and Vidella, Georgia; Cary, Danforth, Good Hope, and Heyworth, Illinois; Cordell and Eufaula, Indian Territory; Dallas City and West Branch, Iowa; Ponca, Kansas; Alexandria, Louisiana; Franklin, Massachusetts; Battle Lake, Michigan; Battle Lake, Farmington and Henderson, Minnesota; Gunnison, Mississippi; Carthage, Missouri; Arcadia, Nebraska; Laurinburg and Shelby, North Carolina; Russell, North Dakota; Medina, Youngstown and Zanesville, Ohio; Drexel and Eugene, Oregon; Hobart, Peoria and Prague, Oklahoma; Lewisburg, Tennessee; Gilmer, Maypearl, Nacogdoches and Plana,

Texas; Bellingham, Creston and Riverside, Washington; Wheeling, West Virginia; Linden, Manitowoc and Withee, Wisconsin; Wetaskiwin, Alta, Canada; Brandon, Manitoba, Canada; London and Welland, Ontario, Canada.

New Lighting Plants.

THE FOLLOWING towns have been reported in the press during the month as taking steps towards the introduction of public-owned gas and electric-light plants: Fort Smith and Lake Village, Arkansas; Edgewood and Madison, Georgia; Holden, Massachusetts; Calumet, Michigan; Battle Creek and Minneapolis, Minnesota; Stanton, Nebraska; Newark, New Jersey; Lowville and Sherburne, New York; Arlington, Athens and Magnolia, Ohio; Eugene and Jefferson, Oregon; Sharon and South Sharon, Pennsylvania; Bountiful and Ogden, Utah; Pulaski, Virginia; Wetaskiwin, Alta, Canada; Deseronto, Ontario, Canada.

A Municipal Journal at Detroit.

THE CITY of Detroit, in accordance with legal requirements, follows the practice of publishing the official proceedings in the daily papers, a practice which, for reasons well-understood, is not altogether satisfactory. Comptroller Joy has made an official recommendation that the city publish a weekly municipal journal containing the proceedings of the Common Council, Board of Education, the Library Commission, the Fire Commission, the Police Department, and the Board of Health, as well as all legal advertisements of the city, proposals for bids, notices, etc. The paper will be published every Wednesday morning, sent free to all city officials, and mailed to interested citizens at the price of \$1 a year.

Municipal Fuel Supply at Spokane.

THERE is a strong public movement in Spokane, Washington, in favor of the city organizing and operating a municipal fuel yard. The fuel supply of the city is under the control of a combination of capitalists who have charged arbitrary and exorbitant prices during the past winter, and as a result the public protest is taking the form of a constructive plan whereby the city shall pro-

tect the people from further abuses of this sort. Eminent attorneys are of the opinion that an ordinance for the purpose would be legal, as the state law permits municipalities of the first class to supply water, light and heat to the public.

The Chicago Election.

THE CHICAGO election was an unmerited defeat for Mayor Dunne, and a high-priced victory for the J. Pierpont Morgan ring; it was a set-back to the cause of public-ownership because the enemy was shrewd, powerful and unscrupulous, but it was not a defeat of public-ownership at the hands of the people. A great majority of the people of Chicago believe in public-ownership. Out of a vote of 330,000 Dunne was beaten by less than 13,000, while the socialists, all of them believing in carrying the principle of public-ownership further than Dunne would, polled 13,500 votes. No bought votes can be computed on this side of the scale, while on the other side there were all the corrupting influences which money could create, and all the prejudice, fear and confusion of issues that money could inspire. Thousands who believe in public-ownership, "not now, but soon," voted for Busse. Even men such as Jenkin Lloyd Jones favored the adoption of the ordinances. The issues were badly confused. Mayor Dunne was initially responsible for this in his appointment of Walter Fisher as traction counsel. This man showed the corporations how to beat the people.

The corporations now hold 20 year franchises with the condition that the city may buy the entire property at any time after giving six months' notice by paying \$50,000,000 and the cost of extensive improvements which the companies are required to make. Upon these improvements about \$40,000,000 is to be expended. There are to be universal transfers, and the city is to receive annually 55 per cent. of the net earnings.

The London County Council Again.

MUCH ado has been made by the press of America, and especially by that part of it which is controlled by traction, gas or telephone interests, over the recent election in London, and a manifest desire to befuddle

the voters of this country has led the papers to bring every possible influence to bear in their endeavor to create a totally false impression about the election which they herald as "the defeat of municipal-ownership." They assert gleefully that municipal-ownership of public utilities was the issue in the London election; that municipal-ownership was defeated; that London has made a thorough trial of municipal-ownership and has rejected it, and that consequently it would be the height of folly for American cities to give it further thought or to consider it other than an abject failure. Some of the newspapers aver, with delightful inconsistency, that the result of the election was due to the large vote cast by the women, who are privileged to vote in municipal elections in England, and therefore, "if reformers will insist upon equal suffrage for women, they must take the consequences."

The fact of the matter is that municipal-ownership, either as a general principle or in detail, was not involved in the election of March 1st, and the result will in only the slightest degree affect the policy of the London County Council Ownership of Public Utilities which was definitely entered upon by London fully a dozen years ago. England has universally committed herself to this policy. Much has been accomplished nationally along these lines. The telegraph is nationalized, the telephone service is being nationalized, and by government control it is preparing the way for nationalization of the railway systems. London's excellent municipal tramway lines, and the many things that she has already accomplished in bettering the conditions of the poor districts, are enduring monuments to the efficacy of the public-ownership policy and will not be abandoned by the people. The new London County Council will continue this policy as its predecessors have done because the people demand it.

The issue in this campaign turned on the question of higher tax-rates which was raised by the enormous and as yet unprofitable expenditures in widening the Strand and in opening the new thoroughfares, Aldwych and Kingsway, which are laid out for half a mile through very costly property, which had to be purchased before the improvements could be made. The land along the Strand is the most valuable in London and wherever the

council widened or opened a new street it was forced to buy not only the land actually needed for the operations, but also the whole portion, being compelled by statute to do so. Then too, efforts have been made to beautify and modernize the city, large portions of which are so old and congested that London has been forced to remain one of the ugly cities, while Paris and Berlin have been constantly improving until now they rank as the most beautiful cities of the world. All this civic betterment cost London an enormous sum, about \$1,000,000,000, and consequently taxes have been increased. But it must be remembered that all this outlay is merely an investment, for the improvements made and the property purchased will eventually return increasing revenue and abundantly justify what has been spent.

This then is the story of the "defeat of municipal-ownership." The people have repeatedly shown their appreciation and approval of the municipal enterprises of London, for they are admirably conducted in the public interest and are most of them successful business concerns.

Among British Cities.

THE LONDON *Daily Telegraph*, a paper that is opposed to municipal-ownership, has recently been making an investigation as to the success of municipal-ownership in Great Britain. Quite contrary to the manifest desire of that paper, and directly contradictory to the current "colored matter" that is being published in the American press, this investigation proves, even by the mere commercial test of profit and loss, that municipal-ownership is a success.

Of thirty municipal gas undertakings, all are found to be working either without loss or at a clear profit. Of thirty-three municipal water undertakings, twenty-eight are in the profitable class. Of fifty-six electric undertakings, thirty-nine are in that class. Of thirty-five street-car undertakings, there are twenty-four in the same class. Every possible instance of mistake or failure is included in this investigation. Every case of questionable results is given the damnation of the doubt and the more perfectly successful cities, such as Birmingham, are left out of the investigation.

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM NEWS.

BY RALPH ALBERTSON,

Secretary to the National Federation for People's Rule.

Mr. Bryan's Brooklyn Speech.

THROUGHOUT the country there is considerable discussion of Mr. Bryan's declaration for the initiative and referendum in his recent Brooklyn speech. The Brooklyn *Eagle's* report says:

"Oratorically, he was the Bryan of 1906—the Bryan who swept a convention off its feet and himself into the presidential candidacy by the overpowering eloquence of his tongue. He was brilliant, sarcastic, humorous, but above everything else, he was a man intensely in earnest, a man who believed every word that he uttered and who believed that the time was not far distant when the nation would believe them too.

"Twice during his speech did he drag his audience to its feet to hurl volley after volley

of cheers. The first time was when he exclaimed, in a passionate outburst, 'you may differ from me in other questions, but if you do not believe in the right of the people to govern themselves, I will, if I can, my friends, drive you out of the Democratic party.'

Mr. Bryan's full statement on this point is as follows:

"The doctrines of Jefferson are marching on. Anything that makes the government more democratic, more popular in form; everything that gives the people more control over the government will win.

"You may help it, you may retard it, you may defeat it, but one of the things that is coming, that is Jeffersonian, that is democratic, is the initiative and referendum for the control

of the government. No man will make an argument against the referendum who is not prepared to deny the capacity of the people for self-government. You may differ from me on every question, but if you do not believe in the right of the people to govern themselves, I will, if I can, drive you out of the Democratic party (loud applause), and if the Democratic party does not believe in the rule of the people it will have no trouble in driving me out of the Democratic party (applause), but I do not think it is coming to the test.

"The faults of our government are not in the people themselves; they are in those whom the people elect. The faults of our government are in the representatives of the people who pretend to be friends of the people but betray their trust and turn to private account the authority placed in their hands for public purposes. (Applause) The initiative places it in the power of the people to compel the submission of any question upon which they want to act, and the referendum enables them to sit in judgment upon anything which the legislature has done. Your constitution provides that the Governor or President may veto what the legislature proposes, and if any man has a right to veto the legislature, who will say that the majority of voters has not the right to veto also?" (Applause)

Houston, Texas.

MUCH is being said about the improved form of city government which Houston is enjoying since it followed Galveston's example and adopted the commissioner system. Much of the improvement, however, is due to the referendum and the direct popular control over franchise matters which the city enjoys along with its commission. The theft of valuable public rights by public-service corporations is made practically impossible by the provision in the charter, first, for the publication once a week for three consecutive weeks, of every franchise ordinance; the publication is at the expense of the applicant; second, the ordinance cannot become effective until thirty days after signature by the mayor; third, on the petition of 500 voters the commissioners are required to call a special election at which the franchise must be submitted to the popular vote. A majority vote is necessary to confirm any franchise so appealed.

Progress in Iowa.

THE IOWA legislature has adopted a new and improved system of municipal government for cities, and has devised a new form of direct-legislation for the state which has received more than a majority vote in the House. The improved system of municipal government is for cities of more than 25,000 population, and it is optional with the people to install it. An initiative petition by 25 per cent. of the voters can bring before their fellow-citizens the question of adopting the system. It is understood that Des Moines will soon make the change. The system provides for a board of five members, consisting of a mayor and four aldermen, with a veto power in the voters, who possess also the power of direct legislation, and the right of recall. These five officials are to receive fair salaries and devote their entire time and energies to their work and will be nominated and elected by direct vote. Thus expert business ability is to be combined with the people's rule. The actual working of the system will be watched with great interest. It is claimed that it will solve the problem of securing honest and effective municipal government provided complete home-rule is established. It is said that this system is to be attacked in the courts on a claim that the direct-legislation provision is unconstitutional.

Iowa's other proposed new system is a new form of advisory initiative. It is proposed that where a bill in the legislature or a resolution for the submission of a constitutional amendment fails to pass, the voters can put it to an advisory vote of their fellow-citizens at the primary election, or 55 of the 158 members of the legislature can order that the vote be taken. Such a system it is claimed would terminate most of the evils of the lobby. The bill, though introduced in the House by a Democrat, has received a vote of 44 as against 34, lacking only 11 of the required two-thirds vote for the submission of a constitutional amendment. This was too late for action by the senate.

The Pennsylvania Campaign.

WITHOUT amendment and without a dissenting vote the Pennsylvania House has passed the McCullough bill, establishing the initiative and referendum in the cities and boroughs of the state. Under this bill thirty

days must elapse before municipal ordinances other than emergency measures can go into effect, and within that period 5 per cent. of the voters by petition can compel the ordinances to be submitted to the voters for approval. Ten per cent. of the voters can frame an ordinance and ask that it be made into municipal law, and this must be enacted without change or the law-making authority must propose a competing measure, which, if passed, must then be submitted to the people for approval. When a referendum vote is demanded, the question must come up at the next election, provided the petition is filed thirty days before election. Municipal executives will have no veto power over measures proposed by the people, or over any measure which has been approved by the people at the polls.

In the Senate Judiciary Committee to which the bill was referred considerable opposition developed, and a strong case for the bill was put up by its friends. After a conference both sides agreed to an amendment restricting the operation of the law to the following subjects: The granting of consent to corporations, associations, partnerships and individuals, to occupy public streets, highways or public lands or to enter the said municipalities where such consent is required by the constitution or the laws of the commonwealth; the municipal-control or ownership of water-works, electric-light plants, gas plants, heating plants, or any other public utility or the sale, leasing or operating of the same; the purchase, sale or leasing of real estate, except such real estate as may be necessary for sewers and the disposal of sewage, the making of contracts for the supply of light, heat, gas or water for a longer period than two years.

While this compromise was made with a view to obtaining harmony and action there is danger at this writing that the whole thing will be killed by the action of one member of the committee, Senator Brown of Philadelphia, who under the apparent control of the Philadelphia franchise gang has secured a postponement under pretext of giving his constituents further hearing until a day that is treacherously close to the end of the session.

Public Opinion in The Bay State.

THE MASSACHUSETTS Public-Opinion bill, which has been engineered by Representative Robert Luce and Robert Treat Paine,

Jr., chairman of the League, has met with stubborn opposition on the part of the machine. The bill was in the hands of Mr. Luce's Committee on Election Laws, and was practically certain of becoming a law when the Republican machine, headed by Senator Lodge, awoke to its significance and put it under the ban. The senior senator came to Massachusetts, it is said, expressly to accomplish the defeat of the bill. For no other reason than to carry out his wishes in the matter the bill was referred back, not to the Election Committee but to the Ways and Means Committee, composed of more controllable gentlemen, who could be depended upon to report the bill unfavorably and so save the honorable members and the machine leaders from the necessity of open adverse action. Meanwhile a notable rally was held at noon, on April 25th, in Faneuil Hall, which gave so clear an indication of the public feeling in support of this bill that the subservience of even these members of the Ways and Means Committee to the dictates of the machine must be a difficult matter. The hall was full of voters whose enthusiasm for the principles of direct-legislation was a surprise to some of the speakers themselves. Mr. Paine presided and speeches were made by Mr. Luce, President Eliot of Harvard, Edwin D. Mead, Henry Sterling, the veteran direct-legislation worker of the state, the president of the Boston Central Labor Union and several others. The strong position taken by President Eliot was a surprise to many and the speech made by Mr. Mead was a most able and forceful presentation of the claims of direct-legislation. Whatever the fate of the bill may be this year, the cause will never lose the impetus gained in that Faneuil Hall rally.

The Illinois Public-Opinion Law.

AN EFFORT has been made under the leadership of Speaker Shurtleff of the Illinois legislature to repeal the Public-Opinion law, but it was defeated. By an overwhelming vote, only three members voting in favor of the measure, the House committee on judiciary killed the bill. The advocates of the bill said that the people did not know what they were voting on when they voted on questions of public policy, and the *Chicago Chronicle* says that the Public-Opinion law is a nuisance

all over the state, but these reactionaries find that they have a hard job when they undertake to turn the wheels of time backward.

Direct Election of United State Senators.

TWO MORE states have established direct advisory election of United States senators. Iowa and Washington have joined the procession, making five states this year, and a total of 18. The states are Oregon, Washington, North Dakota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, Oklahoma, Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, Arkansas, Tennessee and Kentucky. After a warm fight in the Pennsylvania legislature the House passed this measure unanimously and the Senate gave it a tie vote followed on second ballot by the loss of one senator who defeated the measure.

Minnesota.

SENATOR Fitzpatrick's initiative and referendum bill failed of passage in the senate by 2 votes. The vote was 30 ayes to 25 nays. The required majority vote is 32.

Connecticut.

SENATOR McNeil of Bridgeport introduced and ably supported in the legislature a municipal referendum bill. Quite a number of people went to Hartford from Bridgeport to support the bill before the judiciary committee but there seems but small chance of favorable action this year.

Referendums for Oregon's Next Election.

THE PATRONS of Husbandry of Oregon will submit the compulsory pass law and the \$100,000 appropriation for the establishment of eight armories in different towns in Oregon recently passed by the legislature to a referendum vote. The annual appropriation of \$125,000 for the State University will not be submitted to the referendum, but will be taken up in the form of an initiative in connection with the normal schools. To demand a referendum on this law would only stop the appropriation, and not settle the question. The initiative would fix the amount to be given the State University and the normal schools.

The grange has on hand \$2,000 to be used

in this referendum, and will move as rapidly as possible in getting the matter into shape. On the armory appropriation a fight is expected, but on the compulsory pass law clear sailing is looked for. In the eight cities where armories are to be established strong opposition to the referendum vote is expected, but in the rural districts, the move to repeal the law is expected to find its greatest strength. The policy of the Patrons of Husbandry is to invoke the referendum laws that it considers vicious and to use the initiative where constructive results are sought, as in the case of the State University and the normal schools.

Referendum in Cleveland.

WITH only one dissenting vote the city council has adopted the report of the special street-railway committee which has in charge Cleveland's traction problem. This report recommends that the matter of franchises, low fare, and other issues involved be submitted to popular vote. The city officials wish to submit a proposed natural gas franchise to a vote of the people, but as the Ohio law makes no provision for referendum votes the claim is made that this cannot be legally done. The difficulty however will be evaded. The suggestion that meets the most favor is for the city council to pass a resolution calling for a special bond issue election with the distinct understanding that the resolution is really to provide for an expression on the natural-gas franchise question. The plan is to ask the people to vote on the issuance of \$10,000 in bonds. Under this plan people who favor giving the Columbia Company a natural-gas franchise will be asked to vote yes and those opposed in the negative.

Spokane, Washington.

THE CITY council has adopted an initiative, referendum and recall ordinance which will be submitted to the people for approval. It has been opposed by the liquor interests of Spokane, who succeeded in raising the percentage of referendum petitions to 35. This provision is to be submitted to the people in the form of an amendment to the charter. Several other amendments are also to be submitted.

Portland, Oregon.

AN ORDINANCE has recently been passed providing that of two conflicting referendums on the same subject the one receiving the largest number of votes shall be the one adopted; that petitions for referendum must be filed with the city auditor 45 days before election; that 15 per cent. of the voters must sign the petition that a measure be voted upon by the people, and that any person forging names, or any person signing the petition who is not a legal voter, shall be liable to arrest, and may be fined not to exceed \$500 or be imprisoned for six months, or be liable to both the fine and imprisonment.

Oberlin Board of Commerce.

THE FOLLOWING resolution presented by Professor Anderegg of Oberlin College was recently adopted by the Board of Commerce:

"Resolved that we, individually as citizens, and collectively as the Oberlin Board of Commerce, respectfully but very earnestly request our representative, the Honorable Robert Lersch, actively to use his influence in the House of Representatives of the State of Ohio, for the adoption by the House of the joint resolution to submit to popular vote a constitutional amendment establishing the initiative and referendum already adopted by the Senate and referred to the Judiciary Committee of the House, by which branch of the State Legislature it is to be considered at its adjourned session to be held in January, 1908."

Chautauqua County, New York.

THE NEW YORK legislature with only one dissenting vote has enacted a law granting to the people of Chautauqua county, New York, the optional referendum applying to measures passed by the Board of Supervisors authorizing the expenditure of more than

\$25,000. The Grange and organized labor of the county proposed the measure and the combined action of the farmers and the labor people succeeded in securing it.

Notes.

THE PEOPLE of Akron, Ohio, are clamoring for a referendum on a gas franchise recently passed by the council. But they can only clamor. They have no legal way of demanding it.

THE BOARD of Education of East Liverpool, Ohio, has decided to submit two questions of school administration to a popular vote.

A JOINT resolution for initiative and referendum constitutional amendment was introduced in the Florida legislature by Senator Humphries.

THE MICHIGAN legislature has passed a bill substituting salaries for fees of all public officials, with a referendum provision.

THE ST. LOUIS Conference of the Methodist Church has passed a resolution asking Governor Folk to have the question of prohibition submitted to a popular direct vote.

GOVERNOR Stokes has served notice on the New Jersey legislature that a referendum clause must be embodied in every bill providing for the annexation or division of territory in any city or borough.

THE SALE of absinthe has been prohibited by referendum vote in the canton of Geneva. War against this deadly drink has been carried on steadily for years. Last September the canton of Vaud, convening at Lausanne, set the example by passing such a prohibitory law, and it is believed that the whole federation will soon follow the example of this canton and also of Geneva.

HERMAN B. WALKER ON "THE PEOPLE'S LOBBY"
IN NEW JERSEY.

ALTHOUGH but a few months old, the most potent and promising power for progress, advancement and substitution of popular government for machine rule and corporation control in New Jersey politics to-day is the People's Lobby, a non-partisan movement organized last winter to watch state, county and city legislation and affairs generally, give publicity to matters of public interest in such legislation, to question candidates on specific subjects, and to advocate such reforms as are endorsed by its membership. The form of organization of the New Jersey Lobby is a State organization which devotes its attention to state affairs and questions, and county and city lobbies formed as branches out of the general membership. Its work is supported by a membership fee of three dollars a year, and voluntary contributions. At present the organization has a membership representing eighteen of the twenty-one counties in the state.

The program of legislative reforms for which the Lobby is working include the initiative and referendum, direct nominations, direct vote for United States senator, civil service, election reforms to establish the use of the blanket ballot and require personal registration, publication of a daily stenographic report of legislative proceedings, and the abolishment of committee rule in the legislature by the adoption of rules or a constitutional amendment requiring a report and vote upon every bill introduced.

During the recent session of the New Jersey Legislature, the Lobby had volunteer representatives present at the Capitol throughout the winter and spring, watching legislation, attending and speaking at hearings, exposing jokers and tricks in bills, writing newspaper articles and aiding members in the preparation and amendment of bills. A part of its summer campaign will be the compilation of the records of the legislators, to be printed and distributed in their districts, showing how they stood and voted on measures of public and corporate interest.

The Lobby is this fall to question all candidates on the initiative and referendum,

direct nominations and popular vote for United States senator.

Under the New Jersey constitution, amendments can be submitted to a vote of the people only once in five years, and the political machines have devised the plan of submitting unimportant amendments periodically, to prevent agitation for the submission of vital amendments. For this reason the Lobby is advocating the advisory form of the initiative and referendum, or public-opinion law, such as is in use in Illinois and is being advocated in Massachusetts. Moderate as is this proposition, it is meeting with determined opposition from both the Republican and Democratic machine leaders. These opponents, however, are, as is to be expected, seeking to overcome the issue by confusing it. One of the effects of the People's Lobby campaign is a determined effort being made by the brewers and the party machines to make the excise question an issue in this years' elections in the state.

In the Legislature this year the Lobby bills for a State public-opinion law were defeated by the lack of four votes in the House of Assembly, which had a Democratic majority. The bills to establish the initiative and referendum in the cities and counties met the same fate. Only one Republican and twenty-six Democrats voted for the initiative and referendum bills in the House. In the Senate no senator could be found to introduce them.

The Lobby bill for popular vote for senators, which followed the Oregon plan closely, was passed unanimously in the House. The Senate passed a substitute measure, proposed by the governor and fathered by the Republican leader, Senator Hillery, to have the vote taken in the party primaries, in each county separately, the party candidates to be pledged only to the choice of the party voters in their own county. This substitute was rejected by the House.

The civil-service bill urged by the Lobby passed the Senate in emasculated form, with school teachers and several other classes of public employes exempted, and was killed in the House by a coalition of the Republican

and Democratic machines, receiving only fifteen out of sixty votes of the assemblymen.

The direct-nomination bill was defeated in the Senate, with three Republicans and five Democrats voting for it, out of a total of twenty-one senators. One Democrat who dodged the vote is said to be slated for appointment to the Supreme Court bench.

Nobody could be found in either house to introduce the Lobby rule to require a vote on every bill introduced. As a direct result of the Lobby's fight, however, the Senate rules were amended to abolish the so-called "senatorial courtesy" which has ruled for years, and to permit a motion to relieve a committee from further custody of any bill. In the House a rule permitting a committee to be relieved of a bill on petition of twenty per cent. of the members, was defeated by a small margin of votes.

The Lobby bill for use of a blanket ballot, as established in Massachusetts, instead of separate party ballots, in general elections, was beaten in the Senate with only six Democrats and Senator Colby (reform Republican) in its favor. A bill endorsed by the Lobby, requiring personal registration for all elections was introduced in the House by the speaker, and passed as a Democratic caucus measure, but was killed in a Senate committee.

It was discovered by the Lobby early in the

session that the minutes of the House and journal of the Senate of the 1906 Legislature had not been printed, the clerk of the last Republican House, a Paterson city official and Erie Railroad lobbyist, not having written up the minutes. Bills proposed by the Lobby to have printed a daily stenographic legislative record, at an annual cost of \$25,000, were indorsed by the governor, and introduced in the House and Senate. In the Senate, although the measures were fathered by the Republican leader, they were not reported out of committee. In the House the bills were killed on a vote, one unusually frank Republican assemblyman opposing such a record on the ground that he did not want his constituents to know how poorly he represented them.

At the opening of its campaign for this fall the Lobby gave a dollar dinner in Newark on May 1st, at which William J. Bryan spoke on the initiative and referendum, more than 500 people waiting until one o'clock in the morning to hear him. The New Idea movement in the Republican party in the state, headed by State Senator Everett Colby and Mayor Fagan of Jersey City, has made the initiative and referendum part of its platform this year, and it seems reasonably certain that the principle will be made one of the planks in the Democratic state platform this fall.

HERMAN B. WALKER.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION NEWS.

By ROBERT TYSON,

Secretary of the American Proportional Representation League.

SINCE the Editor of *THE ARENA*, in pursuance of the plan of this magazine to publish monthly the important news of fundamental forward movements in the interests of free and just government, has arranged with me to undertake the task of furnishing the readers of *THE ARENA* a monthly bulletin concerning the progress of reform in representative methods, it is fitting that in this initial issue I should begin with some brief definitions of Proportional Representation, for the benefit of those not entirely familiar with a subject which is second only in importance to direct-legislation.

Definitions.

The present plan of electing representatives in single-member districts is open to grave objection. It disfranchises nearly half the voters at every general election; it gives undue power to the party organizations, including a practical monopoly of nominations; it is so uncertain and erratic in its operation as to some times allow a minority of the voters to elect a majority of the representatives; it promotes bribery; it encourages gerrymander; it makes crookedness too often a factor of success; it nourishes party hatred, and it is

a system utterly unworthy of a progressive people in a scientific age.

The same remarks apply to the plan of electing several representatives from one large electoral district, if the "block vote" be used; that is, if each elector may cast as many equal votes as there are seats to be filled, and no proportional modifications are introduced.

Our objects then are these: To destroy the political monopoly exercised by the "party machine," with its accompaniments of disfranchisement, misrepresentation, plutocratic rule, gerrymandering, bribery, lying, corruption, crookedness, party bitterness and kindred political evils. To substitute therefor a just and proportional representation of all the electors, thereby making every vote effective, giving in the legislatures a true reflection of public opinion, and permitting the election of the best men.

The means we propose are the use of a reasonable and scientific system of voting, instead of the present unfair and inefficient procedure.

Methods.—There are several systems by which the principle of Proportional Representation may be given effect to. Plural electoral districts, each electing several members, are a necessary feature. The "quota" plan is usually employed. It means that a quota of the voters elects one representative. For instance, in a seven-member district, any one-seventh of the voters could elect one representative, and the other six-sevenths could not interfere with their choice. The simplest plan is that used in Japan, where plural electoral districts are used, but each voter has one vote only. Other and more complete systems are the Free List, as used in Switzerland and Belgium; the Hare System, as formerly used in Tasmania; and the Gove System, as advocated in Massachusetts.

The Preferential Vote.—This is used in the election of single officers, such as a mayor. It is not strictly a form of Proportional Representation, but is akin thereto, and uses part of the same voting methods. The object of Preferential voting is to encourage the free nomination of candidates and to obtain always a clear majority at one balloting, no matter how many candidates are running.

Where Proportional Representation is Used.

In Belgium Proportional Representation

has been used since 1900, for all parliamentary elections. The method has proved a great success. It has given the various political parties fair representation according to their strength, has ameliorated political rancor, lessened race bitterness, and produced a better class of legislators.

In Switzerland, the city of Berne and several cantons use Proportional systems, with good results.

In Finland, the new constitution includes Proportional Representation.

In Germany, the system is used in electing members of the Commercial Courts.

The empire of Japan elects the members of its House of Commons on a very simple plan of Proportional Representation. In electoral districts from which several members are elected, each voter has one vote only. This usually gives a true proportional result, but not always. When it does not, the result is not very far astray from true proportionalism.

Progress and Propaganda.

Tasmania, an Australian state, used the Hare system of Proportional Representation for six elections, and the people were well pleased. Then interested politicians succeeded in abolishing the system. The government which permitted this went down in defeat, and a new government brought in a bill re-establishing the Hare system. This bill was passed by the Lower House on a practically unanimous vote, but was defeated in the Upper House by two votes! Therefore, it will probably not be long before Tasmania has a just electoral law once more.

The reform is being pushed, with fair prospects of success, in Oregon, in Cuba, in England, in France, in South Australia, in Sweden, and elsewhere.

The Position in Oregon.

The result of the recent election in Oregon furnishes an especially striking instance of the injustice of plurality elections for members of the legislature. Oregon's house of representatives consists of sixty members. Fifty-nine of the sixty chosen last June are Republicans, while one is a Democrat. The whole vote of the state was, in round numbers, 96,000, so that every 1,600 voters are justly entitled to a representative. On this basis the Democrats, with 30,238 voters, would be entitled to nineteen members; the Socialists

with 6,804, would be entitled to four members, and the Prohibitionists, with 4,684, would be entitled to three members, while the Republicans should have the remaining thirty-four representatives instead of fifty-nine.

This gross inequality and injustice led to the starting of a movement for Proportional Representation in the state elections; of which Mr. W. S. U'Ren has kindly kept me fully informed. Events have moved rapidly. On the first of February, in the twenty-fourth regular session of the Oregon legislature, Senator Hedges introduced Senate Joint Resolution, No. 6, which was a constitutional amendment providing for the use of Proportional Representation in elections to the legislature. This constitutional amendment was rejected.

Writing on the 4th of March, Mr. U'Ren says, speaking for the People's Power League:

"Our experience in the legislature leads me to believe that we shall get ahead more rapidly in presenting our measure to the people if we include in the constitutional amendment the method as well as the principle. I have been asked invariably how we were going to accomplish our object and have obtained hearty approval of the principle since the general method was understood. I have no doubt that we shall present Proportional Representation to the people of Oregon by initiative petition in June next year as an amendment to the constitution."

The next step in Oregon is to decide what system is to be asked for by the initiative petition. This is a matter that calls for the most careful consideration and good judgment. Mr. U'Ren and his friends are well informed on the subject, and there is no doubt that a satisfactory result will be arrived at, so that the People's Power League will be able to decide on and present a simple system well adapted for Oregon conditions.

This will insure the initiative petition being freely signed.

Prospects in Cuba.

I am greatly pleased to be able to present some very important and encouraging news from Cuba. There is in Havana, connected with the Department of State and Justice, a representative body called the law advisory commission, of which Colonel Crowder, U. S. A., is president. The commission has just framed a new electoral law to take the place of the present law, which in several respects, has not worked well. This new law embodies the principle of Proportional Representation in all municipal legislative and other public elections, and embodies it in an efficient and workable form, of which I have some details. My information comes direct from a member of the law advisory commission, who permits me to make this announcement, but prefers that details should be withheld until the matter has further developed.

In Great Britain.

London, England, is the headquarters of an influential Proportional Representation Society, which is actively at work. Lord Avebury is president; Lord Courtney is chairman of committee; Mr. J. H. Humphreys, 107 Algernon road, Lewisham, S.E., is honorable secretary; and the general committee contains a long list of influential names. I shall give next month some particulars of the English work, which includes an interesting and valuable test election, in which about twelve thousand electors took part.

Next month I shall also have news from France and other centers of propaganda.

ROBERT TYSON.

Toronto, Canada.

COÖPERATIVE NEWS.

BY RALPH ALBERTSON,

Secretary of the Coöperative Association of America.

Ottawa County, Ohio.

THE OTTAWA County Coöperative Company, headquarters at Rocky Ridge, Ohio, was organized in June, 1904, upon the Right-Relationship League plan. Two successful merchants in the town, who were inspired by high ideals, turned over their entire stocks of goods at appraised value, one consisting of groceries, boots and shoes, dry-goods, etc., and the other being a flourishing hardware and implement business. The company has been a success from the start. The first year the members were paid 8 per cent. dividend on money invested and 10 per cent. on purchases. The amount of business transacted for the year just ended was \$50,000.

Fredericksburg, Iowa.

THE FREDERICKSBURG Produce Association of Fredericksburg, Iowa, has issued its fifth annual report which shows the business for the year ending March 31, 1907, to be \$117,000. They shipped coöperatively thousands of hogs and cattle and 134 carloads of produce, and handled thousands of bushels of oats, corn and seed. The cost of doing business is $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The members of the association are \$4,531 ahead in profits saved.

Dakota County, Minnesota.

THROUGHOUT Dakota county a system of coöperative stores at the chief trading points is being established. This plan has been encouraged by the success already achieved in Wisconsin, where the success of the elevator companies, the coöperative store companies, insurance companies, and especially of the Star Telephone Company have made the farmers eager to purchase stock in coöperative concerns.

Co-operative Department Store in Washington.

A LARGE number of government employes

in Washington have organized themselves under the name of "Government Clerks' Coöperative Guild," and propose to establish a general department store to be patronized exclusively by government clerks in the District of Columbia. The amount of capitalization will be \$250,000, at \$10 per share, and it is the intention to dispose of the stock to the 25,000 clerks on duty in this city. It is not the purpose to compete with local merchants by price-cutting but to charge the current prices and distribute any profits as dividends to the stockholders.

Co-operative Hotel Supply Company.

PROPRIETORS of large hotels and restaurants of New York city are considering the organization of a coöperative corporation which will deal in all kinds of hotel and restaurant supplies. It is expected that a company with \$10,000,000 capital will be organized. Stock in this corporation will be sold only to proprietors of hotels and restaurants.

New England Farming.

A NOVEL and most interesting meeting was held in Boston this spring at the headquarters of the State Board of Agriculture under the name of "New England Conference on Rural Progress." About twenty-five leaders in agricultural matters were present, including presidents and professors from the agricultural colleges, representatives of the state granges, boards of agriculture and departments of public instruction, and various other leaders in the work of civic betterment. Throughout the conference a great deal of emphasis was placed upon coöperative effort, between the farmers as individuals and between the state colleges and various agricultural bureaus as organizations, and the tremendous possibilities of such concerted action. The work of the granges

along coöperative lines was especially commended. It was predicted that there would be an end to the working of small farms; consolidation and combination will prevail, and the farmers will be organized for business coöperation.

New Co-operative Elevator Company.

THE CO-OPERATIVE elevator movement, a brief account of which was published in *THE ARENA* for April, is rapidly growing in Iowa. It is reported that there have been fifty coöperative societies formed this year, and there are now over 200 active farmers' coöperative associations in the state. It is estimated that over \$2,000,000 are invested in coöperative concerns by the farmers in Iowa alone. The latest added to the list is one at Wellsburg, where a company has been formed with a capital stock of \$10,000. The third elevator will be erected at that place by the new company.

Northwestern Coal and Dock Company.

VARIOUS coöperative elevators and creameries in the Northwest have organized coöperatively to supply fuel to their own concerns. Their company is known as the Northwestern Coöperative Coal & Dock Company, and has a capital stock of \$600,000. A large coal dock to cost \$100,000 will be built at Ashland, Wisconsin, for which the dock site of the Keystone Lumber Company, comprising a frontage of one-quarter of a mile on the bay shore, has been acquired, and it is expected that the plant now to be erected will be in readiness to receive coal from the lower lakes some time in August.

The Resurrection of The "C. B. U."

SOME of the people who lost some of their savings in the famous "Cash Buyers' Union" of Chicago, through the alleged speculations of Julius Kahn, have incorporated another "Cash Buyers' Union," with a capital of \$25,000. They intend to carry on a coöperative mail-order business and try to win back what they lost through Kahn's mismanagement and dishonesty.

Alliance, Ohio.

THE CO-OPERATIVE Store Company has been

organized at Alliance, Ohio, by about 400 railroad men and machinists, with a capital stock of \$20,000 to fight a combination in that city of milk, meat and grocery dealers. Commodities will be furnished stockholders at cost, plus 10 per cent. for operating expenses.

Viborg, South Dakota.

THE FARMERS of Viborg, South Dakota, have organized one of the largest farmers' mercantile coöperative associations in that state. The company has a capitalization of \$50,000.

Hillyard, Washington.

THE HILLYARD Coöperative Company of Hillyard, Washington, has just finished a very successful year. They have a fine brick store, the second floor of which is used as a large hall, erected at a cost of \$10,000, for which they are paying \$75 a month on the building and loan plan. During the year they did a business of \$91,300, and in spite of the fact that contrary to the usual custom of Rochdale stores they carried on a credit business which cost them \$2,220, during the three years that they have been organized, they have paid an average of 13 per cent. premium on paid-up stock and also 5 per cent. rebate on all members' purchases.

Hatton, Washington.

IN HATTON, Washington, there is a new coöperative grocery organization, stock in which is owned exclusively by the farmers in the vicinity. Nearly \$9,000 of the capital stock has been subscribed. It is planned to handle only staple lines of groceries at first and to handle more general lines as the demand increases.

Skamania, Washington.

A CO-OPERATIVE telephone company at Skamania, Washington, recently installed a cabinet switchboard which will accommodate 1,000 telephones. Coöperative telephones are becoming very popular among the farmers in this district.

Mill Valley, Washington.

EARLY this spring the Mill Valley Roch-

dale Company opened a promising store which carries a complete line of fancy and staple groceries, tinware, wood and willow ware. The first day's sales amounted to \$200 which was considered a great starter.

Edwall, Washington.

THE FARMERS about Edwall have formed an elevator company, and the capital stock of \$10,000 is fully subscribed.

Enumclaw, Washington.

THE LITTLE town of Enumclaw, Washington, mentioned in the May ARENA, has such a large number of its institutions organized coöperatively that it ranks among the first in coöperative effort even among our western towns. They have a coöperative creamery, a fruit cannery and telephone lines, besides a coöperative store. The ninth annual report of their Farmers' Mutual Insurance Company shows a total membership of 1271. The amount of insurance in force January 1, 1907, was \$940,500; losses paid, \$220. The cost of insurance in this company for the entire period of its existence has been about 30 per cent. of stock company rates.

La Verne, California.

THE RANCHERS in and about La Verne, California, have a most successful coöperative organization known as the LaVerne Land & Water Company, which carries on the irrigation of a large territory covering about 41 square miles. This region is devoted exclusively to the raising of citrus fruits. During the past ten years \$225,000 have been expended in the development of its irrigation systems. Last year 865 carloads of fruit were shipped from this district.

Harrington, Washington.

THE HARRINGTON Rochdale Mercantile Association has been organized in Harrington, Washington, with a capital of \$25,000 fully subscribed.

Omaha, Nebraska.

ARTICLES of incorporation have been filed for the Farmers' Coöperative Creamery and Supply Company of Omaha. It is incorpor-

ated for \$1,000,000 and already has a paid-up stock of \$200,000.

N. O. Nelson at Oakland.

THE N. O. Nelson Manufacturing Company, an account of whose recent coöperative dividends of \$200,000 was given in the May ARENA, has established a large branch at Oakland, California.

Co-operative Delivery System.

THE BUTCHERS of Battle Creek, Michigan, and also those of Fremont, Ohio, have adopted a coöperative plan of delivering meat to their patrons, their primary object being economy of expenses. Flint, Michigan, is also about to adopt this system.

Santa Paula, California.

AT THE annual business meeting of the Santa Paula, California, Coöperative Association, the manager reported an increase of over \$11,000 in volume of business over any previous year. An annual dividend of 10 per cent. was declared, this being the eleventh year that such dividend has been paid.

Tulare Meat Market.

A CO-OPERATIVE meat market has been incorporated at Tulare, California, the object of which is to conduct a wholesale and retail butcher business and also to deal in live stock of all kinds. Membership fee is \$40.

Lumber Company in Minnesota.

THE LAKE Mills Coöperative Lumber Company, Minnesota, reports a paid-up capital of \$2,020. Its assets are as follows: real estate \$4,000; lumber stock, \$8,000; accounts receivable, \$11,000; undivided surplus, \$4,000. During its 15 years of existence the company has sold \$605,000 worth of lumber and has paid out \$12,000 in dividends.

Ann Arbor Professors.

THE PROFESSORS of the University of Michigan propose to start a coöperative store similar to that of the students' coöperative organization which has been running very successfully for two years.

Green Mountain, Iowa.

A PARTICULARLY successful coöperative elevator is reported from Green Mountain, Iowa. During the ten months of its existence it has handled more than 340,000 bushels of grain, and although it started with part of its capital borrowed, it has paid off its debt and has a surplus of \$3,000 in its treasury.

Mitchell County, Iowa.

THE MITCHELL County Coöperative Association which deals in lumber and coal, stated at their annual meeting the amount of their resources to be over \$11,000; surplus, \$1,500; total amount of business transacted, \$84,000.

Eagle Grove, Iowa.

THE FARMERS' Elevator and Supply Company of Eagle Grove, Iowa, which does a large grain and coal business, shows its total resources to be \$28,000. During the year \$735 were paid in dividends, and there is a surplus fund of \$3,000.

Boone, Iowa.

BOONE, Iowa, has a Farmers' Elevator and Live Stock Company which for the year ending March 31, 1907, transacted \$194,000 worth of business.

Caledonia, Michigan, Coal Mine.

THE CALEDONIA coal mine in the upper peninsula of Michigan, which is the only coöperative enterprise of its kind in the country, has been such a success that the company has broken ground for what will be the largest coal producer in the state.

Co-operative Flour Mill.

THE FARMERS in the neighborhood of Sweet, Idaho, have organized a coöperative flour mill with a capacity of 50 barrels a day. It is run by water-power and cost \$10,000.

Simonton, Tennessee.

THE FARMERS' Educational and Coöpera-

tive Union of Tennessee, which coöperates in the sale of cotton and farm products, has organized a coöperative store at Simonton, Tennessee, known as the "Farmers' Coöperative Company," capital stock, \$15,000.

Saline, Michigan.

THE SALINE Coöperative Company of Saline, Michigan, was organized about one year ago with 15 charter members. At present the membership has been increased to 80. During the first year their profits were 40 per cent. on par value of stock. Trade has increased to such an extent that they are about to seek larger quarters and better facilities.

Massachusetts Co-operative Banks.

THE ANNUAL report of the Massachusetts bank commissioner gives a most successful showing for the coöperative banks of the state for the year ending October 31, 1906. There are 133 of these banks in Massachusetts with assets of \$42,600,000, nearly 90 per cent. of which is loaned to members of the associations on their homes. The increase in the assets of the banks during the year was about \$4,000,000, the largest in their history. They now have 104,482 members, an increase of 9,195 during the year. Their expense ratio for the year was about .43 per cent., while the expense ratio of all the local building and loan associations in the United States in 1905 was .87 per cent., from which it is apparent that the Massachusetts coöperative banks are being very economically conducted.

Co-operative Finance in New York.

THE STATE Superintendent of Banks for New York reports for the year 1906, 262 coöperative banks or building and loan associations in the state, assets \$43,500,000, an increase during the year of nearly \$1,000,000. The expense ratio of banks is limited in New York state to 2½ per cent. The operating expenses of the coöperative banks was .75 per cent. while the national banks exceeded the legal limit their expenses being 2.56 per cent.

"THE TURN OF THE BALANCE."*

A BOOK-STUDY.

1.

THIS work, dealing with the miseries of our society almost as vividly as Hugo dealt with the same class in his masterpiece, is the most important novel, considered from the view-point of ethics, that has appeared this year. It is as strong in moral value, as compelling in its message, and as true to present-day conditions as were the great works of Charles Dickens which uncovered the evil conditions of London in the nineteenth century.

The Turn of the Balance is vividly realistic—almost as much so as are the best works of Zola; but it is free—entirely free—from the damning blot on the great Frenchman's work. Here is none of the grossness or sensualism that so marked and marred Zola's powerful creations and made them dangerous reading for the morally weak or the viciously inclined.

The Turn of the Balance is a tragedy of colossal proportions. But is it true? That is the question over which the battle will be fought. When Dickens exposed the terrible conditions which prevailed in the treatment of the poor and unfortunate in English life, he raised a storm of protest. It was denied that his presentations were true. On every hand the reading public was assured that his pictures were gross exaggerations—merely grotesque caricatures of conditions which existed. But the great novelist had the facts on his side. His pictures were true, and his method of uncovering them was so direct, forcible, sincere and convincing that he aroused the sleeping conscience of the nation and led men to investigate the treatment of the orphans, the paupers, those in prison for debt, and others in the great under-world of society with the result that a revolutionary reform was inaugurated, as far-reaching as it was beneficent in character.

When Upton Sinclair had prepared his novel, *The Jungle*, uncovering the conditions which he had found by personal investigation

to exist in the beef-packing industry, much of the story was so incredible in character that the publishers refused to consider the volume until they had sent an attorney to Chicago to personally investigate the facts. This lawyer, after two weeks of carefully looking into the evidence on which the story was based, said to the publishers: "Print the book. You will be safe in doing so." But when it appeared, the conservative and conventional press no less than the interests whose evil work was exposed, strove first to ignore and then to discredit the story. As in the case of Dickens, so with Sinclair, the public was assured that the story was as absurd as it was revolting and impossible. One great weekly journal, usually very progressive in character, declared that the exaggerations were so great that the author's purpose must be defeated. This was also the claim, it is said, that was made by the heads of the government department who had the inspection of meat in charge, and the Illinois politicians at Washington were vociferous in denouncing the work as a slander on a great industry. We imagine that no one was more astonished at the report of the committee appointed by the President to investigate the truth of the allegations of *The Jungle* than was Mr. Roosevelt himself; but that investigation proved the truth of the facts that had been brought out so clearly that it only required the threat on the part of the President to publish all the evidence which had come before the committee, instead of only the things the commissioners personally saw in hastily passing through the works, to force the passage of the Beveridge rider through the hostile Senate.

So with this book. The machine politicians and the conventional and conservative upholders of the materialistic ideals dominant at present will claim that this work is an exaggeration of facts, vicious because untrue. But Mr. Whitlock's book is the child of a clear brain and a warm heart. It is the offspring of a soul full of the love that made the life of Christ the most sublime embodiment of the divine afflatus the earth has ever seen. It is

*The Turn of the Balance. By Brand Whitlock. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 622. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

a book that would have made glad the great heart of the Golden Rule mayor of Toledo, the noble predecessor of Mr. Whitlock, and he who reads the last pages of *The Turn of the Balance* will realize how deeply the life, example and teachings of Samuel M. Jones have been impressed on the life of the author of this powerful novel.

II.

Two typical families occupy a large place in the foreground of the story, as do also two young lawyers who are equally typical in character. One of these, John Eades, the ambitious young prosecuting attorney, is wonderfully well drawn. He represents a class of men in public life, unhappily very common since the materialism of present business life has in so large a way dominated the public conscience. His ambition is to convict every person who is suspected of crime that he can bring before the courts. The question of whether or not the accused is guilty, the multitudinous modifying and extenuating circumstances that are often present, and the difference between accidental offenders or victims of untoward circumstances, and professional criminals, are taken little into consideration by John Eades. He is ambitious to win as many cases as possible, as that means increased popularity and political prestige. He uses the court as a vast machinery, and in his hands justice is not only blind, but lacking in intelligent discernment, and thus often becomes the incarnation of injustice, as, owing to the blind, machine-like action of her representative, the weak victim of a momentary impulse, but whose whole previous life has been honorable and law-abiding, receives condemnation which results in the blasting of all future life—a condemnation that virtually consigns the chance offender to a life of poverty and crime.

The other young lawyer, Gordon Marriott, has not surrendered the higher for the lower. He has yielded to the dictates of conscience, the sentiments of justice, the ideal of right, regardless of personal advancement or selfish interests, and during the story he battles against the brutal and essentially unjust elements in the machinery of law and the prison system, which so often increase the criminal element in society.

The two typical families of the romance, the Wards and the Kørners, represent the wealthy and the poor. Mr. Ward is a

broker, a man of large means, conducting his business along lines that are, conventionally considered, strictly honorable. His son Dick has been petted and coddled from early youth by his shallow mother and indulgent father. He has grown to manhood the victim of every kind of youthful excess. He drinks, gambles and is impure; yet at every step he is defended by the indiscreet mother whose heart is hard and relentless toward all unfortunates and all offenders outside of her own narrow home circle. Indeed, Mrs. Ward is a well-drawn representative of the frivolous, selfish egoist of present-day society life. She is wrapped up in self and in her son. Her chief concern is to conform to the dictates of a hollow and soulless society.

Elizabeth, the daughter, and heroine of the story, is by nature a fine, true-hearted girl, whose character has been dwarfed and deformed by the false and artificial conditions that have environed her, but who ever reaches out for something better and nobler to satisfy the deathless hunger of her soul.

Her beautiful little maid, Gusta Kørner, is the daughter of a hard-working German laborer, who early in the story, after more than thirty years of faithful service for the railroad company, sustains a serious injury by being run over by an engine. One of his legs has to be amputated and he is therefore rendered a permanent invalid. Gusta is a bright, beautiful, shallow child, with a passion for beautiful things and a great admiration for the rich; but she is good at heart, though weak; a child of the people, no stronger or weaker than tens of thousands of other girls in similar conditions of life to-day.

Another member of the Kørner family is Archie, the son. He has entered the army and has served in the Philippines, where he won a medal for good marksmanship. But as war is legal murder and as such is essentially brutalizing in its subtle influence over the mind, so the profession of soldier, taking men out of the ranks of useful employment, is morally disintegrating, and Archie Kørner returns from the Philippines weakened in his moral fiber and having lost his aptitude for steady, industrious labor. He becomes the hero of a company of somewhat lawless youths in the lower portion of the city, and from yielding to one temptation advances on the downward path until he is arrested as one of a company of boys charged with steal-

ing a box of sardines. He has now reached the turning point and is ready to withdraw from his life of indolence with its downward pressure towards crime. His salvation calls for discipline under morally wholesome surroundings. Civilization thrusts him into a vile cell and environs him with degrading influences. When he is tried and convicted on circumstantial evidence, he is imprisoned with a hardened criminal, a professional safe-breaker. Here he lives in a criminal atmosphere and is daily, hourly, schooled in crime, with the natural result that when once released from prison and finding the door of his home closed against him, he becomes the companion of his prison-mate and embarks in a life of crime.

The disablement of the father and the disgrace of the son are followed by the ruin of the beautiful girl by Dick Ward, who consigns her to the social hell.

The story opens in the Wards' home. The two young lawyers are striving for the hand of the beautiful daughter, Elizabeth, but the masterful young prosecuting attorney, with a brilliant future opening before him, seems to have all the advantages on his side. He is a strict conformist to social usages and a great stickler for the letter of the law. One of the clerks in Mr. Ward's establishment, in a moment of excitement during a sudden rise in stocks, has embezzled a sum from Mr. Ward which he has lost in speculation. It is his first offense. He has been a faithful, honorable, capable and efficient young man. He is the support of an invalid mother—her sole support. But in this moment of weakness he has yielded to temptation. He pleads for leniency. Mr. Ward has it in his power to let the youth have another trial, but the district attorney insists on his playing the part of a good citizen and appearing against the youth in the courts. This he does. The boy is convicted and sent to the penitentiary. The mother's support is withdrawn and the crushing blow which comes with the conviction causes her death. The youth, after his term in the penitentiary, emerges with the prison pallor on his face. He is alone in the world. He finds it impossible to get employment of any kind with his record staring him in the face. He begs ineffectively. He is soon lost in the dark abyss.

In the course of time Dick Ward, who has been stationed in a bank, embezzles a large

sum, more than twenty times as much as the unfortunate employé of his father had hypothecated. The banker, in the interests of law and order, gives the facts to the district attorney, but owing to the fact that the father promptly offers restitution for the money, and that the banker himself is found to be engaged in criminal practices, Dick Ward goes free.

Surrounded by the tragedies, the hollowness and the ghastly injustice which confront her at every turn, Elizabeth Ward gropes toward the light. She vainly struggles to do something by working with the associated charities, only to find out what a farce much of that work is. "Organized," as she well puts it, "not to help the poor, but to help the rich to forget the poor, to keep the poor at a distance, where they can't reproach you and prick your conscience. The Organized Charities is an institution for the benefit of the unworthy rich."

Meanwhile poor old Koerner has learned that a rich corporation can usually defeat the ends of justice and equity. He is fought at every step in his attempt to get damages for an accident which clearly resulted from the railroad's disregard of legal requirements. When finally he wins in the lower court, the case is appealed and carried up until it reaches judges who have long been corporation attorneys, and in the end the old man is denied justice.

Archie Koerner, through the continued influence of evil associates, the pressure of society, and the injustice and shortsightedness on the part of the courts, is pressed steadily downward in his career of crime. Finally a horrible murder is committed—a murder with which the young man has nothing whatever to do. But as the police are powerless to find any clue to the real offender, and as the papers are clamoring against the department of justice for its inefficiency, the chief of police insists upon the officials arresting someone at once. Archie has recently come out of prison, and an officer of the courts, who from the very first has hounded him, knowing he is out of prison, believes he will visit his mother; so he lies in wait for him and finally gives him chase. The boy, after eluding the officer for a time, is finally entrapped and surrounded by the police. Caught at bay and exasperated by the taunts of his nemesis, the boy shoots the officer. John Eades, in order to get the youth elec-

trocuted, uses the horrible murder to influence the minds of the jury, although there is not a scintilla of evidence that the youth had anything to do with the murder. In this way he succeeds in gaining his end. The boy is sentenced and electrocuted.

All these tragic things are told simply but with great power, while the story of Archie is made the occasion for lifting the veil and revealing the inferno of criminality to be found in our great cities and the struggle of the forces of law against the exiles of society, when the government forces and the pillars of society are not in partnership with the democracy of darkness.

Through the story runs the strong love interest in the wooing of Elizabeth by John Eades and Gordon Marriott; and, as we have observed, the gradual development of the character of the girl is unfolded, as she passes from the darkness into the light and experiences a spiritual awakening, with the

result that she drifts from the influence of Eades and moves naturally toward Gordon Marriott, who so finely personifies the conscience-guided man, the child of the higher law, the servant of a dawning civilization in which justice shall mean more than an idle word and love shall be the master-spirit of life.

The story, at once so powerful, gloomy and profoundly disquieting, ends in the sunshine in so far as it relates to its nobler characters.

The book is as strong and purposeful as *The Jungle*, and as literature it is a more finished creation. It is a distinctly great novel, presenting a vivid and effective picture of the miseries of our social order,—the weak, the unfortunate, the helpless and the criminals. But it is instinct with moral idealism that is redemptive in character; it shadows forth the larger life; it palpitates with the spirit of the Golden Rule.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.*

SOME IMPORTANT RECENT WORKS ON PSYCHIC SCIENCE.

The Psychic Riddle. By I. K. Funk, D.D., LL.D. Cloth. Pp. 244. Price, \$1.00 net. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

Borderland of Psychical Research. By James H. Hyslop, Ph.D., LL.D. Cloth. Pp. 426. Price, \$1.50 net. Boston: Herbert B. Turner & Company.

Human Personality and its Survival of Bodily Death. By Frederic W. H. Myers. Edited and abridged by his son, Leopold H. Myers. Cloth. Pp. 470. Price, \$5.00 net, postage, 20 cents. New York: Longmans, Green & Company.

Proofs of Life After Death. By Robert J. Thompson. Cloth. Pp. 366. Price, \$1.50 net, postage, 12 cents. Boston: Herbert B. Turner & Company.

TO ONE who has followed the progress of the new psychology and psychic science during the past thirty years, the changes that have taken place in the attitude

of the public are very interesting. Thirty years ago spiritualism was a flourishing religion. It had a well-sustained and vigorously aggressive press, a large and growing literature and a number of well-attended societies. But at that time the scientific world and the church were aggressive and all but a unit in their uncompromising hostility. When Alfred Russel Wallace and Professor William Crookes, after long personal investigation of psychical phenomena were forced to accept the claims of the spiritualistic hypothesis, they were almost ostracized for a time by the scientific and literary world. The church was as hostile and intolerant as was the great majority of the evolutionary and materialistic scientists. After a period of almost phenomenal growth in the face of bitter and combined opposition, spiritualism as an organized religious movement began rapidly to decline. This was doubtless largely due to the fact that spiritualism had no creed and no compact organization in a time when the current of society had set strongly in favor of united, coöperated and close organizations. It insisted on the largest possible liberty for the

*Books intended for review in *THE ARENA* should be addressed to B. O. Flower, Editorial Department, *THE ARENA*, Boston, Mass.

individual, and in this respect resembled that other great liberal religious organization which arose in the nineteenth century—Unitarianism, a church but loosely held together and with no special creed. Both these organizations represented decentralization in a period when a strong current had set in in favor of centralization. Consequently as organizations both have largely waned, but the influence of their theories and views has probably more largely permeated the thinking element of society, in and out of the church, than any other distinctive religious movements of the nineteenth century. Spiritualism was also greatly handicapped and weakened by the unquestioning credulity of many of its followers and the unscientific attitude taken by some of its leading papers, which were often found defending psychics or mediums that had been exposed and whose actions were certainly on many occasions of the most questionable character.

While, however, spiritualism as an organized religious body began to wane, the interest in psychical phenomena from without was immensely stimulated by the serious investigations of a large number of thoughtful persons who in many instances began their investigations for the purpose of demonstrating that the alleged phenomena, when not fraud, were susceptible of explanation on the hypothesis of telepathy. These investigators usually soon encountered phenomena which could not be explained on either of the above hypotheses.

Finally the English Society for Psychical Research, composed of a large number of the more thoughtful scientists of Great Britain, Europe and America, was organized, and this body, with its American branch, has for a quarter of a century steadily, persistently and uninterruptedly prosecuted its research in the most scientific and painstaking manner. Among its active members have been many of the foremost psychologists, physical scientists and acute investigators in various special lines—men like Professor Oliver Lodge, Sir William Crookes, Dr. Charles Richet, Cesare Lombroso, and Professor William James.

It was not long before the investigations of this society attracted world-wide attention among the more thoughtful people. William E. Gladstone, a short time before his death, said, in speaking of the work of this society: "It is the most important work which is being done in the world to-day—by far the

most important." And to-day we find a large and constantly growing number of thinkers of the first rank in every land giving the most earnest consideration to this subject: while the great number of extremely able books that are appearing almost monthly from the presses of the leading houses, dealing with this subject, speaks in an eloquent manner of the growing popular interest.

Thus to-day we are confronted by a condition almost diametrically opposed to that which prevailed from 1850 to 1880. It will be remembered that Victor Hugo severely criticized the intolerance of science in the presence of psychical research, and some of the leading spiritualists of thirty years ago earnestly strove to show the religious leaders that with the steady advance of a soul-deadening materialism in society and even in the church, religion would find in psychic phenomena a powerful argument in favor of the doctrine of a future life. Religious leaders at that time, however, were not in a mood apparently to accept this suggestion, but to-day we find a growing tendency on the part of the more thoughtful members of the clergy to join in scientific investigations of a phenomenon which promises to be a powerful weapon in the attempt to beat back the forces of materialism.

We have before us four very notable volumes which have recently reached our office for review, and which well represent the growing interest in psychical research. The first which we shall notice is *The Psychic Riddle*, by the Rev. I. K. Funk, D.D., LL.D. For many years Dr. Funk has been the master spirit in a great orthodox religious publishing house and the editor of those important religious journals, *The Homiletic Review* and *The Missionary Review*. He was also editor-in-chief of *The Standard Dictionary*. If twenty years ago one had predicted that this great Lutheran clergyman would become one of the ablest and most critical yet broadly sympathetic investigators of spiritual phenomena, he would have been derided by nine out of ten readers of Dr. Funk's able publications. Yet in recent years this prominent clergyman has become one of the most earnest and efficient investigators of psychical phenomena in the New World. His former work, *The Widow's Mite*, published a few years since, was one of the best semi-scientific discussions of this great question that has appeared. Like everything written by Dr. Funk, it was

highly interesting; but it was far more than a fascinating volume. It was an important contribution to the literature of the new psychology—the literature dealing with a realm that even yet must be regarded as a dark continent whose shores alone have been but partially explored.

His new work, *The Psychic Riddle*, though not so large as the former book, is, we think, even more interesting and important than *The Widow's Mite*. In it, from first to last, the reader feels he is in the company of a critical investigator who is at once shrewdly skeptical yet sympathetic and open to conviction.

The work contains six chapters, the first two of which are largely concerned with the views of eminent men in regard to psychical phenomena and the reasons why the scientific study of this subject should be encouraged. Dr. Funk, without himself accepting the spiritualistic hypothesis, refers to the astounding drift toward its acceptance on the part of master scientists—such men as Cesare Lombroso of Italy and Charles Richet, the most famous physicist of France, both of whom have been forced by their investigations to accept the spiritualistic hypothesis, as years before Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace and Professor William Crookes were driven to the same conclusion after long personal investigations. Indeed, our author is amazed at the radical temper of the great scientists. He says:

"It is almost startling to one so conservative as I am to see how far really some of the ablest of the world's scientists now go. Sir William Crookes, accepting the presidency of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1898, in the presence of that august body did not hesitate to say that he had seen no reason to change his reports of actual spirit materializations witnessed and photographed by himself in his own home. In the April number, 1906, of the *Annals of Psychical Science*—published simultaneously in Paris and London—that chiefest of French physicists, Charles Richet, hotly defended his recent marvelous reports of materialization séances which he tells us he witnessed under test conditions a short time before in Algiers—wonderful phenomena, spirits actually taking form so as to be seen and heard and handled. These extraordinary marvels Richet reported over his own name in a scientific magazine published under the direc-

tion of a committee made up of such well-known scientists as Sir William Crookes, Cesare Lombroso of Italy, Dr. Joseph Maxwell of France, Sir Oliver Lodge, men of international fame as trained scientists."

Dr. Funk is very insistent in urging his readers to divest their minds of the idea that the present world-wide interest in psychical research is due to ignorance, superstition or an unscientific temper born of man's desire to believe that the loved dead still exist. "The reader throughout the perusal of these strange stories," he says, "should bear in mind that it is not superstition, that it is not ignorance that is now pressing this psychic question upon the public mind; instead, it is the experience and observations and reasonings of such trained scientists as Lombroso of Italy; Richet and Flammarion and Maxwell of France; Crookes, Lodge and Wallace of England; Hyslop, James and (until his recent death) Hodgson of America."

His attitude throughout is that of a truly scientific man who believes that the riddles of the universe are here to be solved by man and for man's advantage.

"Let us," he says, "keep our souls in patience and our brains wholly sane. It is well to remember that electricity for twenty-three hundred years yielded scarcely any recognizable phenomena. Yes, amber could be excited a little by its electric current, and it could be made to raise the hair on a manikin. Yes, yes, currents sent through the foot of a frog would curiously contort it, which gained for the scientific discoverer of the fact the derisive nickname of 'The Frog's Dancing Master.' But little electricity was believed to be obtainable, and those who believed it something more than a trick did not venture to think that it would ever be anything more than a toy or curiosity. But now the laws are somewhat understood and this force, though only partially controlled and harnessed, does a goodly share of the world's work."

Of his own personal attitude he observes:

"Now understand me. I do not say that Spiritualism has been scientifically demonstrated. I say exactly the contrary, believing that we are many miles distant from such a demonstration. What I do say is that such a demonstration is to my mind, after nearly thirty years of investigation, far more likely

than are the probabilities that Spiritualism is not true; that the proofs in favor of its truth are much stronger than those against it; that to-day, as the proofs stand, a man is more logical, more sane, in accepting the Spiritualistic belief of the communion of spirits through the physical sensories than he is in rejecting it. In my judgment he to-day is wrong in either accepting or rejecting it."

Chapters three, four and five deal with special experiments, many of them conducted by Dr. Funk himself, one chapter being devoted to the messages that claim to come from Dr. Richard Hodgson. Another highly interesting division deals with independent voices, and embraces Dr. Funk's somewhat extended personal investigations of this phase of the general investigation of psychical phenomena. Chapter five deals with "Typical Cases of Several Classes of Psychic Phenomena"; while the last chapter considers "Some Things that Seem Proven and Some Things that Seem Not Proven."

The general reader will find the entire volume as fascinating and compelling as romance, and to any person interested in psychical research it will be far more interesting than a well written novel. Dr. Funk is, we think, doing a very important service to the cause of religious advancement no less than to scientific progress, for in our age, when the dead hand of materialism is falling so heavily on church and society, all evidence that points to a continuance of life after the change we call death should receive serious attention.

In *Borderland of Psychical Research*, James H. Hyslop, Ph.D., LL.D., who was formerly professor of logic in Columbia University, and who since the death of Dr. Richard Hodgson has been ably carrying forward his great work, contributes another important volume to the literature of psychical research prepared for the general reader. This work shows something of the complex character of and the difficulties attending psychical investigation. In his opening words the professor strikes the key-note of the volume when he observes:

"I have here written on the more conservative side of the general question, and so have taken pains to show why it is necessary to be cautious about admitting supernormal phenomena. The book is devoted mainly to

normal and abnormal psychology, with philosophic reflections bearing upon the problems of both. It is intended, of course, that it shall be helpful to all who sympathize with the present movement to investigate the residual phenomena of mind, and yet do not understand how they may be connected with the accepted doctrines of traditional knowledge. To the present writer all new facts and theories must, in some way, find an assimilation with previous knowledge, and however great the departure involved in the discovery of the new, it must have some point of contact with the old. The present work, therefore, should serve as a preparation for the consideration of supernormal problems, especially upon the evidential side."

The book is very conservative in character, so much as at times almost to suggest the man who in his effort to stand straight was wont to lean over backwards. Still, such cautious and skeptical attitude is valuable on the part of scientists when they essay to explore a dark continent or to sail on an uncharted sea.

In the twelve chapters that constitute the work the following subjects are treated: "Sense Perception," "Interpreting and Associating Functions of the Mind," "Memory," "Dissociation and Obliviscence," "Illusions," "Hallucinations," "Pseudo-Spiritistic Phenomena," "Subconscious Action and Secondary Personality," "Mind and Body," "Hypnotism and Therapeutics," "Reincarnation," and "Reservations and Morals."

The spirit of the work is, as we have observed, rigidly critical; yet the author is no pessimist. He himself has been forced to entertain views which for years he did not accept. In the closing pages of this work we find the following lines:

"We are passing through the reactionary period against the exclusive otherworldliness of the past centuries, and as it has become a mark of intelligence to disbelieve all that the religious ages held sacred, we must expect scientific Philistines to parade their peculiar wisdom as the last word of omniscience. When the materialistic cycle has run its course and civilization has ended in repeating the experience of Sodom and Gomorrah, we shall expect sober thinking to begin again. We shall then learn what the larger view of the universe for a spiritual life means, and listen

to the advice which experience has always shown us in regard to the value of the belief which may even reconcile men to a life of pain and suffering. . . . I believe that the evidence for a future life is sufficient to make it the only rational hypothesis to account for the facts, but I do not believe that we have reached that amount of scientific proof which is necessary to make the belief general in the minds of the intellectual classes. The duty lies in further investigation, until its perplexities, which are many, have been removed. This is the necessary step in the establishment of a conviction that carries in its flux the destinies of the coming ages in their resurrection from the materialism of all our present life."

In the abridged edition of Frederic W. H. Myers' fundamental work, *Human Personality and Its Survival of Bodily Death*, we have one of the most valuable contributions that has been made to the literature of psychic science. Many readers of THE ARENA will remember our extended review or book-study of Professor Myers' unabridged work when it appeared. It was an exhaustive treatise, filling two large volumes and published at a price prohibitory to many people. In it was marshaled the vast array of evidence on which the author's careful arguments and reasonings were based—evidence that might be said to be the very cream of authoritative data compiled during nineteen years of arduous labor of the English Society for Psychical Research, in which work from its inception Professor Myers had been one of the most untiring and efficient laborers. The author of this great work appreciated the fact that the exhaustive character of his treatise, while immensely important to students who had the time to devote to the subject, rendered it too lengthy for the general reader. He anticipated the demand for an abridged edition and indicated in many instances parts that might be omitted. His untimely death prevented him from preparing the abridged edition, but this work has now been most admirably performed by his gifted son, Leopold Hamilton Myers. The very extensive appendices to each chapter in the former work have been liberally but judiciously curtailed, and such other matter as could be omitted without material injury has been dispensed with, in order to bring the present work down to less than five hundred pages. Only those familiar

with the difficulties of such labor can realize what it meant to thus condense a work of between thirteen hundred and fourteen hundred pages in such a manner as to present each argument and sufficient evidential material to sustain and illustrate the author's contention. This has been achieved in an exceptionally happy manner by young Mr. Myers, with the result that we have here a work costing but one-fourth the price of the unabridged edition, yet containing the matter of special interest and worth to the general reader.

The work treats of "Disintegrations of Personality," "Genius," "Sleep," "Hypnotism," "Sensory Automatism," "Phantasms of the Dead," "Motor Automatism," and "Trance, Possession and Ecstasy." And here is also an epilogue in which the author, after indicating his own views, based on his investigations, passes to a deeply thoughtful argument on the grave importance of the great work to which he had dedicated his life. He recognized the fact that the authority of creeds and church was rapidly falling, but he believed that the result of the labors of the scientific psychical researchers would give new impetus to faith and raise "even higher than now the highest ideals of man."

This last discussion is, it seems to us, one of the noblest essays of our age—an essay that it would be well indeed if every clergyman could be induced to read.

Proofs of Life After Death, which has just been brought out by Herbert B. Turner & Company, is an interesting and important work compiled by Robert J. Thompson and embracing opinions as to a future life given by many scientists, psychical researchers, philosophers and eminent spiritualists, among whom are such thinkers as Professor N. S. Shaler, Professor Charles Richet, Camille Flammarion, Professor Brunot, Sir William Crookes, Professor Th. Flournoy, Professor Elmer Gates, Professor William James, Dr. Paul Joire, Dr. Lombroso, Professor S. Newcomb, Professor Hyslop, Dr. M. J. Savage, Sir Oliver Lodge, Professor Alfred Russel Wallace, Cardinal Gibbons, Andrew Lang, and others scarcely less eminent. Many of these distinguished thinkers contributed especially to this symposium, and their views and opinions will be read with deep interest. The work, however, was prepared in 1901 or 1902, and things have moved so rapidly in

the world of psychic research since it was compiled, that the views of some of the investigators have become much more pronounced than they were when they contributed to the symposium. This is notably the fact in the case of Cesare Lombroso. When he contributed to Mr. Thompson's work he did not consider the question of a future life as solved by any means, though he thought the probabilities were in favor of such contention. But in the January issue of the *Grand Magazine* of the present year, Professor Lombroso announces his firm conviction of the truth of the spiritualistic hypothesis. But in spite of the fact that in a few instances the thinkers who wrote for the symposium or whose opinions are here cited, have advanced to more positive grounds since the book was compiled, it is a volume of real merit, not the least interesting part being the writings of Mr. Thompson introducing the subject and the different groups of thinkers. There is also a very suggestive chapter near the close of the work, entitled "Immortality from a New Standpoint," by Professor Elmer Gates.

The work, which is handsomely printed, is a volume that will prove helpful to students of life who are seeking further light on the question of the ancient Arabian poet: "If a man die, shall he live again?"

East of Suez. By F. C. Penfield. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 350. Price, \$2.00 net. New York: The Century Company.

THIS volume is written in a bright, entertaining manner, and though the author describes lands with which the intelligent public has been made somewhat familiar by the works of a number of recent travelers, it contains much new matter and the general descriptions are sufficiently graphic and readable to make the book attractive even to those who have followed other world wanderers to the territory here described—Ceylon, India, China and Japan.

Mr. Penfield is more than a sight-seer. He looks at these countries from the view-point of an American with keen commercial instincts, and many of his most vigorous pages are devoted to a plea for a great merchant marine to develop the important markets of the East in the interests of our Republic. It is unfortunate, however, that he did not pursue his subject a little farther and show why America, which had once so great a merchant

marine, lost her prestige; for we think that by a restoration of the old conditions, as has been so clearly pointed out by Captain W. W. Bates, our commercial marine would again assume a leading place, and that without resort to any vicious subsidy steal which would further rob the people to enrich a few Wall-street gamblers and trust magnates, without beginning to stimulate American commerce as would a restoration of the old order. Subsidies in France and elsewhere have signally failed to produce the desired results, while they have drawn from the people's sustenance to enrich a favored few.

The present work is beautifully illustrated and well printed. It is one of the best books of travel of the year.

A Conspectus of American Biography. Half Russia. Pp. 450. Price, \$10.00. New York: James T. White & Company.

WHILE this work is of special interest and value to subscribers to *The National Encyclopedia of American Biography*, as here is found a full index to that work, still it also contains a vast amount of important information that is extremely valuable for reference purposes, relating to American history and the men who have made our Republic what it is. Thus, for example, we have the delegates of all the important congresses preceding the establishment of the Republic; the presidents, vice-presidents and the cabinet officers of the United States, from the administration of Washington to the present time; all the senators, congressmen, governors of the various states, judges of the Supreme Court, United States ambassadors, envoys and ministers, and the heads of the various departments of government, from the organization of the Republic to the present time. A list of all the presidents who have occupied the chairs of 125 leading colleges and universities is also given. The heads of the various religious bodies and scientific bodies are presented with a classified list of eminent Americans in various walks of life. There are also several special features of interest, as for example, the last words of great Americans and an anniversary calendar containing eight thousand and notable events and birthdays in our history and biography.

The volume is of special value for reference purposes.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

TWO EXCEPTIONALLY ABLE POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS: We this month present some papers on social and economic matters that it should be the pleasure and duty of all friends of free institutions and progressive democracy to see circulated and widely read. If every reader of *THE ARENA* should get some friend to read and discuss with him or her the paper by JAMES MACKAYE on *Democracy and Socialism*, Professor FRANK FROST ABBOTT's story of the development of two oligarchies, and the editorials relating to the war between popular government and class rule, a great and vital work would be accomplished for genuine democracy. Especially do we wish to call the attention of every reader to the masterly essay on *Democracy and Socialism*, by JAMES MACKAYE. It is, in our judgment, the most lucid and most important magazine article dealing with the fundamental distinctions between reactionary class-rule and popular government that has appeared in years. It is better calculated to clear the public mind of the confusion born of a systematic attempt on the part of the enemies of the Republic who are seeking to overthrow popular rule, to befog the issues and prevent the people from realizing the imperative next steps demanded by a genuinely democratic government, than a whole library of ordinary economic discussions. Mr. MACKAYE is a Harvard graduate, a practical chemist, and one of the most rigidly logical thinkers that has in generations discussed political economy in an exhaustive manner. His great work, *The Economy of Happiness*, is without question one of the most fundamental and masterly works on political economy that has ever appeared. Professor ABBOTT's paper is as suggestive in its message as it is timely in character. The author is a graduate of Yale college, from which institution he holds the degree of doctor of philosophy. He has for some years been a member of the faculty of the Chicago University and is the author of a number of able works, probably the most important being *A History and Description of Roman Political Institutions*.

Modern Germany—Mad? In Mr. GEORGE SYLVESTER VIERECK's paper we have an admirable complement to the notable paper by our special correspondent, MAYNARD BUTLER, which appeared last month. Mr. VIERECK is one of America's most promising poetic writers. He is a journalist and critic of fine discrimination and his searching review and exposé of the morbid and erotic wave that is sweeping over Germany is well worthy of careful consideration. Next month we shall continue our series of papers on present-day Germany by giving a luminous and informing sketch of the great German Liberal democratic leader, THEODOR BARTH, who at the present time is visiting the Anglo-Saxon nations making a personal study of liberal institutions. This paper has been prepared for us by MAYNARD BUTLER.

Plant Consciousness: One of the most interesting discoveries of modern times has been the revelations that have shown our universe to be throbbing with life and that the relation between the mineral, vegetable and animal kingdoms is far closer than used to be supposed. The scientific study of plant life has revealed many wonderful facts. Several of them are presented in a fascinating manner by ARTHUR SMITH in his fine paper dealing with the brain power in plants.

Dr. Thomas on World-Peace: Few men among religious thinkers of the New World have engaged more tirelessly in the work of broadening the religious concepts and bringing the loving spirit of the great Nazarene to take the place of the spirit of controversy of creedal theology, than has Dr. THOMAS. He was a master-spirit in the work that eventuated in the World's Parliament of Religions, and he has labored with great fervor in forwarding the movement for world-peace. Dr. THOMAS is a profound thinker, a true metaphysician, who possesses the philosopher's keen vision that enables him to see below the surface to the basic facts involved. In his timely paper which we publish this month on *World-Peace* he writes as a deep thinker dealing with the great fundamental verities relating to world-peace and progress.

Why I Am a Christian Socialist: Rev. J. O. BENTALL, Ph.D., who writes on *Why I Am a Christian Socialist*, is a graduate of Chicago University. He was a prominent Baptist clergyman, but his study of the life and teachings of the great Nazarene and his contact with the materialism of present-day Christian society recently led him to take a position very similar to that occupied by Canon CHARLES KINGSLEY and FREDERICK D. MAURICE more than half a century ago, when in England they founded the Christian Socialist movement. Dr. BENTALL is one of the editors of *The Christian Socialist* of Chicago and he is at the head of an important religious socialistic movement, the parent society of which meets every Sunday in the Masonic Temple in Chicago. At these meetings Dr. BENTALL usually expounds what he conceives to be the religion of Christ and its social message.

The Educational Value of a Great Exposition: Professor FRANK WEBSTER SMITH contributes a valuable and, in view of the present Jamestown Exposition, a very timely paper on *The Educational Value of a Great Exposition*, taking the last great world's fair, which was held at St. Louis, as a concrete object lesson. He presents a number of facts that will appeal to all thinking men and women, and especially will they be of value to teachers and parents. All persons contemplating attending the Jamestown Exhibition should carefully read this paper.

Mr. Pratt on Child-Labor: Mr. PRATT's discussion of "Child-Labor" may be said to present the ideas held by the child-hiring class. We do not know that Mr. PRATT has any financial interest whatsoever in factories or in any enterprises in which child-labor is employed; but his sympathies are, we think, with those who hold that Southern factories are helpful rather than injurious to the child employés. We do not for a moment agree with Mr. PRATT's views on child-labor. We hold that child-labor is a double crime: a crime against the child and a crime against the republic of to-morrow. The child has an inalienable right to enjoy freedom, pure air and conditions that make for the full development of the physical organism during the formative period of life. Indeed, this is a condition requisite to proper physical health and a sound mind such as alone can produce full-orbed manhood and womanhood. Anything that interferes with or takes from this natural freedom robs the child of his rightful heritage and impairs the citizenship of to-morrow.

Mongolian Immigration and the British Colonies: In Mr. C. B. GALBREATH's deeply thoughtful paper it will be seen that the attitude of the Pacific coast in regard to Mongolian immigration is very similar to the views long entertained by the British Colonies wherever there has been a large influx of Orientals. But Great Britain has been more tactful and diplomatic in her method of treating this delicate subject than have our citizens of the Western coast.

Mr. Frank F. Stone on the London Election: Mr. FRANK F. STONE, the well-known English sculptor who has of late resided in southern California, on account of the healthful climate, has kept in intimate touch with London politics, and his numerous correspondents have given him full and detailed accounts of the methods and tactics of the reactionary and plutocratic forces during the recent campaign. With these facts in hand Mr. STONE gives us an admirable pen-picture of the campaigns of misrepresentation and the systematic methods by which corrupt wealth seeks to defeat the interests of the people. The tactics employed in the Old World are very familiar to us in the New, but they have probably never been employed more brazenly than they are being resorted to at the present time. A striking illustration of this character has recently been seen in the attempt of the corporation forces throughout the land to discredit Direct-Legislation in Oregon. On April 15th, the Boston *Transcript* published a column editorial entitled "The Referendum

Failure in Oregon." It was a tissue of misrepresentation which was admirably characterized by the Portland *Oregonian*, the leading Republican daily of Oregon, as "Strange News from Boston," which "may be said to be new though not true." Nevertheless, after the publication of this mendacious editorial in the *Transcript*, the corporation press East and West took up the cry that Direct-Legislation had proved to be a failure in Oregon. The editors of the various papers, if they knew anything of the facts involved, knew that their statements were absolutely false; but the systematic and simultaneous manner in which these false statements were scattered broadcast indicates a concerted effort on the part of the plutocracy throughout the United States to employ the London tactics in their effort to deceive the American people.

Professor Noa's Bereavement: Our readers who have enjoyed the notable series of papers by Professor FREDERIC M. NOA on South American heroes of freedom and progress and on great historical epochs in Latin America, will hear with sorrow of the great loss recently suffered by him in the death of his talented and venerable mother. Mrs. NOA was a portrait artist of exceptional ability, having executed a number of commissions for portraits for leading members of the British nobility and other notables of the Old World, as well as for a number of American statesmen and other prominent citizens. Since the death, some years since, of Professor Noa's father, who was a distinguished educator, the relations between the mother and son have been very intimate and beautiful. Her death is therefore an irreparable loss to our able contributor. At the funeral, which was conducted by the Rev. CHARLES G. AMES, the distinguished Boston Unitarian divine, Professor NOA read the following little tribute which he had composed and mailed to his mother on a previous birthday when absent from her:

"O dearest heart! I think of thee,
On this thy natal day,
And pray thy years shall ever be
As bright as flow'ry May!

"I think of thee, whose lovely art,
Rich as the sunset's glow,
Brings gladness to the burdened heart,
And lightens human woe.

"Mid crowded street, or country bright,
E'en though I roam afar,
Still dost thou lead me by thy light,
My spirit's shining star!"

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